THE HISTORY OF THE *REBELLION* AND CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

VOLUME THE SECOND.



Edward Earl of CLARENDON, Lord High CHANCELLOR of Engla
and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. An.° Dni 1667.

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Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Paſſages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Concluſion thereof by the KING's bleſſed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honourable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High Chancellor of *England*, Privy Counſellor in the Reigns of King CHARLES the Firſt and the Second.

Κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. *Thucyd.*

Ne quid Falſi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

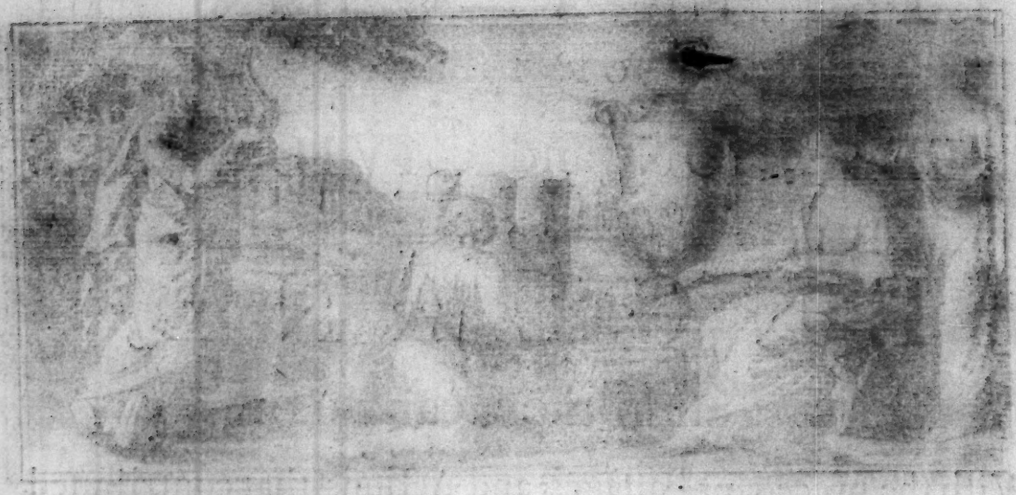
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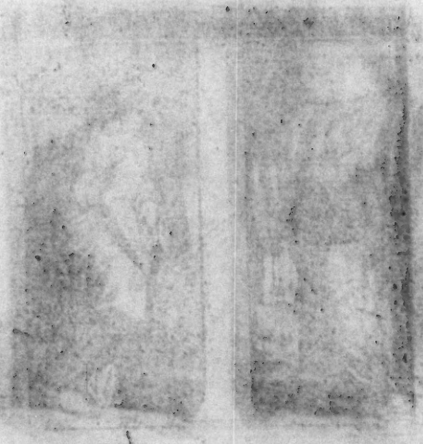


Imprimatur.

GUIL. DELAUNE,

Vice-Can. OXON.

Sept. 15. 1703.





TO THE QUEEN.

MADAM,



O Your Majeſty is moſt humbly Dedicated this Second Part of the Hiſtory of the Rebellion and Civil Wars, *written by* Edward *Earl of* Clarendon. *For to whom ſo naturally can the works of this Author, treating of the times of Your*

Royal Grandfather, be addreſs'd, as to Your ſelf; now wearing, with Luſtre and Glory, that Crown, which, in thoſe unhappy days, was treated with ſo much contempt and barbarity, and laid low even to the Duſt?

This Second Part comes with the greater confidence into Your preſence, by the advantage of the favourable reception the Firſt hath met with in the World; ſince it is not to be doubted, but the ſame truth, fairneſs, and impartiality, that will be found throughout the whole thread of the Hiſtory, will meet with the ſame Candour from all equal Judges.

'Tis true, ſome few Perſons, whoſe Anceſtors are here found not to have had that part during their lives which would have been more agreeable to the wiſhes of their ſurviving poſterity, have been offended at ſome particulars, mention'd in this Hiſtory, concerning ſo near Relations, and would have them paſs for miſtaken Informations. But it is to be hoped, that ſuch a concern of Kindred for their Families, though not blameable in them, will rather appear partial on Their ſide; ſince it cannot be doubted, but this Author muſt have had his materials from undeniable, and unexceptionable hands, and could have no temptation to inſert any thing but the truth in a work of this nature, which was deſign'd to remain to Poſterity, as a faithful record of Things and Perſons in thoſe times, and of his own unqueſtionable ſincerity in the repreſentation of them.

In this aſſurance it is humbly hoped, it will not be unprofitable to Your Majeſty to be here inform'd of the fatal and undeſerv'd misfortunes of one of Your Anceſtors, with the particular and ſad occaſions of them; the better to direct Your Royal Perſon through the continual uncertainties of the Greatneſs of this World. And as Your Majeſty cannot have a better Guide, throughout the whole Courſe of Your Reign, for the good Adminiſtration of Your Govern-

ment, than Hiſtory in general, ſo there cannot be a more uſeful one to Your Majeſty than this of Your own Kingdoms; and it is preſum'd, without lying under the Imputation of miſleading Your Majeſty, it may be aſſerted that no Author could have been better inſtructed, and have known more of the times and matters of which he writes, than this who is here preſented to You.

Your Majeſty may depend upon his Relations to be true in fact; and You will find his obſervations juſt; his Reflections made with judgement and weight; and his Advices given upon wiſe and honeſt principles; not capable of being now interpreted as ſubſervient to any Ambition or Intereſt of his own; and having now outliv'd the prejudices and partialities of the times in which they were written. And Your Majeſty thus elevated, as by God's bleſſing You are, from whom a great many truths may be induſtriouſly conceal'd, and on whom a great many wrong notions under falſe Colours may with equal care be obtruded, will have the greater advantage from this faithful Remembrancer.

This Author, once a Privy Counſellor and Miniſter to two great Kings, and, in a good degree, Favourite to one of them, hath ſome pretence to be admitted into Your Majeſty's Council too, and may become capable of doing You Service alſo; whilſt the accounts he gives of times paſt, come ſeaſonably to guide You through the times preſent, and thoſe to come.

This Hiſtory may lie upon Your Table unenvied, and Your Majeſty may paſs hours and days in the peruſal of it, when, poſſibly, they who ſhall be the moſt uſeful in Your Service, may be reflected on for aiming too much at influencing Your Actions, and engroſſing Your Time.

From this Hiſtory Your Majeſty may come to know more of the nature, and temper of Your own People, than hath yet been obſerv'd by any other hand. Neither can any living conſervation lay

before Your Majesty in one view, so many transactions necessary for Your observation. And seeing no Prince can be endued in a moment with a perfect experience in the conduct of Affairs, whatever knowledge may be useful to Your Majesty's Government, if it may have been concealed from You in the Circumstances of Your private Life, in this History it may be the most effectually supplied; where Your Majesty will find the true constitution of Your Government, both in Church and State, plainly laid before You, as well as the Mistakes that were committed in the management of both.

Here Your Majesty will see how both those Interests are inseparable, and ought to be preserv'd so, and how fatal it hath prov'd to both, whenever, by the Artifice and Malice of wicked and self-designing Men, they have happen'd to be divided. And though Your Majesty will see here, how a great King lost his Kingdoms, and at last his Life, in the Defence of this Church, You will discern too, that it was by Men who were no better friends to Monarchy than to true Religion, that his Calamities were brought upon him; and as it was the method of those Men to take exceptions first to the Ceremonies and outward Order of the Church, that they might attack her the more surely in her very Being and Foundation, so they could not destroy the State, which they chiefly design'd, till they had first overturn'd the Church. And a truth it is which cannot be controverted, That the Monarchy of England *is not now capable of being Supported, but upon the Principles of the Church of* England; *from whence it will be very natural to conclude, that the preserving them both firmly united together is the likeliest way for Your Majesty to Reign happily over Your Subjects.*

The Religion by Law Establish'd is such a Vital part of the Government, so constantly woven and mixed into every branch of it,

that

that generally Men look upon it as a good part of their Property too; ſince that, and the Government of the Church, is ſecured to them by the ſame proviſion. So that it ſeems that, next to Treaſon againſt Your Sacred Perſon, an Invaſion upon the Church ought to be watched and prevented by thoſe who have the honour to be truſted in the publick Adminiſtration, with the ſtricteſt Care and Diligence, as the beſt way to preſerve Your Perſon and Government in their juſt dignity and authority.

Amongſt all the obſervations, that may be made out of this Hiſtory, there ſeems none more Melancholick, than that, after ſo much miſery and deſolation brought upon theſe Kingdoms by that unnatural Civil War, which hath yet left ſo many deep and lamentable marks of it's rage and fury, there have hitherto appear'd ſo few ſigns of repentance and reformation.

Some Perſons will ſee, they are deſign'd to be excepted out of this remark, whoſe conduct hath happily made amends for the miſtakes of their Anceſtors, and whoſe practice in the Stations they are now in, does ſufficiently diſtinguiſh them. Happy were it for the Nation, had all the reſt thought fit to follow ſo good Examples, and that either Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion, or Acts of Grace and Favour, or Employments of Authority, Riches, and Honour, had hitherto been able to recover many of them to the temper of good Subjects. The truth of this obſervation is ſet forth by this Author in ſo lively a manner, that one hath frequent occaſions to look on him as a Prophet as well as an Hiſtorian, in ſeveral particulars mention'd in this Book.

That this Remark may not look froward or angry, with great ſubmiſſion to Your Majeſty, it may be conſider'd, what can be the meaning of the ſeveral Seminaries, and as it were Univerſities, ſet up in divers parts of the Kingdom, by more than ordi-

nary Induſtry, contrary to Law, ſupported by large contributions; where the Youth is bred up in Principles directly contrary to Monarchical and Epiſcopal Government? what can be the meaning of the conſtant Solemnizing by ſome Men, the Anniverſary of that diſmal thirtieth of January, *in ſcandalous and opprobrious feaſting and jeſting, which the Law of the Land hath commanded to be perpetually obſerv'd in faſting and humiliation? If no ſober Man can ſay any thing in the defence of ſuch Actions, ſo deſtructive to the very Eſſence of the Government, and yet impoſſible to be conducted without much conſultation and advice, it is hoped this reflection will not be thought to have proceeded from an uncharitable and ill natur'd ſpirit, but from a dutiful and tender regard to the good of the Nation, and the proſperity of Your Majeſty's Reign.*

In the mean time, whether this does not look like an induſtrious Propagation of the Rebellious Principles of the laſt Age, and on that ſcore render it neceſſary that Your Majeſty ſhould have an eye toward ſuch unaccountable Proceedings, is humbly ſubmitted to Your Majeſty; who will make a better judgement upon the whole than any others can ſuggeſt to You: You have a greater Intereſt to do it; You have much more to preſerve, and much more to loſe; You have the happineſs of Your Kingdoms, Your Crown, and Your Government to ſecure, in a time of as great difficulties, as ever were yet known, under a very Expenſive War at preſent, and ſome circumſtances attending it in relation to theſe Nations, that may continue even after a Peace; beſides the danger of a future ſeparation of the two Kingdoms, very uncomfortable to reflect on; which yet, in all probability, will have Influence upon the preſent times too, if it comes once to be thought that it is inevitable.

God give Your Majeſty a ſafe and proſperous paſſage through

ſo

ſo many appearances of hazard; You can never want Undertakers of divers ſorts, who, according to their ſeveral Politicks, will warrant You Succeſs if You will truſt 'em: But Your real happineſs will very much depend upon Your ſelf, and Your chooſing to Honour with Your Service ſuch Perſons as are honeſt, ſtout, and wiſe.

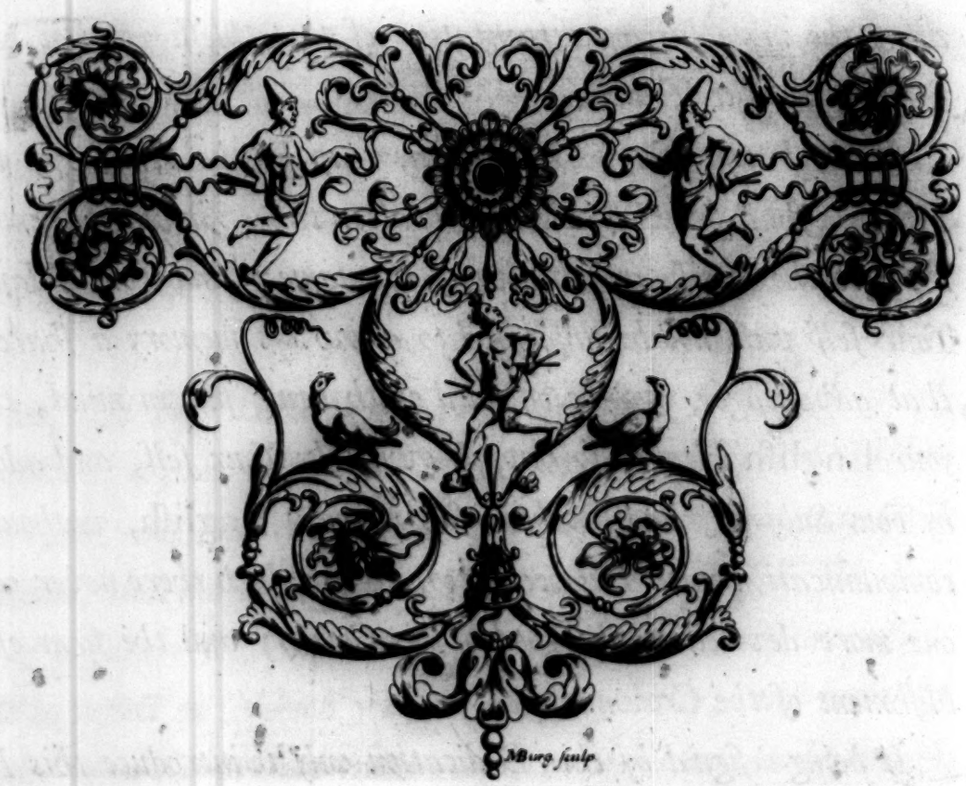
If Informations of times paſt may be uſeful, this Author will deſerve a ſhare of credit with You, whoſe reputation and experience were ſo great in his life time, that they will be recorded in times to come for the real Services he did, beſides the Honour, and great Fortune, unuſual to a Subject, of having been Grandfather to two great Queens, Your Royal Siſter and Your Self; both ſo well belov'd, and eſteem'd by Your People; both ſo willing, and zealous to do good. Her power indeed was more limited and dependent; but her early death made room for Your Majeſty's more unreſtrain'd and Soveraign Authority, and reſign'd to Your ſelf alone the more laſting diſpenſation of thoſe bleſſings that came from Heaven to You both.

If the benefit Your Majeſty may reap by the peruſal of this Hiſtory, ſhall prove ſerviceable to after times, it will be remember'd to the praiſe and honour of his name; and Your Majeſty Your ſelf will not be diſpleaſed to allow his memory a ſhare of that advantage; nor be offended with being put in mind, that your Engliſh *Heart, ſo happily own'd by Your ſelf, and ador'd by Your Subjects, had not been ſo* Entirely Engliſh, *without a communication with His heart too, than which there never was one more devoted to the good of his Country and the firm eſtabliſhment of the Crown.*

It being deſign'd by this Dedication only to introduce this Noble Author into Your preſence, it would be contrary to the Intention of it to take up more of Your Majeſty's time here; it is beſt

therefore to leave this faithful Counſellor alone with You. For God's ſake, Madam, and Your own, be pleaſed to read him with attention, and ſerious and frequent reflections; and from thence, in conjunction with Your own Heart, preſcribe to your ſelf the methods of true and laſting Greatneſs, and the ſolid Maxims of a Soveraign truly Engliſh: *That during this life, You may exceed in Felicities and Fame, and after this life, in Reputation and Eſteem, that Glorious Predeceſſor of Your Majeſty's, the Renown'd Firſt* Semper Eadem, *whoſe Motto You have choſen, and whoſe Pattern You ſeem to have taken for Your great Example, to Your own immortal Glory, and the Defence, Security, and Proſperity of the Kingdoms You govern.*

And God grant You may do ſo long.



ANNE R.

ANNE, by the Grace of God, Queen of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom Theſe Preſents ſhall come Greeting. Whereas Our Truſty and Wellbeloved *William Delaune*, Doctor in Divinity, and Vice-Chancellor of Our Univerſity of *Oxford*, has humbly repreſented unto Us, in the behalf of the ſaid Univerſity, that They have at a Great Expence already Publiſhed One Volume of the late Earl of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, and intend in a ſhort time to Publiſh the Second and Third Volumes for Compleating the Work; and the ſole Right of the Copy of the ſaid Work being Veſted in Our Univerſity of *Oxford*, and They having humbly beſought Us to Grant Them Our Royal Privilege and Licence for the ſole Printing and Publiſhing the ſame for the Term of Fourteen Years; We being Graciouſly enclined to encourage the ſaid Undertaking, are pleaſed to condeſcend to their Requeſt; and do therefore hereby Give and Grant unto Our ſaid Univerſity of *Oxford*, Our Royal Licence and Privilege, for the ſole Printing and Publiſhing the ſaid Three Volumes of the late Earl of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, for and during the Term of Fourteen Years, to be computed from the Day of the Date hereof; ſtrictly Charging, Prohibiting, and Forbidding all Our Subjects to Reprint or Abridge the ſaid Hiſtory, or any Part of it, or to Import, Buy, Vend, Utter, or Diſtribute any Copies of the ſame, or any Part thereof, Reprinted beyond the Seas, within the ſaid Term, without the Conſent and Approbation of Our ſaid Univerſity firſt had and Obtained, as They and every of them Offending herein will Anſwer the Contrary at their Peril, and ſuch other Penalties as by the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realm may be inflicted; Whereof the Maſter, Wardens, and Company of Stationers of Our City of *London*, the Commiſſioners and Officers of our Cuſtoms, and all other Our Officers and Miniſters whom it may concern, are to take Notice, that due Obedience be given to Our Pleaſure herein ſignified. Given at Our Court at *Hampton*-Court the 24th day of *June* 1703. In the Second Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majeſty's Command.

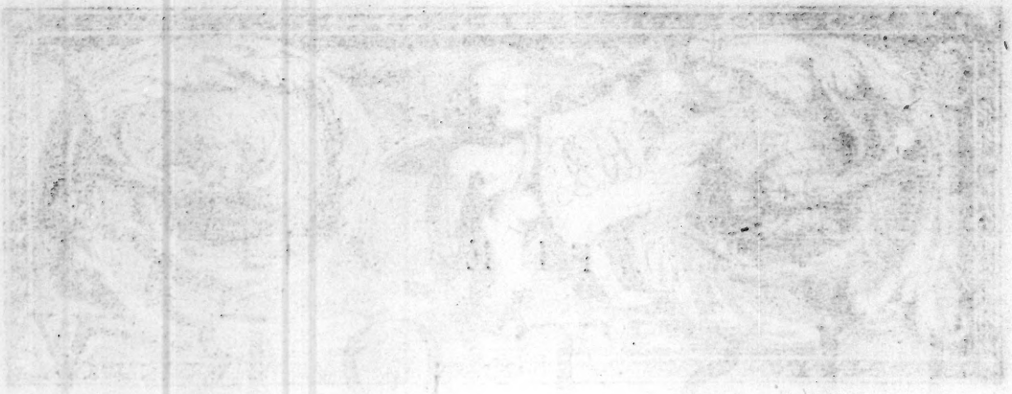
C. Hedges.

THE HISTORY OF THE *REBELLION* AND CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641,

With the precedent Paſſages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Concluſion thereof by the KING's bleſſed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 1660.

THE SIXTH BOOK.



THE

History of the Rebellion, &c.

BOOK VI.

Isa. XVIII. 2.

Go, ye swift Messengers, to a Nation scattered and peeled, to a People terrible from their beginning hitherto; a Nation meted out and troden down, whose Land the Rivers have spoiled.

Isa. XIX. 13. 14.

The Princes of Zoan are become fools.
The Lord hath mingled a perverse Spirit in the midst thereof.



WHEN the King set up his Standard at *Nottingham*, which was on the 25th of *August*, as is before remember'd, he found the place much emptier than he thought the fame of his Standard would have suffer'd it to be; and receiv'd Intelligence the next day, that the Rebel's Army, for such now he had declared them, was Horse, Foot, and Cannon, at *Northampton*; besides that Party which, in the end of the Fifth Book, we left at *Coventry*: whereas His few Cannon and Ammunition were still at *York*, being neither yet in an equipage to march, though Sr *John Heydon*, his Majesty's faithful Lieutenant of the Ordnance, used all possible diligence to form and prepare it; neither were there Foot enough levied to guard it: and at *Nottingham*, besides some few of the Train'd-bands, which Sr *John Digby*, the active Sheriff of that County, drew into the old ruinous Castle there, there were not of Foot levied for the Service Yet three hundred Men. So that they who were not over much given to fear, finding very many places in that great River, which was looked upon as the only strength and security of the Town, to be easily fordable, and nothing towards an Army for defence but the Standard set up, begun sadly to apprehend the danger of the King's own Person. Insomuch that Sr *Jacob Astley*, his Serjeant-Major-General of his intended Army, told him, "that he could not give any assurance against his Ma-

The King's condition at Nottingham.

"jesty's being taken out of his bed, if the Rebels should make a brisk "attempt to that purpose. And it was evident, all the Strength he had to depend upon was his Horse, which were under the Command of Prince *Rupert* at *Leicester*, and were not at that time in Number above eight hundred, few better arm'd than with Swords; whilst the Enemy had, within less than twenty Miles of that place, double the Number of Horse excellently arm'd and appointed, and a Body of five thousand Foot well train'd, and disciplin'd; so that, no doubt, if they had advanced, they might at least have dispersed those few Troops of the King's, and driven his Majesty to a greater distance, and exposed him to notable hazards and inconveniencies.

Portsmouth *besieg'd by the Parliament's Forces.*

WHEN Men were almost confounded with this prospect, his Majesty receiv'd Intelligence, that *Portsmouth* was so streightly besieged by Sea and Land, that it would be reduced in very few days, except it were reliev'd. For the truth is, Colonel *Goring*, though he had sufficient warning, and sufficient supplies of Money to put that place into a posture, had relied too much upon probable and casual assistance, and neglected to do that Himself which a vigilant Officer would have done: and albeit his chief dependence was both for Money and Provisions from the Isle of *Wight*, yet he was careless to secure those small Castles and Block-houses, that guarded the passage; which, revolting to the Parliament assoon as he declared for the King, cut off all those dependences; so that he had neither Men enough to do ordinary duty, nor Provisions enough for those few, for any considerable time. And at the same time with this news of *Portsmouth*, arrived certain Advertisements, that the Marquis of *Hertford*, and all his Forces in the West, from whom only the King hoped that *Portsmouth* should be reliev'd, was driven out of *Somerset-shire*, where his power and interest was believ'd unquestionable, into *Dorset-shire*; and there besieged in *Sherborne* Castle.

The Marquis of Hertford's *Actions in* Somerset-shire, *&c.*

THE Marquis, after he left the King at *Beverly*, by ordinary Journeys, and without making any long stay by the way, came to *Bath*, upon the very edge of *Somerset-shire*, at the time when the General Assizes were there held; where, meeting all the considerable Gentlemen of that great County, and finding them well affected to the King's Service, except very few who were sufficiently known, he enter'd into consultation with them from whom he was to expect assistance, in what place he should most conveniently fix himself for the better disposing the Affections of the People, and to raise a strength for the resistance of any attempt which the Parliament might make, either against them, or to disturb the Peace of the County by their Ordinance of the Militia, which was the first power they were like to hear of. Some were of opinion, "that *Bristol* would be the fittest place, being a great, rich, and "populous City; of which being once possessed, they should be easily "able to give the Law to *Somerset* and *Gloucester-shire*; and could not "receive any Affront by a suddain or tumultuary Insurrection of the "People. And if this advice had been followed, it would, probably, have proved very prosperous. But, on the contrary, it was objected, "that it was not evident, that his Lordship's reception into the City "would be such as was expected; Mr *Hollis* being Lieutenant thereof, "and having exercised the Militia there; and there being visibly many "disaffected people in it, and some of Eminent Quality; and if he should "attempt to go thither and be disappointed, it would break the whole "Design: Then that it was out of the County of *Somerset*, and therefore

"that

"that they could not Legally draw that people thither; beſides, that it "would look like fear and ſuſpicion of their own power, to put them- "ſelves into a walled Town, as if they fear'd the power of the other Par- "ty would be able to oppreſs them. Whereas, except *Popham* and "*Horner*, all the Gentlemen of Eminent Quality and Fortune of *Somer- "ſet-ſhire*, were either preſent with the Marquis, or preſumed not to "be inclin'd to the Parliament. And therefore they propoſed, "that "*Wells*, being a pleaſant City, in the heart and near the center of that "County, might be choſen for his Lordſhip's reſidence. Which was ac- cordingly agreed on, and thither the Marquis and his Train went, ſend- ing for the neareſt Train'd bands to appear before him; and preſuming that in little time, by the induſtry of the Gentlemen preſent, and his Lordſhip's reputation, which was very great, the affections of the peo- ple would be ſo much wrought upon, and their underſtandings ſo well inform'd, that it would not be in the power of the Parliament to per- vert them, or to make ill impreſſions on them towards his Majeſty's Service.

WHILST his Lordſhip in this gentle way endeavour'd to compoſe the fears and apprehenſions of the people, and by doing all things in a peaceable way, and according to the Rules of the known Laws, to con- vince all Men of the Juſtice and Integrity of his Majeſty's proceedings and Royal intentions; the other Party, according to their uſual confi- dence and activity, wrought under-hand to perſwade the people that the Marquis was come down to put the Commiſſion of Array in execu- tion, by which Commiſſion a great part of the Eſtate of every Farmer or ſubſtantial Yeoman ſhould be taken from them; alledging, that ſome Lords had ſaid, "that Twenty pounds by the year was enough for eve- "ry Peaſant to live on; and ſo, taking advantage of the Commiſſion's be- ing in Latin, tranſlated it into what Engliſh they pleaſed; perſwading the ſubſtantial Yeomen and Freeholders, that, at leaſt, two parts of their Eſtates would, by that Commiſſion, be taken from them; and the meaner and poorer ſort of People, that they were to pay a Tax for one days labour in the week to the King; and that All ſhould be, upon the matter, no better than Slaves to the Lords, and that there was no way to free and preſerve themſelves from this inſupportable Tyranny, but by adhering to the Parliament, and ſubmitting to the Ordinance for the Militia; which was purpoſely prepar'd to enable them to reſiſt theſe horrid Invaſions of their Liberties.

IT cannot eaſily be believ'd, how theſe groſs Infuſions generally pre- vail'd. For though the Gentlemen of Ancient Families and Eſtates in that County were, for the moſt part, well affected to the King, and ea- ſily diſcern'd by what Faction the Parliament was govern'd; yet there were a People of an inferior degree, who, by good husbandry, Clothing, and other thriving Arts, had gotten very great Fortunes; and, by de- grees, getting themſelves into the Gentlemen's Eſtates, were angry that they found not themſelves in the ſame eſteem and reputation with thoſe whoſe Eſtates they had; and therefore, with more induſtry than the other, ſtudied all ways to make themſelves conſiderable. Theſe, from the beginning, were faſt friends to the Parliament; and many of them were now entruſted by them as Deputy Lieutenants in their new Ordi- nance of the Militia, and having found when the People were ripe, ga- ther'd them together, with a purpoſe on a ſuddain, before there ſhould be any ſuſpicion, to ſurround and ſurpriſe the Marquis at *Wells*. For

they had always this advantage of the King's Party and his Counſels, that their reſolutions were no ſooner publiſh'd than they were ready to be executed, there being an abſolute implicite obedience in the inferior ſort to thoſe who were to Command them; and their private Agents, with admirable induſtry and ſecrecy, preparing all perſons and things ready againſt a call: Whereas all the King's Counſels were, with great formality deliberated, before concluded: and then, with equal formality, and preciſe caution of the Law, executed; there being no other way to weigh down the prejudice, that was contracted againſt the Court, but by the moſt barefaced publiſhing all concluſions, and fitting them to that apparent juſtice and reaſon, that might prevail over the moſt ordinary underſtandings.

WHEN the Marquis was thus in the midſt of an Enemy that almoſt cover'd the whole Kingdom, his whole ſtrength was a Troop of Horſe, raiſed by Mr *John Digby*, Son to the Earl of *Briſtol*, and another by Sr *Francis Hawley* (both which were levied in thoſe parts to attend the King in the North) and a Troop of Horſe and a ſmall Troop of Dragoons, raiſed and armed by Sr *Ralph Hopton* at his own charge; and about one hundred Foot gather'd up by Lieutenant Colonel *Henry Lunsford* towards a Regiment, which were likewiſe to have march'd to the King. Theſe, with the Lord *Pawlet*, and the Gentlemen of the Country, which were about eight and twenty of the prime Quality there, with their Servants and Retinue, made up the Marquis's force. Then their proceedings were with that exceeding caution, that upon advertiſement that the active Miniſters of the contrary party had appointed a general meeting at a Town within few Miles of *Wells*, Sr *Ralph Hopton* being adviſed with his ſmall Troop and ſome Voluntier Gentlemen to repair thither, and to diſappoint that Convention, and to take care that it might produce the leaſt prejudice to the King's Service; before he reach'd the place, thoſe Gentlemen who ſtay'd behind (and by whoſe advice the Marquis thought it neceſſary abſolutely to govern himſelf, that they might ſee all poſſible warineſs was uſed in the entrance into a War, which being once enter'd into, he well knew muſt be carried on another way) ſent him word, "that he ſhould forbear any "hoſtile Act, otherwiſe they would diſclaim whatſoever he ſhould do. Whereas the Courage and Reſolution of thoſe few were ſuch, and the Cowardize of the undiſciplin'd ſeditious Rabble and their Leaders was ſo eminent, that it was very probable, if thoſe few Troops had been as actively employ'd as their Commanders deſired, they might have been able to have driven the Bigots out of the Country, before they had fully poſſeſſed the reſt with their own rancour: which may be reaſonably preſumed by what follow'd ſhortly after, when Mr *Digby*, Sr *John Stawell* and his Sons, with ſome Voluntier Gentlemen, being in the whole not above fourſcore Horſe, and fourteen Dragoons, charged a greater Body of Horſe, and above ſix hundred Foot of the Rebels, led by a Member of the Houſe of Commons; and without the loſs of one Man, killed ſeven in the place, hurt very many, took their Chief Officers, and as many more Priſoners as they would; and ſo routed the whole Body, that ſix Men kept not together, they having all thrown down their Armes.

BUT this good fortune abated only the Courage of thoſe who had run away, the other making uſe of this overthrow as an argument of the Marquis's bloody purpoſes; and therefore, in few days Sr *John Horner* and

and *Alexander Popham*, being the principal Men of Quality of that Party in that County, with the aſſiſtance of their friends of *Dorſet*, and *Devon*, and the City of *Briſtol*, drew together a body of above twelve thouſand Men, Horſe and Foot, with ſome pieces of Cannon, with which they appear'd on the top of the Hill over *Wells*; where the Marquis, in contempt of them, ſtay'd two days, having only Barricadoed the Town; but then, finding that the few Train'd-bands, which attended him there, were run away, either to their own Houſes, or to their fellows, on the top of the Hill; and hearing that more Forces, or, at leaſt, better Officers were coming from the Parliament againſt him, he retired in the noon day, and in the face of that Rebellious Herd from *Wells* to *Somerton*, and ſo to *Sherborne*, without any loſs or trouble. Thither, within two days, came to his Lordſhip Sr *John Berkely*, Colonel *Aſhburnham*, and ſome other good Officers, enough to have form'd a conſiderable Army, if there had been no other want. But they had not been long there (and it was not eaſy to reſolve whither elſe to go, they having no reaſon to believe they ſhould be any where more welcome than in *Somerſet-ſhire*, from whence they had been now driven) when the Earl of *Bedford*, General of the Horſe to the Parliament, with Mr *Hollis*, Sr *Walter Earl*, and other *Ephori*, and a compleat Body of ſeven thouſand Foot at leaſt, order'd by *Charles Eſſex*, their Serjeant-Major-General, a Soldier of good experience and reputation in the low Countries, and eight full Troops of Horſe under the Command of Captain *Pretty*, with four pieces of Cannon, in a very ſplendid equipage came to *Wells*, and from thence to *Sherborne*. The Marquis, by this time having encreaſed his Foot to four hundred, with which that great Army was kept from entering that Town, and perſwaded to encamp in the Field about three quarters of a Mile North from the Caſtle; where, for the preſent, we muſt leave the Marquis and his great ſpirited little Army.

He retires to Sherborne.

The Earl of Bedford *comes againſt him.*

IT could never be underſtood, why that Army did not then march directly to *Nottingham*; which if it had done, his Majeſty's few Forces muſt immediately have been ſcatter'd, and himſelf fled, or put himſelf into their hands, which there were enough ready to have adviſed him to do; and if he had eſcaped, he might have been purſued by one Regiment of Horſe till he had quitted the Kingdom. But it pleaſed God, that they made not the leaſt advance towards *Nottingham*. They about the King began now to wiſh that he had ſtay'd at *York*, and propoſed his return thither; but that was not hearken'd to; and they who adviſed his ſtay there, and againſt the advance to *Nottingham*, were more againſt his return thither, as an abſolute flight; but urged the advance of the Levies, and a little patience, till it might be diſcern'd what the Enemy did intend to do. In this great anxiety, ſome of the Lords deſired, "that his Majeſty would ſend a Meſſage to the Parliament, with "ſome overture to incline them to a Treaty; which propoſition was no ſooner made, but moſt concurr'd in it, and no one had the confidence to oppoſe it. The King himſelf was ſo offended at it, that he declared, "he would never yield to it, and broke up the Council, that it might be no longer urged. But the next day, when they met again, they renew'd the ſame advice with more earneſtneſs. The Earl of *Southampton*, a Perſon of great prudence, and of a reputation at leaſt equal to any Man's, preſſed it, "as a thing that might do good, and could do no "harm: and the King's reaſons, with reference to the inſolence it would

The King conſults at Nottingham *of ſending a Meſſage for Peace.*

raiſe in the Rebels, and the diſhonour that would thereby reflect upon Himſelf, were anſwer'd, by ſaying "their inſolence would be for the "King's advantage; and when they ſhould reject the offer of Peace, which "they believ'd they would do, they would make themſelves the more "odious to the People, who would be thereby the more inclin'd to ſerve "the King. So that they took it as granted, that the propoſition would be rejected, and therefore it ought to be made. It was farther ſaid, "that his Majeſty was not able to make reſiſtance; that the Forces be-"fore *Sherborn*, *Portſmouth*, and at *Northampton*, were three ſeveral "Armies, the leaſt of which would drive his Majeſty out of his Domi-"nions; that it was only in his power to chooſe, whether, by making "a fair offer, himſelf, he would ſeem to make Peace, which could not "but render him very gracious to the People, or ſuffer himſelf to be "taken Priſoner (which he would not long be able to avoid) which would "give his Enemies Power, Reputation, and Authority to proceed againſt "his Majeſty, and, it might be, his Poſterity, according to their own en-"gaged Malice.

YET this motive made no impreſſion in him, "For, he ſaid, no miſ-"fortune, or ill ſucceſs that might attend his endeavour of defending "himſelf, could expoſe him to more inconveniences than a Treaty at "this time deſired by him, where he muſt be underſtood to be willing "to yield to whatſoever they would require of him; and how modeſt "they were like to be, might be judged by their nineteen Propoſitions, "which were tender'd, when their power could not be reaſonably un-"derſtood to be like ſo much to exceed his Majeſty's, as at this time it "was evident it did; and that, having now nothing to loſe but his ho-"nour, he could be only excuſable to the world, by uſing his induſtry "to the laſt to oppoſe the Torrent, which if it prevail'd would over-"whelm him. This compoſed Courage and Magnanimity of his Majeſty ſeem'd too Philoſophical, and abſtracted from the Policy of ſelf preſer-vation, to which moſt others were paſſionately addicted: and that which was the King's greateſt diſadvantage, how many ſoever were of his mind (as ſome few, and but few there were) no Man durſt publickly avow that he was ſo; a Treaty for Peace being ſo popular a thing, that who-ſoever oppoſed it would be ſure to be, by general conſent, a declar'd Enemy to his Country.

THAT which prevail'd with his Majeſty very reaſonably then to yield (and indeed it proved equally advantageous to him afterwards) was, "that it was moſt probable (and his whole fortune was to be ſub-mitted at beſt to probabilities) "that, out of their pride, and contempt "of the King's weakneſs and want of power, the Parliament would re-"fuſe to treat; which would be ſo unpopular a thing, that, as his Ma-"jeſty would highly oblige his People by making the offer, ſo They would "loſe the hearts of them by rejecting it; which alone would raiſe an Ar-"my for his Majeſty. That if they ſhould embrace it, the King could "not but be a gainer; for by the Propoſitions which they ſhould make "to him, he would be able to ſtate the Quarrel ſo clearly, that it ſhould "be more demonſtrable to the Kingdom, than yet it was, that the War "was, on his Majeſty's part, purely defenſive; ſince he never had, and "now would not deny any thing, which they could in reaſon, or juſtice, "ask: That this very overture would neceſſarily produce ſome pauſe, "and delay in their preparations, or motions of their Armies; for "ſome debate it muſt needs have; and during that time, men's mind's

"would be in ſuſpence; whereas his Majeſty ſhould be ſo far from "ſlackning his preparations, that he might be more vigorous in them, "by haſtning thoſe Levies, for which his Commiſſions were out. For theſe reaſons, and almoſt the concurrent deſire, and importunity of his Council, the King was prevailed with to ſend the Earls of *Southampton*, and *Dorſet*, Sr *John Colepepper*, Chancellor of his Exchequer, and Sr *William Udall* (whom his Majeſty gave leave under that pretence to intend the buſineſs of his own fortune) to the two Houſes with this Meſſage, which was ſent the third day after his Standard was ſet up.

The King ſends to the two Houſes a Meſſage for Peace by the Earl of Southampton, &c.

"WE have, with unſpeakable grief of heart, long beheld the diſtra- "ctions of this our Kingdom. Our very Soul is full of Anguiſh, until "We may find ſome remedy to prevent the miſeries, which are ready "to overwhelm this whole Nation by a Civil War. And though all our "Endeavours, tending to the compoſing of thoſe unhappy differences "betwixt Us and our two Houſes of Parliament (though purſued by Us "with all zeal and ſincerity) have been hitherto without that ſucceſs "We hoped for; yet ſuch is our conſtant and earneſt care to preſerve "the publick Peace, that We ſhall not be diſcouraged from uſing any "expedient, which, by the bleſſing of the God of Mercy, may lay a firm "foundation of Peace and Happineſs to all our good Subjects. To this "end, obſerving that many miſtakes have ariſen by the Meſſages, Peti- "tions, and Anſwers, betwixt Us and our two Houſes of Parliament, "which happily may be prevented by ſome other way of Treaty, wherein "the matters in difference may be more clearly underſtood, and more "freely tranſacted; We have thought fit to propound to you, that ſome "fit Perſons may be by You enabled to treat with the like Number to "be Authoriſed by Us, in ſuch a manner, and with ſuch freedom of de- "bate, as may beſt tend to that happy concluſion which all good Men "deſire, the Peace of the Kingdom. Wherein, as We promiſe, in the "word of a King, all ſafety and encouragement to ſuch as ſhall be ſent "unto Us, if You ſhall chooſe the place where We are, for the Treaty, "which We wholely leave to You, preſuming the like care of the ſafety "of thoſe We ſhall Employ, if You ſhall name another place; ſo We "aſſure You, and all our good Subjects, that, to the beſt of our under- "ſtanding, nothing ſhall be therein wanting on our part, which may ad- "vance the true Proteſtant Religion, oppoſe Popery and Superſtition, "ſecure the Law of the Land (upon which is built as well our juſt Pre- "rogative, as the Propriety and Liberty of the Subject) confirm all juſt "Power and Privileges of Parliament, and render Us and our People "truly happy by a good underſtanding betwixt Us and our two Houſes "of Parliament. Bring with you as firm Reſolutions to do your Duty; "and let all our good People joyn with us in our Prayers to Almighty "God, for his bleſſing upon this work. If this Propoſition ſhall be re- "jected by you, We have done our duty ſo amply, that God will abſolve "Us from the Guilt of any of that blood which muſt be ſpilt; and what "opinion ſoever other Men may have of our power, We aſſure you no- "thing but our Chriſtian and Pious care to prevent the effuſion of blood, "hath begot this motion; Our Proviſion of Men, Armes, and Money, "being ſuch as may ſecure Us from farther Violence, till it pleaſes God "to open the Eyes of Our People.

THIS

How it was receiv'd by them.

THIS Meſſage had the ſame reception his Majeſty believ'd it would have; and was indeed receiv'd with unheard of Inſolence and Contempt. For the Earl of *Southampton*, and Sr *John Colepepper*, deſiring to appear themſelves before any notice ſhould arrive of their coming, made ſuch haſt, that they were at *Weſtminſter* in the morning ſhortly after the Houſes met. The Earl of *Southampton* went into the Houſe of Peers, where he was ſcarce ſate down in his place, when, with great paſſion, he was called upon to withdraw; albeit he told them he had a Meſſage to them from the King, and there could be no exception to his Lordſhip's ſitting in the Houſe upon their own grounds; he having had leave from the Houſe to attend his Majeſty. However he was compelled to withdraw; and then they ſent the Gentleman Uſher of the Houſe to him, to require his Meſſage; which his Lordſhip ſaid, he was by the King's Command to deliver himſelf, and refuſed therefore to ſend it, except the Lords made an Order that he ſhould not deliver it himſelf; which they did; and thereupon he ſent it to them; which they no ſooner receiv'd, than they ſent him word, "that he ſhould, at his Peril, immediately depart the Town, and that "they would take care that their Anſwer to the Meſſage ſhould be "ſent to him. And ſo the Earl of *Southampton* departed the Town, repoſing himſelf at the Houſe of a Noble Perſon ſeven or eight miles off. Whilſt the Earl had this skirmiſh with the Lords, Sr *John Colepepper* attended the Commons, forbearing to go into the Houſe without leave, becauſe there had been an Order (which is mention'd before) that all the Members, who were not preſent at ſuch a day, ſhould not preſume to ſit there, till they had paid a hundred pounds, and given the Houſe ſatisfaction in the cauſe of their abſence. But he ſent word to the Speaker, "that he had a Meſſage from the King to them, "and that he deſired to deliver it in his place in the Houſe. After ſome debate (for there remain'd yet ſome, who thought it as unreaſonable as irregular to deny a Member of the Houſe, againſt whom there had not been the leaſt publick objection, and a Privy Counſellor who had been in all times uſed there with great reſpect, leave to deliver a Meſſage from the King in his own place as a Member) it was abſolutely reſolved, "that he ſhould not ſit in the Houſe, but that he ſhould de-"liver his Meſſage at the Bar, and immediately withdraw; which he did accordingly.

THEN the two Houſes Met at a Conference, and read the King's Meſſage with great ſuperciliouſneſs; and within two days, with leſs difficulty and oppoſition than can be believ'd, agreed upon their Anſwer. The King's Meſſengers, in the mean time, though of that Quality, did not receive ordinary civilities from any Members of either Houſe; they who were very willing to have done it, not daring for their own ſafety to come near them, and the others looking upon them, as Servants to a Maſter whom they had, and meant farther to oppreſs. Private Conferences they had with ſome of the principal Governours; from whom they received no other advice, but that, if the King had any care of Himſelf or his Poſterity, he ſhould immediately come to *London*, throw himſelf into the Arms of his Parliament, and comply with whatſoever they propoſed. The Anſwer which they return'd to the King was this.

The Anſwer of the Lords and Commons to his Majeſty's Meſſage of the 25th of Auguſt 1642. *Their Anſwer.*

"May it pleaſe your Majeſty:

"THE Lords and Commons, in Parliament aſſembled, having re-"ceiv'd your Majeſty's Meſſage of the 25th of *Auguſt*, do with much "grief reſent the dangerous and diſtracted State of this Kingdom; which "We have by all means endeavour'd to prevent, both by Our ſeveral "Advices and Petitions to your Majeſty; which hath been not only "without ſucceſs, but there hath follow'd that which no ill Counſel in "former times hath produced, or any Age hath ſeen, namely thoſe ſe-"veral Proclamations and Declarations againſt both the Houſes of Par-"liament, whereby their Actions are declared Treaſonable, and their "Perſons Traitors. And thereupon your Majeſty hath ſet up your Stan-"dard againſt them, whereby you have put the two Houſes of Parlia-"ment, and, in Them, this whole Kingdom, out of your Protection; "ſo that until your Majeſty ſhall recal thoſe Proclamations and Decla-"rations, whereby the Earl of *Eſſex*, and both Houſes of Parliament, "and their Adherents, and Aſſiſtants, and ſuch as have obeyed and exe-"cuted their Commands and Directions, according to their duties, are "declared Traitors or otherwiſe Delinquents: and until the Standard, "ſet up in purſuance of the ſaid Proclamation, be taken down, your "Majeſty hath put us into ſuch a condition, that whilſt we ſo remain, "we cannot, by the fundamental Privileges of Parliament, the publick "truſt repoſed in us, or with the general good and ſafety of this King-"dom, give your Majeſty any other Anſwer to this Meſſage.

WHEN the King's Meſſengers return'd with this Anſwer to *Not-tingham*, all Men ſaw to what they muſt truſt; and the King believ'd, he ſhould be no farther moved to make Addreſſes to them. And yet all hopes of an Army, or any ability to reſiſt that violence ſeem'd ſo deſperate, that he was privately adviſed by ſome, whom he truſted as much as any, and thoſe whoſe affections were as entire to him as any Mens, to give all other thoughts over, and inſtantly to make all imaginable haſt to *London*, and to appear in the Parliament Houſe before they had any expectation of him. And they conceiv'd there would be more likelyhood for him to prevail that way, than by any Army he was like to raiſe. And it muſt be ſolely imputed to his Majeſty's own reſolution, that he took not that courſe. However he was contented to make ſo much farther uſe of their pride and paſſion, as to give them occaſion, by another Meſſage, to publiſh more of it to the People; and therefore, within three days after the return of his Meſſengers, he ſent the Lord *Falkland*, his Principal Secretary of State, with a reply to their Anſwer in theſe words.

"WE will not repeat, what means We have uſed to prevent the dan-"gerous and diſtracted Eſtate of the Kingdom, nor how thoſe means "have been interpreted; becauſe, being deſirous to avoid the effuſion "of blood, We are willing to decline all memory of former bitterneſs, "that might render our offer of a Treaty leſs readily accepted. We ne-"ver did declare, nor ever intended to declare, both our Houſes of Par-"liament Traitors, or ſet up our Standard againſt them; and much leſs *The King ſends another Meſſage to the two Houſes.*

"to put them and this Kingdom out of our Protection. We utterly "profeſs againſt it before God, and the world; and farther to remove "all poſſible Scruples, which may hinder the Treaty ſo much deſired "by us, We hereby promiſe, ſo that a day be appointed by you for the "revoking of your Declarations againſt all Perſons as Traytors, or other-"wiſe, for aſſiſting Us; We ſhall with all chearfulneſs, upon the ſame "day recal Our Proclamations and Declarations, and take down our "Standard. In which Treaty, We ſhall be ready to grant any thing, "that ſhall be really for the good of Our Subjects: conjuring you to "conſider the bleeding condition of *Ireland*, and the dangerous condi-10 "tion of *England*, in as high a degree, as by theſe Our Offers We have "declared Our ſelf to do. And aſſuring you, that our chief deſire in "this world, is to beget a good underſtanding, and mutual confidence "betwixt Us and Our two Houſes of Parliament.

THIS Meſſage had no better effect, or reception than the former; their principal Officers being ſent down ſince the laſt Meſſage to *Northampton* to put the Army into a readineſs to march. And now they required the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf to make haſt thither, that no more time might be loſt, ſending by the Lord *Falkland*, within two 20 days, this Anſwer to the King.

Their Anſwer.

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty;

The humble Anſwer and Petition of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, unto the King's laſt Meſſage.

"May it pleaſe your Majeſty:

"If We, the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, ſhould "repeat all the ways We have taken, the endeavours We have uſed, 30 "and the expreſſions We have made unto your Majeſty, to prevent "thoſe diſtractions, and dangers, your Majeſty ſpeaks of, We ſhould too "much enlarge this reply. Therefore, as We humbly, ſo ſhall We only "let your Majeſty know, that We cannot recede from our former An-"ſwer, for the reaſons therein expreſs'd. For that your Majeſty hath "not taken down your Standard, recalled your Proclamations and De-"clarations, whereby you have declared the Actions of both Houſes of "Parliament to be Treaſonable, and their Perſons Traytors; and you "have publiſh'd the ſame ſince your Meſſage of the 25th of *Auguſt*, by "your late Inſtructions ſent to your Commiſſioners of Array; which 40 "Standard being taken down, and the Declarations, Proclamations, and "Inſtructions recalled, if your Majeſty ſhall then, upon this our hum-"ble Petition, leaving your Forces, return unto your Parliament, and "receive their faithful advice, your Majeſty will find ſuch expreſſions of "our fidelities, and duties, as ſhall aſſure you, that your ſafety, honour, "and greatneſs, can only be found in the affections of your People, and "the ſincere Counſels of your Parliament; whoſe conſtant and undiſ-"couraged endeavours and conſultations have paſſed through difficulties "unheard of, only to ſecure your Kingdoms from the violent miſchiefs "and dangers now ready to fall upon them, and every part of them; 50 "who deſerve better of your Majeſty, and can never allow themſelves "(repreſenting likewiſe your whole Kingdom) to be ballanced with thoſe "Perſons, whoſe deſperate diſpoſitions and Counſels prevail ſtill to in-

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"terrupt all Our Endeavours for the relieving of bleeding *Ireland*; as "we may fear Our Labours, and vaſt expences will be fruitleſs to that "diſtreſſed Kingdom. As your preſence is thus humbly deſired by us, "ſo it is in our hopes your Majeſty will in your reaſon believe, there is "no other way than this, to make your Majeſty's ſelf happy, and your "Kingdom ſafe.

AND leſt this Overture of a Treaty might be a means to allay and compoſe the diſtempers of the People, and that the hope and expectation of Peace might not diſhearten their Party, in their preparations and contributions to the War, the ſame day they ſent their laſt Anſwer to the King, they publiſhed this Declaration to the Kingdom.

The two Houſes Declaration to the Kingdom.

"WHEREAS his Majeſty, in a Meſſage receiv'd the 5th of *Septem-* "*ber*, requires that the Parliament would revoke their Declarations "againſt ſuch Perſons, as have aſſiſted his Majeſty in this unnatural War "againſt his Kingdom; it is this day ordered, and declared by the Lords "and Commons, that the Armes, which they have been forced to take "up, and ſhall be forced to take up, for the preſervation of the Par- "liament, Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, ſhall not "be laid down, until his Majeſty ſhall withdraw his Protection from "ſuch Perſons as have been voted by both Houſes to be Delinquents, or "that ſhall by both Houſes be voted to be Delinquents, and ſhall leave "them to the juſtice of the Parliament to be proceeded with according "to their demerit; to the end that both this and ſucceeding Generations "may take warning, with what danger they incur the like heynous "crimes: and alſo to the end that thoſe great charges and damages, "wherewith all the Common-wealth hath been burthen'd in the pre- "miſſes, ſince his Majeſty's departure from the Parliament, may be "borne by the Delinquents, and other Malignant, and Diſaffected Per- "ſons: and that all his Majeſty's good and well affected Subjects, who, "by Loan of Monies, or otherwiſe at their charge, have aſſiſted the "Common-wealth, or ſhall in like manner hereafter aſſiſt the Common- "wealth in time of extreme danger, may be repay'd all Sums of Money "lent by them for thoſe purpoſes, and be ſatisfied their charges ſo ſuſ- "tained, out of the Eſtates of the ſaid Delinquents, and of the Ma- "lignant and Diſaffected Party in this Kingdom.

THIS Declaration did the King no harm; for beſides that it was evident to all Men, that the King had done whatſoever was in his power, or could be expected from him, for the prevention of a Civil War, all Perſons of Honour and Quality plainly diſcerned, that they had no ſafety but in the preſervation of the Regal power, ſince their Eſtates were already diſpoſed of by them who could declare whom they would Delinquents, and would infallibly declare all ſuch who had not concurred with them. And the advantage the King receiv'd by thoſe overtures, and the pride, frowardneſs, and perverſneſs of the Rebels, is not imaginable; his Levies of Men, and all other preparations for the War, being incredibly advanced from the time of his firſt Meſſage. Prince *Rupert* lay ſtill with the Horſe at *Leiceſter*; and though He, and ſome of the principal Officers with him, were diſcontented to that degree, upon the King's firſt Meſſage and deſire of a Treaty, as likely not only to deſtroy all hopes of raiſing an Army, but to ſacrifice thoſe who were

raiſed, that they were not without ſome thoughts, at leaſt diſcourſes, of offering violence to the principal Adviſers of it, he now found his Numbers increaſed, and better reſolv'd by it; and from *York-ſhire*, *Lincoln-ſhire*, and *Stafford-ſhire*, came very good recruits of Foot; ſo that his Cannon and Munition being likewiſe come up from *York*, within twenty days his Numbers began to look towards an Army; and there was another Air in all Mens faces; yet *Nottingham* ſeem'd not a good Poſt for his Majeſty to ſtay longer at; and therefore, about the middle of *September*, the Earl of *Eſſex* being then with his whole Army at *Northampton*, his Majeſty march'd from *Nottingham* to *Derby*; being not then reſolved whither to bend his courſe to *Shrewsbury* or *Cheſter*, not well knowing the temper of thoſe Towns, in both which the Parliament Party had been very active; but reſolving to ſit down near the borders of *Wales*, where the power of the Parliament had been leaſt prevalent, and where ſome Regiments of Foot were Levying for his Service. Before his leaving *Nottingham*, as a farewel to his hopes of a Treaty, and to make the deeper ſenſe and impreſſion, in the hearts of the People, of thoſe who had ſo pertinaciouſly rejected it, his Majeſty ſent this Meſſage to the Houſes.

Another Meſſage from the King to the two Houſes in Reply to their Anſwer.

"WHO have taken moſt ways, uſed moſt endeavours, and made moſt "real expreſſions to prevent the preſent diſtractions and dangers; let "all the world judge, as well by former paſſages, as by our two laſt Meſ-"ſages, which have been ſo fruitleſs, that, though We have deſcended "to deſire and preſs it, not ſo much as a Treaty can be obtained; unleſs "We would denude our ſelf of all force to defend us from a viſible "ſtrength marching againſt us, and admit thoſe Perſons as Traytors to "us, who, according to their Duty, their Oaths of Allegiance, and the "Law, have appear'd in defence of Us, their King and Leige Lord (whom "We are bound in conſcience and honour to preſerve) though We diſ-"claimed all our Proclamations, and Declarations, and the erecting of "our Standard, as againſt our Parliament. All we have now left in Our "power, is to expreſs the deep ſenſe We have of the publick miſery of "this Kingdom, in which is involved that of our diſtreſſed Proteſtants "of *Ireland*; and to apply our ſelf to our neceſſary defence, wherein "We wholely rely upon the providence of God, the Juſtice of our cauſe, "and the Affection of our good People; ſo far We are from putting them "out of our protection. When you ſhall deſire a Treaty of us, We ſhall "piouſly remember, whoſe blood is to be ſpilt in this quarrel, and chear-"fully embrace it. And as no other reaſon induced Us to leave our Ci-"ty of *London*, but that, with honour and ſafety We could not ſtay "there; nor to raiſe any force, but for the neceſſary defence of our Per-"ſon and the Law, againſt Levies in oppoſition to both; ſo We ſhall "ſuddainly and moſt willingly return to the One, and disband the Other, "aſſoon as thoſe cauſes ſhall be remov'd. The God of Heaven direct "you, and in mercy divert thoſe judgements, which hang over this Na-"tion; and ſo deal with Us, and our Poſterity, as We deſire the preſer-"vation, and advancement of the true Proteſtant Religion; the Law, "and the Liberty of the Subject; the juſt rights of Parliament, and the "Peace of the Kingdom.

The King removes to Derby.

WHEN the King came to *Derby*, he receiv'd clear information from the well affected Party in *Shrewsbury*, that the Town was at His devotion;

tion; and that the very rumour of his Majesty's purpose of coming thither, had driven away all those who were most inclined to sedition. And therefore, as well in regard of the strong and pleasant situation of it (one side being defended by the *Severn*, the other having a secure passage into *Wales*, the confines of *Montgomery-shire* extending very near the Town) as for the correspondence with *Worcester*, of which City he hoped well, and that by his being at *Shrewsbury*, he should be as well able to secure *Chester*, as by carrying his whole Train so far North; besides that the other might give some apprehension of his going into *Ireland*, which had been formerly mention'd, his Majesty resolv'd for that Town; and, after one day's stay at *Derby*, by easy marches he went thither, drawing his whole small Forces to a Rendezvous at *Wellington*, a day's march short of *Shrewsbury*; and that being the first time that they were together, his Majesty then caused his Military Orders for the Discipline and Government of the Army to be read at the head of each Regiment; and then, which is not fit ever to be forgotten, putting himself in the middle, where he might be best heard, not much unlike the Emperour *Trajan*, who when he made *Sura* Great Marshal of the *Empire*, gave him a Sword, saying, "Receive this Sword of me, and if I command "as I ought, employ it in my defence; if I do otherwise, draw it against "me, and take my life from me, his Majesty made this Speech to his Soldiers.

The King's Speech and Protestation at the head of his Forces, after the reading his Orders of War.

"GENTLEMEN, you have heard those Orders read: it is Your part, "in your several places, to observe them exactly; the time cannot be "long before We come to Action, therefore you have the more reason "to be careful; and I must tell you, I shall be very severe in the punish- "ing of those, of what condition soever, who transgress these Instru- "ctions. I cannot suspect your Courage and Resolution; your Con- "science and your Loyalty hath brought you hither, to Fight for your "Religion, your King, and the Laws of the Land. You shall meet with "no Enemies but Traytors, most of them *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and "*Atheists*; such who desire to destroy both Church and State, and who "have already condemn'd You to ruin for being Loyal to Us. That you "may see what use I mean to make of your Valour if it please God to "bless it with success, I have thought fit to publish my Resolution to "you in a Protestation; which when you have heard me make, you will "believe you cannot fight in a better Quarrel, in which I promise to live "and dye with you.

THE Protestation his Majesty was then pleased to make was in these words.

"I do promise in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for "his blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, "defend and maintain the true Reform'd Protestant Religion, establish'd "in the Church of *England*; and, by the grace of God, in the same will "live and dye.

"I desire togovern by all the known Laws of the Land, and that the "Liberty, and Property of the Subject, may be by them preserved with "the same care, as my own just Rights. And if it please God, by his "blessing upon this Army, raised for my necessary defence, to preserve "me from this Rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the "sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of Parlia-

"ment, and to govern by the known Laws of the Land to my utmoſt "power; and particularly, to obſerve inviolably the Laws conſented to "by me this Parliament. In the mean while, if this time of War, and "the great neceſſity, and ſtraits I am now driven to, beget any violation "of thoſe, I hope it ſhall be imputed by God and Men to the Authors "of this War, and not to Me; who have ſo earneſty labour'd for the "preſervation of the Peace of this Kingdom.

"WHEN I willingly fail in theſe particulars, I will expect no aid or "relief from any Man, or Protection from Heaven. But in this reſo- "lution, I hope for the chearful aſſiſtance of all good Men, and am con- "fident of God's bleſſing.

THIS Proteſtation, and the manner and ſolemnity of making it, gave not more life and encouragement to the little Army, than it did comfort and ſatisfaction to the Gentry and Inhabitants of thoſe parts; into whom the Parliament had infuſed, that, if his Majeſty prevailed by force, he would, with the ſame power, aboliſh all thoſe good Laws, which had been made this Parliament; ſo that they looked upon this Proteſtation, as a more ample ſecurity for their enjoying the benefit of thoſe Acts, than the Royal Aſſent he had before given. And a more general, and paſſionate expreſſion of affections cannot be imagined, than he receiv'd by the People of thoſe Counties of *Derby*, *Stafford*, and *Shropſhire*, as he paſſed; or a better reception, than he found at *Shrewsbury*; into which Town he enter'd on *Tueſday* the 20th of *September*.

The King comes to Shrewsbury.

IT will be, and was then, wonder'd at, that ſince the Parliament had a full and well formed Army, before the King had one full Regiment, and the Earl of *Eſſex* was Himſelf come to *Northampton*, ſome days before his Majeſty went from *Nottingham*, his Lordſhip neither diſquieted the King whilſt he ſtayed there, nor gave him any diſturbance in his March to *Shrewsbury*, which if he had done, he might either have taken him Priſoner, or ſo diſperſed his ſmall power, that it would never have been poſſible for him to have gotten an Army together. But as the Earl had not yet receiv'd his Inſtructions, ſo they, upon whom he depended, avoided that expedition out of meer pride, and contempt of the King's Forces; and upon a preſumption, that it would not be poſſible for him to raiſe ſuch a power, as would be able to look Their Army in the face; but that, when he had in vain tried all other ways, and thoſe, who not only followed him upon their own charges, but ſupported thoſe who were not able to bear their own (for his Army was maintain'd and paid by the Nobility and Gentry, who ſerved likewiſe in their own Perſons) were grown weary and unable longer to bear that burthen, his Majeſty would be forced to put himſelf into Their Arms for Protection and Subſiſtence; and ſuch a Victory without blood had crown'd all their deſigns. And if their Army, which they pretended to raiſe only for their defence, and for the ſafety of the King's Perſon, had been able to prevent the King's raiſing any, or if the King, in that Melancholick conjuncture at *Nottingham*, had return'd to *White-Hall*, he had juſtified all their proceedings, and could never after have refuſed to yield to whatſoever they propoſed.

AND it is moſt certain, that the Common Soldiers of their Army were generally perſwaded, that they ſhould never be brought to fight; but that the King was in truth little better than impriſon'd by evil Counſellors, Malignants, Delinquents, and Cavaliers (the termes applied

plied to his whole Party) and would gladly come to his Parliament if he could break from that company; which he would undoubtedly do, if their Army came once to ſuch a diſtance, that his Majeſty might make an eſcape to them. In this kind of diſcourſe they were ſo ſottiſh, that they were perſwaded, that thoſe Perſons of whoſe Piety, Honour, and Integrity, they had receiv'd heretofore the greateſt Teſtimony, were Now turn'd Papiſts; and that the ſmall Army, and Forces the King had, conſiſted of no other than Papiſts. Inſomuch as truly thoſe of the King's Party, who promiſed themſelves any ſupport, but from the comfort of their own conſciences, or relied upon any other means than from God Almighty, could hardly have made their expectations appear reaſonable; for his Enemies were in a manner poſſeſſed of the whole Kingdom.

Colonel Goring Surrenders Portſmouth.

PORTSMOUTH, the ſtrongeſt and beſt Fortified Town then in the Kingdom, was Surrender'd to them; Colonel *Goring*, about the beginning of *September*, though he had ſeem'd to be ſo long reſolv'd, and prepared to expect a Siege, and had been ſupplied with Monies according to his own propoſal, was brought ſo low, that he gave it up, only for liberty to tranſport Himſelf beyond Seas, and for his Officers to repair to the King. And it were to be wiſh'd that there might be no more occaſion to mention him hereafter, after this repeated treachery; and that his incomparable dexterity and ſagacity had not prevailed ſo far over thoſe, who had been ſo often deceiv'd by him, as to make it abſolutely neceſſary to ſpeak at large of him, more than once, before this diſcourſe comes to an end.

The Marquis of Hertford's proceedings in the Weſt.

THE Marquis of *Hertford*, though he had ſo much diſcredited the Earl of *Bedford*'s Soldiery, and diſhearten'd his great Army, that the Earl (after lying in the Field four or five Nights within leſs than Cannon ſhot of the Caſtle, and Town, and after having refuſed to fight a duel with the Marquis, to which he provoked him by a Challenge) ſent Sr *John Norcot*, under pretence of a Treaty and the Godly care to avoid the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, in plain *Engliſh* to deſire "that he might "fairly and peaceably draw off his Forces, and march away; the which, how reaſonable a requeſt ſoever it was, the Marquis refuſed; ſending them word, "that as they came thither upon their own Counſels, ſo "they ſhould get off as they could: and at laſt they did draw off, and march above a dozen miles for repoſe; leaving the Marquis, for ſome weeks, undiſturb'd at *Sherborne*: yet when he heard of the loſs of *Portſmouth*, the relief whereof was his principal buſineſs, and ſo that thoſe Forces would probably be added to the Earl of *Bedford*, and by their ſucceſs give much courage to his baſhful Army, and that a good Regiment of Horſe, which he expected (for Sr *John Byron* had ſent him word from *Oxford*, that he would march towards him) was retired to the King; and that the Committees were now ſo buſy in the ſeveral Counties, that the People, in all places, declared for the Parliament; and more particularly ſome ſtrong and populous Towns in *Somerſet-ſhire*; as *Taunton*, *Wellington*, and *Dunſtar*-Caſtle; by reaſon whereof it would not be poſſible for him to increaſe his ſtrength, he reſolv'd to leave *Sherborne*, where his ſtay could no way advance the King's Service; and to try all ways to get to his Majeſty. But when he came to *Minhead*, a Port Town, from whence he made no doubt he ſhould be able to tranſport Himſelf, and his Company into *Wales*, he found the People both of the Town and County ſo diſaffected, that all the boats of which there

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uſed always to be great ſtore, by reaſon of the trade for Cattle and Corn with *Wales*, were induſtriouſly ſent away, ſave only two; ſo that the Earl of *Bedford* having taking new heart, and being within four miles with his Army, his Lordſhip, with his ſmall Cannon and few Foot, with the Lord *Pawlet*, Lord *Seymour*, and ſome Gentlemen of *Somerſet-ſhire*, transported himſelf into *Glamorgan-ſhire*; leaving Sr *Ralph Hopton*, Sr *John Berkley*, Mr *Digby*, and ſome other Officers with their Horſe (conſiſting of about one hundred and twenty) to march into *Cornwal*, in hopes to find that County better prepared for their reception.

Thence tranſporteth himſelf into Glamorgan-ſhire.

ON the other hand, the Earl of *Bedford*, thinking thoſe few fugitives not worth his farther care, and that they would be eaſily apprehended by the Committee of the Militia, which was very powerful in *Devon*, and *Cornwal*, contented himſelf with having driven away the Marquis, and ſo expelled all hope of raiſing an Army for the King in the Weſt; and retired with his Forces to the Earl of *Eſſex*, as Sr *William Waller* had done from *Portſmouth*; ſo that as it was not expected, that the Forces about his Majeſty could be able to defend him, againſt ſo puiſſant an Army, ſo it was not imaginable that he could receive any addition of ſtrength from any other parts. For wherever they found any Perſon of Quality inclined to the King, or but diſinclined to Them, they immediately ſeiſed upon his Perſon, and ſent him in great triumph to the Parliament; who committed him to Priſon, with all circumſtances of cruelty and inhumanity.

THUS they took Priſoner the Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton*, at his Houſe in *Northampton-ſhire*, a Perſon of great reverence being above fourſcore years of age, and of unblemiſh'd Reputation, for declaring himſelf unſatisfied with their diſobedient and undutiful proceedings againſt the King, and more expreſsly againſt their Ordinance for the Militia; and notwithſtanding that he had a Brother of the Houſe of Peers, the Lord Privy Seal, and a Nephew the Lord *Kimbolton*, who had as full a power in that Council as any Man, and a Son in the Houſe of Commons very unlike his Father; his Lordſhip was committed to the Tower a cloſe Priſoner; and though he was afterwards remitted to more Air, he continued a Priſoner to his death.

THUS they took Priſoner in *Oxford-ſhire* the Earl of *Berk-ſhire*, and three or four principal Gentlemen of that County; and committed them to the Tower, for no other reaſon but wiſhing well to the King; for they never appear'd in the leaſt Action in his Service. And thus they took Priſoner the Earl of *Bath* in *Devon-ſhire*, who neither had, or ever meant to do the King the leaſt ſervice; but only out of the moroſity of his own Nature, had before, in the Houſe, expreſs'd himſelf not of their minds; and carried him, with many other Gentlemen of *Devon* and *Somerſet*, with a ſtrong Guard of Horſe, to *London*; where, after they had been expoſed to the rudeneſs and reproach of the Common People, who called them Traytors and Rebels to the Parliament, and purſued them with ſuch uſage as they uſe to the moſt infamous Malefactors, they were, without ever being examin'd, or charged with any particular crime, committed to ſeveral Priſons; ſo that not only all the Priſons about *London* were quickly fill'd with Perſons of Honour, and great reputation for ſobriety and integrity to their Counties, but new Priſons were made for their reception; and, which was a new and barbarous invention, very many Perſons of very good Quality, both of the Clergy and Laity, were committed to Priſon on board the Ships in the River

of *Thames*; where they were kept under Decks, and no friend ſuffer'd to come to them, by which many loſt their lives. And that the loſs of their Liberty might not be all their puniſhment, it was the uſual courſe, and very few eſcaped it, after any Man was committed as a notorious Malignant (which was the brand) that his Eſtate and Goods were ſeiſed, or plunder'd by an Order from the Houſe of Commons, or ſome Committee, or the Soldiers, who in their march took the Goods of all Papiſts and eminent Malignants, as lawful prize; or by the fury and Licence of the Common people, who were in all places grown to that barbarity and rage againſt the Nobility and Gentry (under the Style of Cavaliers) that it was not ſafe for any to live at their Houſes, who were taken notice of as no Votaries to the Parliament.

So the Common people (no doubt by the advice of their Superiors) in *Eſſex* on a ſuddain beſet the Houſe of Sr *John Lucas*, one of the beſt Gentlemen of that County, and of the moſt eminent affection to the King, being a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the Prince of *Wales*; and upon pretence that he was going to the King, poſſeſs'd themſelves of all his Horſes and Armes, ſeiſed upon his Perſon, and uſed him with all poſſible indignities, not without ſome threats to murther him; and when the Mayor of *Colcheſter*, whither he was brought, with more humanity than the reſt, offer'd to keep him Priſoner in his own Houſe, till the pleaſure of the Parliament ſhould be farther known, they compell'd him, or he was willing to be compell'd, to ſend him to the Common Goal; where he remain'd, glad of that ſecurity, till the Houſe of Commons removed him to another Priſon (without ever charging him with any crime) having ſent all his Horſes to the Earl of *Eſſex*, to be uſed in the ſervice of that Army.

At the ſame time the ſame Rabble enter'd the Houſe of the Counteſs of *Rivers* near *Colcheſter*; for no other ground, than that ſhe was a Papiſt; and in few hours diſfurniſh'd it of all the Goods, which had been many years with great curioſity providing, and were not of leſs value than forty thouſand pounds ſterling; the Counteſs her ſelf hardly eſcaping, after great inſolence had been uſed to her Perſon: And ſhe could never receive any reparation from the Parliament. Theſe and many other Inſtances of the ſame kind in *London* and the parts adjacent, gave ſufficient evidence to all Men how little elſe They were to keep, who meant to preſerve their Allegiance and Integrity in the full Vigour.

I muſt not forget, though it cannot be remember'd without much horrour, that this ſtrange Wild-fire among the people, was not ſo much and ſo furiouſly kindled by the breath of the Parliament, as of their Clergy, who both adminiſter'd fuel, and blow'd the Coales in the Houſes too. Theſe Men having creeped into, and at laſt driven all Learned and Orthodox Men from the Pulpits, had, as is before remember'd, from the beginning of this Parliament, under the Notion of Reformation and extirpating of Popery, infuſed ſeditious inclinations into the hearts of Men againſt the preſent Government of the Church, with many libellous invectives againſt the State too. But ſince the raiſing an Army, and rejecting the King's laſt overture of a Treaty, they contain'd themſelves within no bounds; and as freely and without controul, inveighed againſt the Perſon of the King, as they had before againſt the worſt Malignant; prophanely, and blaſphemouſly applying whatſoever had been ſpoken and declared by God Himſelf, or the Prophets, againſt the moſt

wicked and impious Kings, to incenſe and ſtir up the People againſt their moſt Gracious Soveraign.

THERE are Monuments enough in the ſeditious Sermons at that time printed, and in the Memories of Men, of others not printed, of ſuch wreſting, and perverting of Scripture to the odious purpoſes of the Preacher, that pious Men will not look over without trembling. One takes his Text out of *Moſes*'s words in the 32d Chap. of *Exodus* and the 29th Verſe. *Conſecrate your ſelves to day to the Lord, even every Man upon his Son, and upon his Brother, that he may beſtow upon you a bleſſing this day*: And from thence incites his Auditory to the utmoſt proſecution of thoſe, under what relation ſoever of Blood, Neighbourhood, Dependence, who concurred not in the Reformation propoſed by the Parliament. Another makes as bold with *David*'s words, in the 1ſt *Chron.* 22d Chap. 16th Verſe. *Ariſe therefore and be doing*: And from thence aſſures them, it was not enough to wiſh well to the Parliament; if they brought not their purſe, as well as their prayers, and their hands, as well as their hearts to the aſſiſtance of it, the duty in the Text was not performed. There were more than Mr *Marſhall*, who from the 23d Verſe of the 5th Chap. of *Judges*. *Curſe ye Meroz, ſaid the Angel of the Lord, curſe ye bitterly the Inhabitants thereof, becauſe they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord againſt the mighty*, preſumed to inveigh againſt, and in plain terms to pronounce God's own curſe againſt all thoſe, who came not, with their utmoſt power and ſtrength, to deſtroy and root out all the Malignants, who in any degree oppoſed the Parliament.

THERE was one, who from the 48th Chap. of the Prophet *Jeremiah* and the 10th Verſe. *Curſed be he that keepeth back his ſword from blood*; reproved thoſe who gave any quarter to the King's Soldiers. And another out of the 5th Verſe of the 25th Chap. of *Proverbs*. *Take away the wicked from before the King, and his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed in righteouſneſs*; made it no leſs a caſe of Conſcience by force to remove the evil Counſellors from the King (with bold intimation what might be done to the King Himſelf, if he would not ſuffer them to be removed) than to perform any Chriſtian duty that is enjoyn'd. It would fill a Volume to inſert all the impious madneſs of this kind, ſo that the complaint of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, might moſt truly, and ſeaſonably have been applied, *There is a conſpiracy of her Prophets in the midſt thereof, like a roaring Lyon ravening the Prey, they have devoured Soules, they have taken the Treaſure, and precious things, they have made her many Widows in the midſt thereof.*

Ezek. xxii. v. 25.

IT was the complaint of *Eraſmus* of the Clergy in his time, that when Princes were inclinable to Wars, *alius è ſacro ſuggeſto promittit omnium admiſſorum condonationem, alius promittit certam victoriam, Prophetarum voces ad rem impiam detorquens. Tam bellaces conciones audivimus*, ſays he. And indeed no good Chriſtian can, without horrour, think of thoſe Miniſters of the Church, who by their Function being Meſſengers of Peace, were the only Trumpets of War, and Incendiaries towards Rebellion. How much more Chriſtian was that *Athenian* Nun in *Plutarch*, and how ſhall She riſe up in judgement againſt thoſe Men, who, when *Alcibiades* was condemn'd by the publick Juſtice of the State, and a Decree made that all the Religious Prieſts and Women ſhould ban and curſe him, ſtoutly refuſed to perform that office; anſwering, "that "ſhe was profeſſed Religious, to *pray* and to *bleſs*, not to *curſe* and to *ban*.

And if the Perſon, and the Place can improve and aggravate the offence (as without doubt it doth, both before God and Man) methinks the Preaching Treaſon and Rebellion out of the Pulpits ſhould be worſe than the advancing it in the Market, as much as poyſoning a Man at the Communion would be worſe than murthering him at a Tavern. And it may be, in that Catalogue of Sins, which the Zeal of ſome Men hath thought to be the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, there may not any one be more reaſonably thought to be ſuch, than a Miniſter of Chriſt's turning Rebel againſt his Prince (which is a moſt notorious Apoſtacy againſt his Order) and his Preaching Rebellion to the People, as the Doctrine of Chriſt; which, adding blaſphemy and pertinacy to his Apoſtacy, hath all the marks by which good Men are taught to avoid that Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt.

The Earl of Eſſex moves with his Army from Northampton.

WITHIN three or four days after the King's remove from *Nottingham*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, with his whole Army, removed from *Northampton*, and march'd towards *Worceſter*; of which his Majeſty had no ſooner Intelligence, than he ſent Prince *Rupert*, with the greateſt part of the Horſe, on the other ſide of the *Severn*, towards that City; as well to obſerve the motion of the Enemy, as to give all aſſiſtance to that place, which had declared good affections to him; at leaſt to countenance and ſecure the retreat of thoſe Gentlemen, who were there raiſing Forces for the King; but eſpecially to joyn with Sr *John Byron*, whom his Majeſty had ſent, in the end of *Auguſt*, to *Oxford* to convey ſome Money, which had been ſecretly brought from *London* thither to his Majeſty. And he, after ſome ſmall diſaſters in his March, by the inſurrection of the Country People, who were encouraged by the Agents for the Parliament, and ſeconded by the Officers of the Militia, came ſafe with his charge to *Worceſter*; where he had been very few hours, when a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons, being ſent by the Earl of *Eſſex*, under the Command of *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Son to the Lord *Say*, came to ſurpriſe the Town; which was open enough to have been enter'd in many places, though in ſome it had an old decayed Wall; and, at the moſt uſual and frequented entrances into the City, weak and rotten Gates to be ſhut, but without either Lock or Bolt.

YET this Commander, coming early in the morning, when the ſmall Guard which had watched, conceiving all to be ſecure, were gone to reſt, and being within Muſquet ſhot of the Gate before he was diſcover'd, finding that weak Gate ſhut, or rather cloſed againſt him, and not that quick appearance of a Party within the Town, as he promiſed himſelf, without doing any harm, retired in great diſorder, and with ſo much haſt, that the wearied Horſe, ſent out preſently to attend him, could not overtake any of his Train; ſo that when Prince *Rupert* came thither, they did not conceive any conſiderable Party of the Enemy to be near. However his Highneſs reſolv'd to retire from thence, aſſoon as he ſhould receive perfect Intelligence of the motion of the Enemy, when on the ſuddain repoſing himſelf on the ground with Prince *Maurice* his Brother, the Lord *Digby*, and the principal Officers in the Field before the Town, ſome of his wearied Troops (for they had had a long march) being by, but the reſt and moſt of the Officers in the Town, he eſpied a fair Body of Horſe, conſiſting of near five hundred, marching in very good Order up a Lane within Muſquet ſhot of him. In this confuſion, they had ſcarce time to get upon their Horſes, and none to conſult of what was to be done, or to put themſelves into their ſeveral

places of Command. And, it maybe, it was well they had not; for if all thoſe Officers had been in the heads of their ſeveral Troops, it is not impoſſible it might have been worſe. But the Prince inſtantly declaring, "that he would Charge; his Brother, the Lord *Digby*, Commiſſary General *Wilmot*, Sr *John Byron*, Sr *Lewis Dives*, and all thoſe Officers and Gentlemen, whoſe Troops were not preſent or ready, put themſelves next the Prince; the other wearied Troops coming in order after them.

A Rencounter between the Forces near Worceſter *where Prince* Rupert *gets the better.*

IN this manner the Prince Charg'd them, aſſoon as they came out of the Lane; and being ſeconded by this handful of good Men, though the Rebels being gallantly led by Colonel *Sandys* (a Gentleman of *Kent*, and the Son of a worthy Father) and completely arm'd both for Offence, and Defence, ſtood well; yet in a ſhort time, many of their beſt Men being kill'd, and Colonel *Sandys* Himſelf falling with his hurts, the whole Body was routed, fled, and was purſued by the Conquerors for the ſpace of above a mile. The number of the ſlain were not many, not above forty or fifty, and thoſe moſt Officers; for their Armes were ſo good, that in the charge they were not to be eaſily kill'd, and in the chaſe the goodneſs of their Horſe made it impoſſible. Colonel *Sandys* who died ſhortly after of his wounds, Captain *Wingate* who was the more known, by being a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and taken notice of for having in that charge behaved himſelf ſtoutly, and two or three *Scotiſh* Officers, were taken Priſoners. Of the King's Party none of Name was loſt: Commiſſary General *Wilmot* hurt with a Sword in the ſide, and Sr *Lewis Dives* in the ſhoulder, and two or three other Officers of inferior Note; none miſcarrying of their wounds, which was the more ſtrange for that, by reaſon they expected not an encounter, there was not, on the Prince's ſide, a piece of Armour worn that day, and but few Piſtols; ſo that moſt of the hurt that was done was by the Sword. Six or ſeven Cornets of the Enemies were taken, and many good Horſes, and ſome Armes; for they who run away made themſelves as light as they could.

THIS Rencounter proved of great advantage and benefit to the King. For it being the firſt Action his Horſe had been brought to, and that party of the Enemy being the moſt picked and choice Men, it gave his Troops great courage, and render'd the name of Prince *Rupert* very terrible, and exceedingly appalled the adverſary; inſomuch as they had not, in a long time after, any confidence in their Horſe, and their very Numbers were much leſſen'd by it. For that whole party being routed, and the chief Officers of Name and Reputation either kill'd, or taken, though the number loſt upon the place was not conſiderable, there were very many more who never return'd to the Service; and, which was worſe, for their own excuſe, in all places, talked aloud of the incredible, and unreſiſtible courage of Prince *Rupert*, and the King's Horſe. So that, from this time, the Parliament begun to be apprehenſive, that the buſineſs would not be as eaſily ended, as it was begun; and that the King would not be brought back to them with their bare Votes. Yet how faintly ſoever the private pulſes beat (for no queſtion many who had made greateſt noiſe, wiſh'd they were again to chooſe their ſide) the two Houſes were ſo far from any viſible abatement of their mettle, that to weigh down any poſſible ſuppoſition that they might be inclined, or drawn to treat with the King, or that they had any apprehenſion that the people would be leſs firm, and conſtant to them, they proceeded to bolder Acts to evince both, than they had yet done.

FOR to the firſt, to ſhew how ſecure they were againſt reſentment from his Allies, as well as againſt his Majeſty's own power, they cauſed the Capuchin Fryars, who, by the Articles of Marriage, were to have a ſafe reception and entertainment in the Queen's Family, and had, by her Majeſty's care, and at her charge, a ſmall, but a convenient habitation, by her own Chapel, in her own Houſe, in the *Strand*, and had continued there, without diſturbance, from the time of the Marriage, after many inſolencies and indignities offer'd to them by the rude Multitude, even within thoſe Gates of her own Houſe, to be taken from thence, and to be ſent over into *France*, with proteſtation "that if they "were found again in *England*, they ſhould be proceeded againſt as "Traitors: and this in the face of the *French* Embaſſador, who notwithſtanding withdrew not from them his Courtſhip, and Application.

THEN, that the King might know how little they dreaded his Forces, they ſent down their Inſtructions to the Earl of *Eſſex* their General, who had long expected them; whereby among other things of form for the better diſcipline of the Army, "They required him to march with "ſuch Forces as he thought fit, towards the Army raiſed, in his Maje- "ſty's Name, againſt the Parliament, and the Kingdom; and with them, "or any part of them, to fight, at ſuch time and place as he ſhould "judge moſt to conduce to the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom: and "that he ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavour by battle, or otherwiſe, to "reſcue his Majeſty's Perſon, and the Perſons of the Prince, and Duke "of *York*, out of the hands of thoſe deſperate perſons, who were then "about them. They directed him to take an opportunity, in ſome ſafe "and honourable way, to cauſe the Petition of both Houſes of Parlia- "ment, then ſent to him, to be preſented to his Majeſty; and if his "Majeſty ſhould thereupon pleaſe to withdraw himſelf from the Forces "then about him, and to reſort to the Parliament, his Lordſhip ſhould "cauſe his Majeſty's Forces to disband, and ſhould ſerve and defend his "Majeſty with a ſufficient ſtrength in his return. They required his "Lordſhip to publiſh and declare, that if any who had been ſo ſeduced, "by the falſe aſperſions caſt upon the proceedings of the Parliament, as "to aſſiſt the King in acting of thoſe dangerous Counſels, ſhould wil- "lingly, within ten days after ſuch publication in the Army, return to "their duty, not doing any hoſtile Act within the time limited, and joyn "themſelves with the Parliament in defence of Religion, his Majeſty's "Perſon, the Liberties, and Law of the Kingdom, and Privileges of "Parliament, with their Perſons, and Eſtates, as the Members of both "Houſes, and the reſt of the Kingdom have done, that the Lords and "Commons would be ready, upon their ſubmiſſion, to receive ſuch "perſons in ſuch a manner, as they ſhould have cauſe to acknowledge "they had been uſed with clemency and favour; provided that that fa- "vour ſhould not extend to admit any Man into either Houſe of Par- "liament, who ſtood ſuſpended, without giving ſatisfaction to the Houſe "whereof he ſhould be a Member; and except all Perſons who ſtood "impeached, or particularly voted againſt in either Houſe of Parliament "for any Delinquency whatſoever; excepting likewiſe ſuch adherents "of thoſe, who ſtood impeached in Parliament of Treaſon, as had been "eminent Perſons, and chief Actors in thoſe Treaſons. And leſt thoſe clauſes of exception (which no doubt comprehended all the King's Party, and if not, They were ſtill to be judges of their own clemency and favour, which was all was promiſed to the humbleſt penitent) might

The two Houſes Inſtructions to their General.

invite thoſe, whom they had no mind to receive on any terms, they vouchſafed a "particular exception of the Earl of *Briſtol*, the Earl of "*Cumberland*, the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, the Earl of *Rivers*, the Duke "of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Carnarvan*, the Lord *Newark*, and the Lord "Viſcount *Falkland* Principal Secretary of State to his Majeſty, M^r Se- "cretary *Nicholas*, Mr *Endymion Porter*, Mr *Edward Hyde*; againſt not one of whom was there a charge depending of any crime, and againſt very few of them ſo much as a Vote, which was no great matter of Delinquency.

IT will be here neceſſary to inſert the Petition, directed to be preſented in ſome ſafe and honourable way to his Majeſty; the rather for that the ſame was, upon the reaſons hereafter mention'd, never preſented; which was afterwards objected to his Majeſty as a rejection of Peace on His part, when They deſired it. The Petition was in theſe words.

The Petition of both Houſes to the King, ſent to the General to be preſented, but never delivered.

WE your Majeſty's Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in "Parliament, cannot, without great grief, and tenderneſs of compaſſion, "behold the preſſing miſeries, the imminent dangers, and the devour- "ing calamities, which extremely threaten, and have partly ſeiſed upon "both your Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, by the practices of a "Party prevailing with your Majeſty; who, by many wicked Plots and "Conſpiracies, have attempted the alteration of the true Religion, and "the ancient Government of this Kingdom, and the introducing of Po- "piſh Idolatry and Superſtition in the Church, and Tyranny and con- "fuſion in the State; and, for the compaſſing thereof, have long cor- "rupted your Majeſty's Counſels, abuſed your power, and by ſuddain "and untimely diſſolving of former Parliaments, have often hinder'd the "reformation, and prevention of thoſe miſchiefs: and being now diſa- "bled to avoid the endeavours of this Parliament, by any ſuch means, "have Traiterouſly attempted to overawe the ſame by Force; and, in "proſecution of their wicked deſigns, have excited, encouraged, and "foſter'd, an unnatural Rebellion in *Ireland*; by which, in a moſt cruel "and outrageous manner, many thouſands of your Majeſty's Subjects "there, have been deſtroy'd; and, by falſe ſlanders upon your Parlia- "ment, and malicious and unjuſt Accuſations, have endeavour'd to be- "gin the like Maſſacre Here; and being, through God's bleſſing, therein "diſappointed, have, as the moſt miſchievous and bloody deſign of all, "drawn your Majeſty to make War againſt your Parliament, and good "Subjects of this Kingdom, leading in your Perſon an Army againſt "them, as if you intended, by Conqueſt, to eſtabliſh an abſolute and "unlimited power over them; and by your power, and the countenance "of your preſence, have ranſack'd, ſpoil'd, impriſon'd, and murther'd "divers of your people; and, for their better aſſiſtance in their wicked "deſigns, do ſeek to bring over the Rebels of *Ireland*, and other Forces "beyond the Seas, to joyn with them.

"AND We, finding our ſelves utterly deprived of your Majeſty's Pro- "tection, and the Authors, Counſellors, and Abettors of theſe miſchiefs "in greateſt power and favour with your Majeſty, and defended by You, "againſt the Juſtice, and Authority of your high Court of Parliament; "whereby they are grown to that height and inſolence, as to manifeſt "their rage and malice againſt thoſe of the Nobility, and others, who "are any whit inclinable to Peace, not without great appearance of

"danger

"danger to your own Royal Perſon, if you ſhall not in all things con-
"cur with their wicked and Traiterous courſes; have, for the juſt and
"neceſſary defence of the Proteſtant Religion, of your Majeſties Perſon,
"Crown, and Dignity, of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and
"the Privileges and power of Parliament, taken up Armes, and ap-
"pointed and authoriſed *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex* to be Captain General of
"all the Forces by us raiſed, and to lead and conduct the ſame againſt
"theſe Rebels and Traitors, and them to ſubdue, and bring to condigne
"puniſhment; and do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to withdraw
"your Royal preſence and countenance from thoſe wicked Perſons;
"and, if they ſhall ſtand out in defence of their Rebellious and unlawful
"attempts, that your Majeſty will leave them to be ſuppreſt by that
"power, which We have ſent againſt them; and that your Majeſty will
"not mix your own dangers with theirs, but in Peace and Safety, with-
"out your Forces, forthwith return to your Parliament; and by their
"faithful Counſel and Advice, compoſe the preſent diſtempers and con-
"fuſions abounding in both your Kingdoms; and provide for the ſecu-
"rity and honour of your ſelf, and your Royal Poſterity, and the pro-
"ſperous Eſtate of all your Subjects; wherein if your Majeſty pleaſe to
"yeild to our moſt humble, and earneſt deſires, We do, in the pre-
"ſence of Almighty God, profeſs, that We will receive your Majeſty
"with all honour, yeild you all due obedience, and ſubjection, and faith-
"fully endeavour to ſecure your Perſon and Eſtate from all dangers;
"and, to the uttermoſt of our power, to procure and eſtabliſh to your
"ſelf, and to your People, all the bleſſings of a glorious and happy Reign.

BESIDES this, that it might appear, they were nothing jealous or apprehenſive of the Peoples defection and revolt from them, whereas before they had made the general deſire of the Kingdom the ground, and argument for whatſoever they had done, and had only invited Men to contribute freely what they thought fit, to the charge in hand, without compelling any who were unwilling; they now took notice not only of thoſe who oppoſed their proceedings, or privately diſſwaded other Men from concurring with them, but of thoſe, who either out of fear, or covetouſneſs, or both, had neglected really to contribute; and therefore they boldly publiſhed their Votes (which were Laws to the People, or of much more Authority) "That all ſuch Perſons, as ſhould not "contribute to the charge of the Common-wealth, in that time of emi-"nent neceſſity, ſhould be diſarm'd and ſecured; and that this Vote might be the more terrible, they order'd, the ſame day, the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London* "to ſearch the Houſes, and ſeiſe the Armes belong-"ing to ſome Aldermen, and other principal ſubſtantial Citizens of "*London*, whom they named in their Order; "for that it appeared by "the report from their Committee, that they had not contributed, as "they ought, to the charge of the Common-wealth.

Votes of both Houſes for raiſing and procuring Money.

BY this means the pooreſt, and loweſt of the People, became Informers againſt the richeſt, and moſt ſubſtantial; and the reſult of ſearching the Houſes and ſeiſing the Armes was, the taking away Plate, and things of the greateſt Value, and very frequently plundering whatſoever was worth the keeping. They farther appointed, "that the Fines, Rents, "and Profits, of Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Deans and Chapters, and "of all Delinquents, who had taken up Armes againſt the Parliament, "or had been Active in the Commiſſion of Array, ſhould be ſequeſter'd

"for

"for the uſe and benefit of the Common-wealth. And that the King might not fare better than his Adherents, they directed "all his Reve-"nue, ariſing out of Rents, Fines in Courts of Juſtice, Compoſition for "Wards, and the like, and all other his Revenue ſhould be brought into "the ſeveral Courts, and other places, where they ought to be paid in, "and not iſſued forth, or paid forth, until farther Order ſhould be taken "by both Houſes of Parliament; without ſo much as aſſigning him any part of his own, towards the ſupport of his own Perſon.

THIS ſtout invaſion of the Peoples property, and compelling them to part with what was moſt precious to them, any part of their Eſtates, was thought by many an unpopular Act, in the morning of their Soveraignty, and that it would wonderfully have irreconciled their new Subjects to them. But the Conductors well underſtood, that their Empire already depended more on the Fear, than Love of the People; and that as they could carry on the War only by having Money enough to pay the Soldiers, ſo, that whilſt they had That, probably they ſhould not want Men to recruit their Armies upon any miſadventure.

IT cannot be imagined, how great advantages the King received by the Parliaments rejecting the King's Meſſages for Peace, and their manner in doing it. All Mens mouth were open'd againſt them, the Meſſages and Anſwers being read in all Churches; they who could not ſerve him in their Perſons, contrived ways to ſupply him with Money. Some eminent Governours in the Univerſities gave him notice that all the Colleges were very plentifully ſupplied with Plate, which would amount to a good Value, and lay uſeleſs in their Treaſuries, there being enough beſides for their Common Uſe; and there was not the leaſt doubt, but that whenſoever his Majeſty ſhould think fit to require that Treaſure, it would all be ſent to him. Of this the King had long thought, and, when he was at *Nottingham*, in that Melancholick ſeaſon, two Gentlemen were diſpatch'd away to *Oxford*, and to *Cambridge* (two to each) with Letters to the ſeveral Vice-Chancellors, that they ſhould move the Heads, and Principals of the ſeveral Colleges and Halls, that they would ſend their Plate to the King; private advertiſements being firſt ſent to ſome truſty Perſons to prepare, and diſpoſe thoſe, without whoſe conſent the ſervice could not be performed.

THIS whole affair was tranſacted with ſo great ſecrecy, and diſcretion, that the Meſſengers return'd from the two Univerſities, in as ſhort a time as ſuch a Journey could well be made; and brought with them all, or very near all their Plate, and a conſiderable Sum of Money, which was ſent as a Preſent to his Majeſty from ſeveral of the Heads of Colleges, out of their own particular Stores; ſome Scholars coming with it, and helping to procure Horſes and Carts for the ſervice; all which came ſafe to *Nottingham*, at the time when there appeared no more expectation of a Treaty, and contributed much to raiſing the dejected Spirits of the place. The Plate was preſently weighed out, and delivered to the ſeveral Officers, who were entruſted to make Levies of Horſe and Foot, and who received it as Money, the reſt was carefully preſerved to be carried with the King, when he ſhould remove from thence; ſecret Orders being ſent to the Officers of the Mint, to be ready to come to his Majeſty aſſoon as he ſhould require them, which he meant to do, aſſoon as he ſhould find himſelf in a place convenient. There was now no more complaining or murmuring. Some Gentlemen undertook to make Levies upon their Credit, and Intereſt, and others ſent Money to the King upon their own Inclinations.

The two Univerſities contributed their Money and Plate to the King.

THERE

THERE was a pleaſant Story, then much ſpoken of in the Court, which adminiſter'd ſome Mirth. There were two great Men who lived near *Nottingham*, both Men of great Fortunes and of great Parſimony, and known to have much Money lying by them. To the former the Lord *Capel* was ſent, to the latter, *John Aſhburnham* of the Bed-Chamber, and of entire confidence with his Maſter; each of them with a Letter, all written with the King's hand, to borrow of each ten or five thouſand pounds. *Capel* was very civilly received by One, and entertain'd as well as the ill accommodations in his Houſe, and his manner of living would admit. He expreſs'd, with wonderful civil profeſſions of duty, "the great trouble he ſuſtain'd, in not being able to comply with "his Majeſty's Commands: He ſaid, "all men knew that he neither had, "nor could have Money, becauſe he had every year, of ten or a dozen "which were paſt, purchaſed a thouſand pounds Land a year; and there-"fore he could not be imagin'd to have any Money lying by him, which "he never lov'd to have. But, he ſaid, he had a Neighbour, who liv'd "within few Miles of him, who was good for nothing, and liv'd like a "Hog, not allowing himſelf Neceſſaries, and who could not have ſo lit-"tle as twenty thouſand ponds in the ſcurvy Houſe in which he liv'd; and adviſed, "he might be ſent to, who could not deny the having of "Money; and concluded with great duty to the King, and deteſtation of the Parliament, and as if he meant to conſider farther of the thing, and to endeavour to get ſome Money for him, which though he did not remember to ſend, his affections were good, and he was afterwards kill'd in the King's Service.

ASHBURNHAM got no more Money, nor half ſo many good words. That Lord had ſo little correſpondence with the Court, that he had never heard his Name, and when he had read the King's Letter, he asked from whom it was; and when he told him, "he ſaw it was from the King, he replied, "that he was not ſuch a fool as to believe it. That he had "receiv'd Letters both from the King and his Father; and haſtily running out of the Room, return'd with half a dozen Letters in his hand; ſaying, "that thoſe were all the King's Letters, and that they allways "begun with *Right Truſty and well beloved*, and the King's Name was "ever at the Top; but this Letter begun with his own Name, and ended "with your loving friend C. R. which, he ſaid, he was ſure, could not "be the King's hand. His other treatment was according to this, and after an ill ſupper, he was ſhewed an indifferent bed; the Lord telling him, "that he would confer more of the matter in the morning; he having ſent a Servant with a Letter to the Lord *Falkland*, who was his Wife's Nephew, and who had ſcarce ever ſeen his Uncle. The Man came to *Nottingham* about Midnight, and found my Lord *Falkland* in his Bed. The Letter was to tell him, "that one *Aſhburnham* was with him, who "brought him a Letter, which he ſaid was from the King; but he knew "that could not be; and therefore he deſired to know, who this Man "was, whom he kept in his Houſe till the Meſſenger ſhould return. In ſpight of the laughter, which could not be forborne, the Lord *Falkland* made haſt to inform him of the condition and Quality of the Perſon, and that the Letter was writ with the King's own hand, which he ſeldom vouchſafed to do. And the Meſſenger returning early the next morning, his Lordſhip treated M^r *Aſhburnham* with ſo different a reſpect, that he, who knew nothing of the cauſe, believ'd, that he ſhould return with all the Money that was deſired. But it was not long before

he was undeceived. The Lord with as chearful a Countenance as his could be, for he had a very unuſual and unpleaſant face, told him, "that "though he had no Money Himſelf, but was in extreme want of it, he "would tell him where he might have Money enough; that he had a "Neighbour, who liv'd within four or five Miles, that never did good "to any body, and lov'd no body but himſelf, who had a world of Mo-"ney, and could furniſh the King with as much as he had need of, and "if he ſhould deny that he had Money when the King ſent to him, he "knew were he had one Trunk full, and would diſcover it; and that he "was ſo ill belov'd and had ſo few friends, that no body would care how "the King uſed him. This good Counſel was all Mr *Aſhburnham* could make of him: and yet this wretched Man was ſo far from wiſhing well to the Parliament, that when they had prevailed, and were poſſeſſed of the whole Kingdom, as well as of *Nottingham-ſhire*, he would not give them one penny; nor compound for his Delinquency, as they made the having lived in the King's Quarters to be; but ſuffer'd his whole Eſtate to be ſequeſter'd, and lived in a very miſerable faſhion, only by what he could raviſh from his Tenants; who, though they paid their Rents to the Parliament, were forced by his rage and threats to part with ſo much as kept him, till he died, in that condition he choſe to live in: His conſcience being powerful enough to deny Himſelf, though it could not diſpoſe him to grant to the King. And thus the two Meſſengers return'd to the King, ſo near the ſame time, that he who came firſt, had not given his account to the King, before the other enter'd into his preſence.

THE ſame day, a Gentleman in thoſe parts, known to be very rich, being preſſed to lend the King five hundred pounds, ſent him a preſent of one hundred pieces in Gold; "which, he ſaid, he had procured with "great difficulty; and proteſted, with many execrable imprecations, "that he had never in his life ſeen five hundred pounds of his own to-"gether; when, within one Month after the King's departure, the Parliament Troops, which borrowed in another ſtyle, took five thouſand pounds from him, which was lodged with him, in the Chamber in which he lay. Which is therefore mention'd in this place, that upon this occaſion it may be ſeen, that the unthrifty retention of their Money, which poſſeſſed the ſpirits of thoſe, who did really wiſh the King all the ſucceſs he wiſhed for himſelf, was one unhappy cauſe of all his misfortunes: and if they had, in the beginning, but lent the King the fifth part of what, after infinite loſſes, they found neceſſary to ſacrifice to his Enemies, in the concluſion, to preſerve themſelves from total ruin, his Majeſty had been able, with God's bleſſing, to have preſerved Them, and to have deſtroyed all his Enemies.

THE news of the important advantage before *Worceſter* found the King at *Cheſter*, whither his Majeſty thought neceſſary to make a Journey himſelf, aſſoon as he came to *Shrewsbury*, both to aſſure that City to his Service, which was the Key to *Ireland*, and to countenance the Lord *Strange* (who, by the death of his Father, became Earl of *Derby*) againſt ſome oppoſition he met with, on the behalf of the Parliament. Here *Crane*, ſent by Prince *Rupert*, gave his Majeſty an Account of that Action; and preſented him with the Enſigns, which had been taken; and inform'd him of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s being in *Worceſter*; which made the King return ſooner to *Shrewsbury* than he intended, and before the Earl of *Derby* was poſſeſſed of that power, which a little longer ſtay would have given him.

PRINCE

PRINCE *Rupert* the ſame night, after his Victory, finding the groſs of the Rebels Army to be within five or ſix miles, againſt which that City was in no degree tenable, though all the King's Foot had been there, retired from *Worceſter* on the *Welſh* ſide of the River, without any diſturbance, into his Quarters near *Shrewsbury*, and with all his Priſoners, Colonel *Sandys* only excepted, whom he left to dye of his wounds there; the Earl of *Eſſex* being ſo much ſtartled with this late defeat, that he advanced not in two days after; and then being ſurely inform'd, that he ſhould find no reſiſtance, he enter'd with his Army into *Worceſter*; uſing great ſeverity to thoſe Citizens, who had been eminently inclined to the King's Service, and ſending the principal of them Priſoners to *London*.

The King comes to Shrewsbury.

UPON the King's coming to *Shrewsbury*, there was a very great conflux of the Gentry there, and the Neighbouring Counties, which were generally well affected, and made great profeſſions of duty to his Majeſty: ſome of them undertook to make Levies of Horſe and Foot, and perform'd it at their own charge. The Town was very commodious in all reſpects, ſtrong in it's ſituation; and in reſpect of it's Neighbourhood to North *Wales*, and the uſe of the *Severn*, yielded excellent proviſions of all kinds; ſo that both Court and Army were very well accommodated, only the incurable diſeaſe of want of Money could not be aſſwaged in either. Yet whilſt they ſat ſtill, it was not very ſenſible, much leſs importunate. The Soldiers behaved themſelves orderly, and the People were not inclined, or provoked to complain of their new Gueſts; and the remainder of the Plate, which was brought from the Univerſities, together with the ſmall preſents in Money, which were made to the King by many particular Perſons, ſupplied the preſent neceſſary expences very conveniently. But it was eaſily diſcern'd, that, when the Army ſhould move, which the King reſolved it ſhould do with all poſſible expedition, the neceſſity of Money would be very great, and the Train of Artillery, which is commonly a Spunge that can hardly be filled, was deſtitute of all things neceſſary for motion. Nor was there any hope that it could march, till a good Sum of Money were aſſign'd to it; ſome Carriage-Horſes, and Waggons, which were prepared for the Service of *Ireland*, and lay ready at *Cheſter*, to be tranſported with the Earl of *Leiceſter*, Lieutenant of that Kingdom, were brought to *Shrewsbury*, by his Majeſty's Order, for his own Train: And the Earl's paſſionate labouring to prevent, or remedy that application, with ſome other reaſons, hinder'd the Earl himſelf from purſuing that Journey; and, in the end, deprived him of that province. But this ſeaſonable addition to the Train encreaſed the neceſſity of Money, there being more uſe of it thereby.

TWO Expedients were found to make ſuch a competent proviſion for all wants, that they were at laſt broken through. Some Perſon of that inclination had inſinuated to the King, that, "if the Roman Ca-"tholicks, which that, and the adjacent Counties were well inhabited "by, were ſecretly treated with, a conſiderable Sum of Money might "be raiſed among them; but it muſt be carried with great privacy, that "no notice might be taken of it, the Parliament having declared ſo "great Animoſities againſt them; nor did it in that conjuncture concern the King leſs that it ſhould be very ſecret, to avoid the ſcandal of a cloſe conjunction with the Papiſts, which was every day imputed to him. Upon many conſultations how, and in what method to carry on this

Deſign, the King was inform'd, "that if he would depute a Perſon, much "truſted by him, to that ſervice, the Roman Catholicks would truſt "him, and aſſign one or two of their Body to confer with him, and by "this means the work might be carried on. Hereupon the King ſent for that Perſon, and told him this whole matter, as it is here ſet down, and required him to conſult with ſuch a Perſon, whom he would ſend to him the next morning. The next morning a Perſon of Quality very much truſted by all that Party, came to him to confer upon that ſubject; and ſhewed a liſt of the Names of all the Gentlemen of Quality and Fortune of that Religion, who were all convict Recuſants, and liv'd within thoſe Counties of *Shropſhire* and *Stafford*. They appear'd to be a good Number of very valuable Men, on whoſe behalf he had only Authority to conclude, though he believ'd that the method, they agreed on there, would be ſubmitted to, and confirm'd by that Party in all other places. He ſaid "they would by no means hearken to any motion for "the loan of Money, for which they had paid ſo dear, upon their ſerving "the King in that manner, in his firſt expedition againſt the *Scots*. It was in the end agreed upon, that the King ſhould write to every one of them to pay him an advance of two, or three years of ſuch Rent, as they were every year obliged to pay him, upon the compoſition they had made with him for their Eſtates; which would amount to a conſiderable Sum of Money. And theſe Letters were accordingly writ, and within ten or twelve days, between four and five thouſand pounds were return'd to his Majeſty; which was a ſeaſonable ſupply for his affairs.

AT his return to *Shrewsbury*, the King found as much done towards his March, as he expected. And then the other Expedient (which was hinted before) for Money offer'd it ſelf. There was a Gentleman of a very good extraction, and of the beſt Eſtate of any Gentleman of that Country, who lived within four or five miles of *Shrewsbury*, and was looked upon as a very prudent Man, and had a very powerful influence upon that People, and was of undoubted Affections and Loyalty to the King, and to the Government both in Church, and State: his Eldeſt Son was a young Gentleman of great expectation, and of excellent parts, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, who had behaved himſelf there very well. This Gentleman intimated to a friend of his, "that, if his "Father might be made a Baron, he did believe he might be prevail'd "with to preſent his Majeſty with a good Sum of Money. It was propoſed to the King, who had no mind to embrace the propoſition, his Majeſty taking occaſion often to ſpeak againſt "making Merchandize "of Honour; how much the Crown ſuffer'd at preſent by the licence of "that kind, which had been uſed during the favour of the Duke of "*Buckingham*; and that he had not taken a firmer Reſolution againſt "many things, than againſt this particular Expedient for raiſing Money. However, after he return'd from *Cheſter*, and found by the increaſe of his Levies, and the good diſpoſition all things were in, that he might in a ſhort time be able to march, and in ſo good a condition, that he ſhould rather ſeek the Rebels, than decline meeting with them, if the indiſpenſable want of Money did not make his motion impoſſible; the merit and ability of the Perſon, and the fair expectation from his Poſterity, he having two Sons, both very hopeful, prevail'd with his Majeſty to reſume the ſame overture; and in few days it was perfected, and the Gentleman was made a Baron; who preſented the Sum of ſix thouſand pounds to his Majeſty; whereupon all preparations for the Army were proſecuted with effect.

ASSOON

ASSOON as the King came to *Shrewsbury*, he had diſpatched his Letters and Agents into *Wales*, *Cheſhire*, and *Lancaſhire*, to quicken the Levies of Men which were making there, and return'd from *Cheſter* through the North part of *Wales* (where he found the People cordial to him, and arming themſelves for him) to *Shrewsbury*. The King's cuſtom was in all Counties, through which he paſſed, to cauſe the High Sheriff to draw all the Gentlemen, and the moſt ſubſtantial Inhabitants of thoſe parts together, to whom (beſides his careſſing the principal Gentlemen ſeverally, familiarly, and very obligingly) he always ſpoke ſomething publickly (which was afterwards printed) telling them,

The Subſtance of the King's Speeches to the Gentry and Commonalty of the ſeveral Counties thro' which he paſſed.

"THAT it was a benefit to him from the Inſolencies and Misfortunes, "which had driven him about, that they had brought him to ſo good "a part of his Kingdom, and to ſo faithful a part of his People. He "hoped, neither They, nor He ſhould repent their coming together. "He would do His part, that they might not; and of Them he was con- "fident before he came. He told them, "the reſidence of an Army was "not uſually pleaſant to any place; and His might carry more fear with "it, ſince it might be thought (being robbed, and ſpoiled of all his own, "and ſuch terror uſed to fright and keep all Men from ſupplying him) "he muſt only live upon the aid and relief of his People. But he bid them "not be afraid; and ſaid, "he wiſhed to God, his poor Subjects "ſuffer'd no more by the Inſolence, and Violence of that Army raiſed "againſt him, though they had made themſelves wanton with Plenty, "than they ſhould do by His; and yet he feared he ſhould not be able "to prevent all diſorders; he would do his beſt; and promiſed them, "no man ſhould be a loſer by him if He could help it. He ſaid "he had "ſent for a Mint, and would melt down all his own Plate, and expoſe "all his Land to Sale, or Mortgage, that he might bring the leaſt preſ- "ſure upon them. However, he invited them "to do that For him, and "themſelves, for the maintenance of their Religion, and the Law of "the Land (by which they enjoyed all that they had) which other Men "did Againſt them; he deſired them, not to ſuffer ſo good a cauſe to "be loſt, for want of ſupplying him with that, which would be taken "from them, by thoſe who purſued his Majeſty with that violence. And "whilſt thoſe ill Men ſacrificed their Money, Plate, and utmoſt Induſtry, "to deſtroy the Common-wealth, They would be no leſs liberal to pre- "ſerve it. He bid them aſſure themſelves, if it pleaſed God to bleſs him "with ſucceſs, he would remember the Aſſiſtance every particular Man "gave him to his advantage. However it would hereafter (how furiouſly "ſoever the minds of ſome Men were now poſſeſſed) be honour, and "comfort to them, that with ſome charge and trouble to themſelves, "they had done Their part to ſupport their King and preſerve the "Kingdom.

"HIS Majeſty always took notice of any particular reports, which, either with reference to the publick, or their private concerns, might make impreſſion upon that People, and gave clear Anſwers to them. With this gracious and Princely demeanour, it is hardly credible how much he won upon the People; ſo that not only his Army daily encreaſed by Voluntiers (for there was not a Man preſſed) but ſuch proportions of Plate, and Money, were voluntarily brought in, that the Army was fully and conſtantly paid: the King having erected a Mint at *Shrewsbury*, more for reputation than uſe (For, for want of Work-men, and Inſtruments, they could not Coyn a thouſand pounds a Week) and

cauſing all his own Plate, for the Service of his Houſhold, to be deliver'd there, made other Men think, theirs was the leſs worth the preſerving.

SHORTLY after the Earl of *Eſſex* came to *Worceſter*, he ſent a Gentleman (*Fleetwood*, the ſame who had afterwards ſo great power in the Army, but then a Trooper in his Guards) to *Shrewsbury*, without a Trumpet, or any other ceremony than a Letter to the Earl of *Dorſet*; in which he ſaid, "he was appointed by the Parliament, to cauſe a Pe-"tition, then in his hands, to be preſented to his Majeſty; and there-"fore deſired his Lordſhip to know his Majeſty's pleaſure, when he "would be pleaſed to receive it from ſuch Perſons, as he ſhould ſend "over with it. The Earl of *Dorſet* (by his Majeſty's command, after it had been debated in Council what Anſwer to return) ſent him word in writing "that the King had always been, and would be ſtill ready to "receive any Petition from his two Houſes of Parliament; and if the "Earl had any ſuch to be preſented, if he ſent it by any Perſons, who "ſtood not Perſonally accuſed by his Majeſty of High Treaſon, and ex-"cepted ſpecially in all offers of Pardon made by him, the Perſons who "brought it ſhould be welcome; and the King would return ſuch an "Anſwer to it, as ſhould be agreeable to Honour, and Juſtice. Whether this limitation as to Meſſengers diſpleaſed them (as it was afterwards ſaid, that the Meſſengers appointed to have deliver'd it were the Lord *Mandevil*, and Mr *Hambden*, who, they thought, would have skill to make infuſions into many Perſons then about his Majeſty; and the hopes of that acceſs being barred by that limitation, and exception, they would not ſend any other) or what other reaſon ſoever there was, the King heard no more of this Petition, or any Addreſs of that Nature, till he found, by ſome new printed Votes, and Declarations, "that he was "guilty of another breach of the Privilege of Parliament, for having "refuſed to receive their Petition, except it were preſented in ſuch a "manner as He preſcribed: Whereas They alone were Judges in what "manner, and by what Perſons their own Petitions ſhould be deliver'd, "and he ought ſo to receive them. So that Petition which is before ſet down in the very terms it paſs'd both Houſes, was never deliver'd to his Majeſty.

The Strength of the King's Army at Shrewsbury.

THERE cannot be too often mention of the wonderful Providence of God, that from that low deſpiſed condition the King was in at *Nottingham*, after the ſetting up his Standard, he ſhould be able to get Men, Money, or Armes, ſo that, within twenty days after his coming to *Shrewsbury*, he reſolv'd to march, in deſpight of the Enemy, even towards *London*; his Foot, by this time, conſiſting of about ſix thouſand; and his Horſe of two thouſand; his Train in very good order, commanded by Sr *John Heydon*. And though this ſtrength was much inferior to the Enemy, yet as it was greater than any Man thought poſſible to be raiſed, ſo all thought it ſufficient to encounter the Rebels. Beſides that it was confidently believ'd (and not without ſome grounds, upon correſpondence with ſome Officers in the other Army) that, aſſoon as the Armies came within any reaſonable diſtance of each other, very many Soldiers would leave their Colours, and come to the King; which expectation was confirm'd by divers Soldiers, who every day dropped in from thoſe Forces; and, to make themſelves welcome, told many Stories of their Fellow's reſolutions, whom they had left behind.

AND this muſt be confeſs'd, that either by the care and diligence of

the Officers, or by the good inclinations, and temper of the Soldiers themſelves, the Army was in ſo good order and diſcipline, that, during the King's ſtay at *Shrewsbury*, there was not any remarkable diſorder; the Country being very kind to the Soldiers, and the Soldiers juſt, and regardful to the Country. And by the free Loans, and Contributions of the Gentlemen, and Subſtantial Inhabitants, but eſpecially by the aſſiſtance of the Nobility, who attended, the Army was ſo well paid, that there was not the leaſt mutiny or diſcontent for want of pay; nor was there any cauſe; for they ſeldom failed every week, never went above a fortnight unpaid.

The greateſt difficulty was to provide Armes; of which indeed there was a wonderful ſcarcity, the King being exceedingly diſappointed in his expectation of Armes from *Holland*; a Veſſel or two having been taken by his own Ships, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*; ſo that, except eight hundred Muſquets, five hundred pair of Piſtols, and two hundred Swords, which came with the Powder, landed in *York-ſhire*, as is before mention'd, the King had none in his Magazine; ſo that he was compell'd to begin at *Nottingham*, and ſo in all places as he paſſed, to borrow the Armes from the Train'd-bands; which was done with ſo much warineſs and caution (albeit it was known that thoſe Armes would, being left in thoſe hands, be imployed againſt him, or at leaſt be of no uſe to him) that it was done rather with their conſent, than by any conſtraint, and always with the full approbation of their Commanders. And therefore in *York-ſhire*, and *Shropſhire*, where the Gentlemen very unskilfully, though with good meaning, deſired that the Armes might ſtill be left in the Country Men's hands, there was none of that kind of borrowing. But, in all places, the Noblemen, and Gentlemen of Quality, ſent the King ſuch ſupplies of Armes, out of their own Armories (which were very mean) ſo that by all thoſe Means together, the Foot, all but three or four hundred, who marched without any Weapon but a Cudgel, were Arm'd with Muſquets, and Bags for their Powder, and Pikes; but, in the whole Body, there was not a Pikeman had a Corſlet, and very few Muſqueteers who had Swords. Among the Horſe, the Officers had their full deſire, if they were able to procure old Backs, and Breaſts, and Pots with Piſtols, or Carabines, for their two or three firſt Ranks, and Swords for the reſt; themſelves (and ſome Soldiers by their examples) having gotten, beſides their Piſtols and Swords, a ſhort Pole-Ax.

The Foot were divided into three Brigades; the firſt commanded by Sr *Nicholas Byron*, the ſecond by Colonel *Harry Wentworth*, the third by Colonel *Richard Fielding*, Sr *Jacob Aſtley* being Major General, and commanding the Foot immediately under the General. For, though General *Ruthen*, who came to the King ſome few days before he left *Shrewsbury*, was made Field Marſhal, yet he kept wholely with the Horſe to aſſiſt Prince *Rupert*: And Sr *Arthur Aſton*, of whoſe Soldiery there was a very great eſteem, was made Colonel General of the Dragoons; which at that time, though conſiſting of two or three Regiments, were not above eight hundred, or a thouſand at the moſt. Moſt of the Perſons of Quality, except thoſe whoſe attendance was near the King's own Perſon, put themſelves into the King's Troop of Guards, commanded by the Lord *Bernard Stewart*; and made indeed ſo gallant a Body, that, upon very modeſt computation, the Eſtate, and Revenue of that ſingle Troop, it was thought, might juſtly be valued at leaſt

leaſt equal to all theirs, who then Voted in both Houſes, under the name of the Lords and Commons of Parliament, which made and maintain'd that War. Their Servants, under the command of Sr *William Killigrew*, made another full Troop, and allways marched with their Lords and Maſters.

The King, having form'd an Army, marches from Shrewsbury *towards* London.

IN this equipage the King marched from *Shrewsbury*, on the 12th of *October* to *Bridgenorth*, never leſs baggage attending a Royal Army, there being not one Tent, and very few Waggons belonging to the whole Train; having in his whole Army not one Officer of the Field who was a Papiſt, except Sr *Arthur Aſton*, if He were one; and very few common Soldiers of that Religion. However the Parliament, in all their Declarations, and their Clergy much more in their Sermons, aſſured the People, "that the King's Army conſiſted only of Papiſts, whilſt themſelves entertain'd all of that Religion, that they could get; and very many, both Officers and Soldiers, of that Religion engaged with them; whether it was that they really believ'd, that that Army did deſire Liberty of Conſcience for all Religions, as ſome of the chief of them pretended, or that they deſired to divide themſelves for communication of Intelligence, and Intereſt. And here it is not fit to forget one particular, that, when the Committee of Parliament appointed to advance the ſervice upon the Propoſition for Plate, and Horſes, in the County of *Suffolk*, ſent word to the Houſe of Commons, "that ſome Papiſts offer'd "to lend Money upon thoſe Propoſitions, and deſired advice whether "they ſhould accept of it, it was Anſwer'd, "that if they offer'd any "conſiderable Sum, whereby it might be conceiv'd to proceed from a "real affection to the Parliament, and not out of Policy to bring them-"ſelves within their Protection, and ſo to excuſe their Delinquency, it "ſhould be accepted of.

WHEN the King was ready for his march, there was ſome difference of opinion which way he ſhould take; many were of opinion that he ſhould march towards *Worceſter*, where the Earl of *Eſſex* ſtill remain'd; thoſe Countries were thought well affected to the King; where his Army would be ſupplied with proviſions, and encreaſed in Numbers; and that no time ſhould be loſt in coming to a Battle; becauſe the longer it was deferred, the ſtronger the Earl would grow, by the ſupplies which were every day ſent to him from *London*; and he had ſtore of Armes with him to ſupply all defects of that kind. However it was thought more counſellable to march directly towards *London*, it being morally ſure, that the Earl of *Eſſex* would put himſelf in their way. The King had much confidence in his Horſe (his Nephew Prince *Rupert* being in the head of them) which were fleſhed by their ſucceſs at *Worceſter*; and if he had made his march that way, he would have been entangled in the incloſures, where his Horſe would have been leſs uſeful; whereas there were many open grounds near the other way, much fitter for an Engagement. And ſo, about the middle of *October*, the King march'd from *Shrewsbury*, and quarter'd that night at *Bridgenorth*, ten Miles from the other place, where there was a Rendezvous of the whole Army, which appear'd very chearful; and thence to *Wolverhampton*, *Bromicham*, and *Killingworth*, a Houſe of the King's, and a very noble Seat, where the King reſted one day; where the Lord Chief Juſtice *Heath*, who was made Chief Juſtice for that purpoſe (*Bramſton*, a Man of great Learning and Integrity, being, without any purpoſe of diſfavour, removed from that Office, becauſe he ſtood bound by Recognizance to

attend the Parliament, upon an accuſation depending there againſt him) begun to ſit upon a Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, to attaint the Earl of *Eſſex*, and many other Perſons who were in Rebellion, of High Treaſon.

SOME days had paſſed without any notice of that Army; ſome reporting that it remain'd ſtill at *Worceſter*, others, that they were march'd the direct way from thence towards *London*. But Intelligence came from *London*, "that very many Officers of Name, and Command in "the Parliament Army, had undergone that Service with a full reſolu- "tion to come to the King aſſoon as they were within any diſtance; and "it was wiſh'd, that the King would ſend a Proclamation into the Ar- "my it ſelf, and to offer pardon to all who would return to their obe- "dience. A Proclamation was prepared accordingly, and all circum- ſtances reſolv'd upon, that a Herald ſhould be ſent to proclaim it in the Head of the Earl's Army, when it ſhould be drawn up in Battle. But that, and many other particulars, prepared and reſolved upon, were forgotten, or omitted at the time appointed, which would not admit any of thoſe formalities.

WHEN the whole Army march'd together, there was quickly diſco- ver'd an unhappy jealouſy, and diviſion between the principal Officers, which grew quickly into a perfect Faction between the Foot and the Horſe. The Earl of *Lindſey* was General of the whole Army by his Commiſſion, and thought very equal to it. But when Prince *Rupert* came to the King, which was after the Standard was ſet up, and receiv'd a Commiſſion to be General of the Horſe, which, all Men knew, was deſign'd for him, there was a clauſe inſerted into it, exempting him from receiving Orders from any Body but from the King himſelf; which, upon the matter, ſeparated all the Horſe from any dependence upon the General, and had other ill conſequences in it: for when the King at midnight, being in his Bed, and receiving Intelligence of the Enemies motion, commanded the Lord *Falkland*, his principal Secretary of State, to direct Prince *Rupert*, what he ſhould do, his Highneſs took it very ill, and expoſtulated with the Lord *Falkland*, for giving him Orders. He could not have directed his paſſion againſt any Man, who would feel or regard it leſs. He told him, "that it was his office to ſignify what "the King bid him; which he ſhould always do; and that his Highneſs, "in neglecting it, neglected the King; who did neither the Prince, nor his own ſervice any good, by complying in the beginning with his rough Nature. But the King was ſo indulgent to him, that he took his advice in all things relating to the Army, and upon the deliberation of their march, and the figure of the Battle they reſolv'd to fight in with the Enemy, he concurr'd entirely with Prince *Rupert*'s advice, rejecting the opinion of the General, who prefer'd the order he had learn'd under Prince *Maurice*, and Prince *Harry*, with whom he had ſerv'd at the ſame time, when the Earl of *Eſſex* and he, both of them, had Regiments. The reſervedneſs of the Prince's Nature, and the little education he then had in Courts, made him unapt to make acquaintance with any of the Lords, who were thereby likewiſe diſcouraged from applying themſelves to Him; whilſt ſome Officers of the Horſe were well pleaſed to obſerve that ſtrangeneſs, and fomented it; believing Their credit would be the greater with the Prince, and deſiring that no other Perſon ſhould have any credit with the King. So the War was ſcarce begun, when there appear'd ſuch Faction and Deſigns in the Army, which wiſe Men look'd

Faction begun in the King's Army.

upon as a very evil Preſage; and the inconveniencies, which flow'd from thence, gave the King great trouble in a ſhort time after.

The Earl of Eſſex marches after the King.

WITHIN two days after the King march'd from *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Eſſex* moved from *Worceſter* to attend him, with an Army far Superior in Number to the King's; the Horſe and Foot being completely arm'd, and the Men very well exerciſed, and the whole equipage (being ſupplied out of the King's Magazines) ſuitable to an Army ſet forth at the charge of a Kingdom. The Earl of *Bedford* had the Name of General of the Horſe, though that Command principally depended upon Sr *William Balfour*. Of the Nobility he had with him the Lords *Kimbolton*, *Saint-John*, *Wharton*, *Roberts*, and the Lords *Rochford*, and *Feilding* (whoſe Fathers, the Earls of *Dover*, and *Denbigh*, charged as Voluntiers in the King's Guards of Horſe) and many Gentlemen of Quality; but his Train was ſo very great, that he could move but in ſlow marches. So that the two Armies, though they were but twenty miles aſunder, when they firſt ſet forth, and both marched the ſame way, gave not the leaſt diſquiet in ten days march to each other; and in truth, as it appear'd afterwards, neither Army knew where the other was.

THE King by quick marches, having ſeldom reſted a day in any place, came, on *Saturday* the 22^d of *October*, to *Edgcot* a Village in *Northampton-ſhire*, within four Miles of *Banbury*, in which the Rebels had a Garriſon. Aſſoon as he came thither he called a Council of War, and having no Intelligence that the Earl of *Eſſex* was within any diſtance, it was reſolv'd, "the King and the Army ſhould reſt in thoſe Quarters "the next day, only that Sr *Nicholas Byron* ſhould march with his Bri- "gade, and attempt the taking in of *Banbury*. With this Reſolution the Council Broke up, and all Men went to their Quarters, which were at a great diſtance, without any apprehenſion of an Enemy. But that night, about twelve of the Clock, Prince *Rupert* ſent the King word, "that the Body of the Rebels Army was within ſeven or eight Miles, "and that the head Quarter was at a Village call'd *Keinton* on the Edge "of *Warwick-ſhire*; and that it would be in his Majeſty's power, if he "thought fit, to fight a Battle the next day; which his Majeſty liked well, and therefore immediately diſpatch'd Orders to croſs the deſign for *Banbury*, "and that the whole Army ſhould draw to a Rendezvous "on the top of *Edge-hill*; which was a high Hill about two Miles from *Keinton*, where the head Quarter of the Earl was, which had a clear proſpect of all that Valley.

The Battle of Keinton or Edge-hill.

IN the Morning being *Sunday* the 23^d of *October*, when the Rebels were beginning their March (for they ſuſpected not the King's Forces to be near) they perceiv'd a fair Body of Horſe on the top of that Hill, and eaſily concluded their march was not then to be far. It is certain they were exceedingly ſurpriſed, having never had any other confidence of their Men, than by the diſparity they concluded would be ſtill between Their Numbers, and the King's, the which they found themſelves now deceiv'd in. For two of their ſtrongeſt and beſt Regiments of Foot, and one Regiment of Horſe, was a days march behind with their Ammunition. So that, though they were ſtill ſuperior in Number, yet that difference was not ſo great as they promiſed themſelves. However it cannot be denied that the Earl, with great dexterity, perform'd whatſoever could be expected from a Wiſe General. He choſe that ground which beſt liked him. There was between the Hill and the Town a fair Campaigne, ſave that near the Town it was narrower, and on the right hand

hand ſome Hedges, and Incloſures: ſo that there he placed Muſqueteers, and not above two Regiments of Horſe, where the ground was narroweſt; but on his left Wing he placed a Body of a thouſand Horſe, commanded by one *Ramſey* a *Scots*-man; the Reſerve of Horſe, which was a good one, was commanded by the Earl of *Bedford*, General of their Horſe, and Sr *William Balfour* with him. The General Himſelf was with the Foot, which were order'd as much to advantage as might be. And in this poſture they ſtood from eight of the Clock in the morning.

ON the other ſide, though Prince *Rupert* was early in the morning with the greateſt part of the Horſe on the top of the Hill, which gave the Enemy the firſt Alarm of the neceſſity of fighting, yet the Foot were quarter'd at ſo great a diſtance, that many Regiments march'd ſeven or eight Miles to the Rendezvous: ſo that it was paſt one of the Clock, before the King's Forces marched down the Hill; the General himſelf alighted at the head of his own Regiment of Foot, his Son the Lord *Willoughby* being next to him, with the King's Regiment of Guards, in which was the King's Standard carried by Sr *Edmund Verney*, Knight Marſhal. The King's right Wing of Horſe was Commanded by Prince *Rupert*, the left Wing by Mr *Wilmot* Commiſſary General of the Horſe, who was aſſiſted by Sr *Arthur Aſton* with moſt of the Dragoons, becauſe that left Wing was oppoſed to the Enemies right, which had the ſhelter of ſome Hedges lined with Muſqueteers: and the Reſerve was committed to Sr *John Byron*, and conſiſted indeed only of his own Regiment. At the Entrance into the Field, the King's Troop of Guards, either provoked by ſome unſeaſonable Scoffs among the Soldiery, or out of deſire of Glory, or both, beſought the King, "that he would give them leave "to be abſent that day from his Perſon, and to charge in the Front "among the Horſe, the which his Majeſty conſented to. They deſired Prince *Rupert* "to give them that honour which belonged to them; who accordingly aſſign'd them the firſt place; which, though they perform'd their parts with admirable Courage, may well be reckon'd among the overſights of that day.

IT was near three of the Clock in the afternoon, before the Battle begun; which, at that time of the year, was ſo late, that ſome were of opinion, "that the buſineſs ſhould be deferr'd till the next day. But againſt that there were many objections, "the King's Numbers could "not encreaſe, the Enemy's might; for they had not only their Garriſons, *Warwick*, *Coventry*, and *Banbury* within diſtance, but all that Country ſo devoted to them, that they had all proviſions brought to them, without the leaſt trouble; whereas, on the other ſide, the People were ſo diſaffected to the King's Party, that they had carried away, or hid all their Proviſions, inſomuch as there was neither Meat for Man, or Horſe; and the very Smiths hid themſelves, that they might not be compell'd to ſhooe Horſes, of which in thoſe ſtony ways there was great need. This proceeded not from any radical malice, or diſaffection to the King's Cauſe, or his Perſon, though it is true, that circuit in which this Battle was fought, being very much in the Intereſt of the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Brooke*, was the moſt eminently corrupted of any County in *England*; but by the reports, and infuſions which the other very diligent Party had wrought into the People's belief; "that the Cavaliers "were of a fierce, bloody, and licentious diſpoſition, that they com-"mitted all manner of cruelty upon the Inhabitants of thoſe places

"where they came, of which, robbery was the leaſt: ſo that the poor people thought there was no other way to preſerve their goods, than by hiding them out of the way; which was confeſs'd by them, when they found how much that information had wronged them, by making them ſo injurious to their Friends. And therefore where the Army reſted a day they found much better entertainment at parting, than when they came; for it will not be denied, that there was no Perſon of Honour or Quality, who paid not punctually and exactly for what they had; and there was not the leaſt violence or diſorder among the Common Soldiers in their march which ſcaped exemplary puniſhment, ſo that at *Bromicham*, a Town ſo generally wicked, that it had riſen upon ſmall parties of the King's, and kill'd, or taken them Priſoners, and ſent them to *Coventry*, declaring a more peremptory malice to his Majeſty than any other place, two Soldiers were executed, for having taken ſome ſmall trifle of no value out of a Houſe, whoſe owner was at that time in the Rebels Army. So ſtrict was the diſcipline in this Army; when the other, without controul, practiſed all the diſſoluteneſs imaginable. But the march was ſo faſt, that the leaving a good reputation behind them, was no Harbinger to provide for their better reception in the next Quarters. So that their wants were ſo great, at the time when they came to *Edge-hill*, that there were very many Companies of the Common Soldiers, who had ſcarce eaten Bread in eight and forty hours before. The only way to cure this was a Victory; and therefore the King gave the Word, though it was late, the Enemy keeping their ground to receive him without advancing at all.

IN this hurry, there was an omiſſion of ſomewhat, which the King intended to have executed before the beginning of the Battle. He had cauſed many Proclamations to be printed of Pardon to all thoſe Soldiers who would lay down their Armes, which he reſolv'd, as is ſaid before, to have ſent by a Herald to the Earl of *Eſſex*, and to have found ways to have ſcatter'd, and diſpers'd them in that Army, aſſoon as he underſtood they were within any diſtance of him. But all Men were now ſo much otherwiſe buſied, that it was not ſoon enough remember'd; and when it was, the Proclamations were not at hand; which, by that which follows, might probably have produced a good effect. For as the right Wing of the King's Horſe advanced to Charge the left Wing, which was the groſs of the Enemies Horſe, Sr *Faithful Forteſcue* (who, having his Fortune and Intereſt in *Ireland*, was come out of that Kingdom to haſten ſupplies thither, and had a Troop of Horſe raiſed for him for that Service, but as many other of thoſe Forces were, ſo his Troop was likewiſe diſpoſed into that Army, and he was now Major to Sr *William Waller*; He) with his whole Troop advanced from the groſs of their Horſe, and diſcharging all their Piſtols on the ground, within little more than Carabine ſhot of his own Body, preſented Himſelf, and his Troop to Prince *Rupert*; and immediately, with his Highneſs, charged the Enemy. Whether this ſuddain Accident, as it might very well, and the not knowing how many more were of the ſame mind, each Man looking upon his Companion with the ſame apprehenſion as upon the Enemy, or whether the terror of Prince *Rupert*, and the King's Horſe, or all together, with their own evil Conſciences, wrought upon them, I know not, but that whole Wing, having unskilfully diſcharg'd their Carabines and Piſtols into the Air, wheeled about, the King's Horſe charging in the flank and rear, and having thus abſolutely routed them,

purſued

purſued them flying; and had the execution of them above two Miles.

THE left Wing, commanded by Mr *Wilmot*, had as good ſucceſs, though they were to charge in worſe ground, among hedges, and through gaps and ditches, which were lined with Muſqueteers. But Sr *Arthur Aſton*, with great Courage and Dexterity, beat off thoſe Muſqueteers with his Dragoons; and then the right Wing of their Horſe was as eaſily routed and diſperſed as their left, and thoſe follow'd the chaſe as furiouſly as the other. The Reſerve ſeeing none of the Enemies Horſe left, thought there was nothing more to be done, but to purſue thoſe that fled; and could not be contain'd by their Commanders; but with Spurs, and looſe Reins follow'd the chaſe, which their left Wing had led them. And by this means, whilſt moſt Men thought the Victory unqueſtionable, the King was in danger of the ſame fate which his Predeceſſor, *Henry* the third, had at the Battle of *Lewes* againſt his Barons; when his Son the Prince, having routed their Horſe, follow'd the chaſe ſo far, that, before his return to the Field, his Father was taken Priſoner; and ſo his Victory ſerv'd only to make the misfortunes of that day the more intolerable. For all the King's Horſe having thus left the Field, many of them only following the execution, others intending the Spoil in the Town of *Keinton*, where all the Baggage was, and the Earl of *Eſſex*'s own Coach, which was taken, and brought away; their Reſerve, commanded by Sr *William Balfour*, moved up and down the Field in good Order, and marching towards the King's Foot pretended to be Friends, till obſerving no Horſe to be in readineſs to charge them, they brake in upon the Foot, and did great execution. Then was the General the Earl of *Lindſey*, in the head of his Regiment, being on Foot, ſhot in the thigh; with which he fell, and was preſently encompaſs'd with the Enemy; and his Son, the Lord *Willoughby*, piouſly endeavouring the reſcue of his Father, taken Priſoner with him. Then was the Standard taken (Sr *Edmund Verney*, who bore it, being kill'd) but reſcued again by Captain *John Smith*, an Officer of the Lord *Grandiſon*'s Regiment of Horſe, and by him brought off. And if thoſe Horſe had beſtirred themſelves, they might with little difficulty have deſtroyed, or taken Priſoner the King Himſelf, and his two Sons, the Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *York*, being with fewer than one hundred Horſe, and thoſe without Officer or Command, within half Muſquet ſhot of that Body, before he ſuſpected them to be Enemies.

WHEN Prince *Rupert* return'd from the chaſe, he found this great alteration in the Field, and his Majeſty himſelf with few Noblemen, and a ſmall retinue about him, and the hope of ſo glorious a day quite vaniſh'd. For though moſt of the Officers of Horſe were return'd, and that part of the Field cover'd again with the looſe Troops, yet they could not be perſwaded, or drawn to charge either the Enemies Reſerve of Horſe, which alone kept the Field, or the Body of their Foot, which only kept their ground. The Officers pretending, "that their Soldiers "were ſo diſperſed, that there were not ten of any Troop together; and the Soldiers, "that their Horſes were ſo tired, that they could not "charge. But the truth is, where many Soldiers of one Troop or Regiment were rallied together, there the Officers where wanting; and where the Officers were ready, there the Soldiers were not together; and neither Officers, nor Soldiers deſired to move without thoſe who properly belonged to them. Things had now ſo ill an aſpect, that many were of opinion, that the King ſhould leave the Field, though it was not eaſy

to adviſe whither he ſhould have gone; which if he had done, he had left an abſolute Victory to thoſe, who even at this time thought themſelves overcome. But the King was poſitive againſt this advice, well knowing, that as that Army was raiſed by his Perſon and Preſence only, ſo it could by no other means be kept together; and he thought it Unprincely, to forſake Them who had forſaken all they had to ſerve him: Beſides, he obſerv'd the other ſide look'd not as if they thought themſelves Conquerors; for that Reſerve, which did ſo much miſchief before, ſince the return of his Horſe, betook themſelves to a fixt ſtation between their Foot, which at beſt could but be thought to ſtand their ground, which two Brigades of the King's did with equal Courage, and gave equal Vollies; and therefore he tryed all poſſible ways to get the Horſe to charge again; eaſily diſcerning, by ſome little attempts which were made, what a notable impreſſion a brisk one would have made upon the Enemy. And when he ſaw it was not to be done, he was content with their only ſtanding ſtill. Without doubt if either Party had known the conſtitution of the other, they had not parted ſo fairly; and, very probably, which ſoever had made a bold offer, had compaſs'd his end upon his Enemy. This made many believe, though the Horſe vaunted themſelves aloud to have done Their part, that the good fortune of the firſt part of the day, which well managed would have ſecur'd the reſt, was to be imputed rather to their Enemy's want of Courage, than to their own Virtue (which after ſo great a Victory, could not ſo ſoon have forſaken them) and to the ſuddain and unexpected revolt of Sr *Faithful Forteſcue* with a whole Troop, no doubt much to the conſternation of thoſe he left; though they had not ſo good fortune as they deſerv'd; for by the negligence of not throwing away their Orange Tawny Scarfs, which they all wore as the Earl of *Eſſex*'s colours, and being immediately engaged in the charge, many of them, not fewer than ſeventeen or eighteen, were ſuddainly kill'd by thoſe to whom they joyn'd themſelves.

IN this doubt of all ſides, the Night, the Common friend to wearied and diſmaied Armies, parted them; and then the King cauſed his Cannon, which were neareſt the Enemies, to be drawn off; and with his whole Forces himſelf ſpent the night in the field, by ſuch a fire, as could be made of the little wood, and buſhes which grew thereabouts, unreſolv'd what to do the next morning; many reporting, "that the "Enemy was gone; but when the day appear'd, the contrary was diſcover'd; for then they were ſeen ſtanding in the ſame poſture, and place in which they fought, from whence the Earl of *Eſſex*, wiſely, never ſuffer'd them to ſtir all that Night; preſuming reaſonably, that if they were drawn off never ſo little from that place, their Numbers would leſſen, and that many would run away; and therefore he cauſed all manner of proviſions, with which the Country ſupplied him plentifully, to be brought thither to them for their refreſhment, and repoſed himſelf with them in the place; beſides, that Night he receiv'd a great addition of ſtrength, not only by rallying thoſe Horſe, and Foot, which had run out of the field in the Battle, but by the arrival of Colonel *Hambden*, and Colonel *Grantham* with two thouſand freſh Foot (which were reckon'd among the beſt of the Army) and five hundred Horſe, which march'd a day behind the Army for the Guard of their Ammunition, and a great part of their Train, not ſuppoſing there would have been any Action that would have requir'd their preſence. All the advantage

this ſeaſonable Recruit brought them, was to give their old Men ſo much Courage as to keep the Field, which it was otherwiſe believ'd they would hardly have been perſwaded to have done. In the other Army, after a very cold Night ſpent in the Field, without any refreſhment of Victual, or Proviſion for the Soldiers (for the Country was ſo diſaffected, that it not only not ſent in Proviſions, but Soldiers, who ſtragled into the Villages for relief, were knocked in the head by the Common People) the King found his Troops very thin; for though by conference with the Officers, he might reaſonably conclude, that there were not many ſlain in the Battle, yet a third part of his Foot were not upon the place, and of the Horſe many miſſing; and they that were in the Field were ſo tired with duty, and weaken'd with want of meat, and ſhrunk up with the cruel cold of the Night (for it was a terrible Froſt, and there was no ſhelter of either Tree or Hedge) that though they had reaſon to believe, by the ſtanding ſtill of the Enemy, whilſt a ſmall Party of the King's Horſe, in the morning, took away four pieces of their Cannon very near them, that any offer towards a charge, or but marching towards them, would have made a notable impreſſion in them, yet there was ſo viſible an averſneſs from it in moſt Officers, as well as Soldiers, that the King thought not fit to make the attempt; but contented himſelf to keep his Men in Order, the Body of Horſe facing the Enemy upon the Field where they had fought.

TOWARDS Noon the King reſolv'd to try that expedient, which was prepared for the day before; and ſent Sr *William le Neve*, Clarencieux King at Armes, to the Enemy, with his Proclamation of Pardon to ſuch as would lay down Armes; believing, though he expected then little benefit by the Proclamation, that he ſhould, by that means, receive ſome advertiſement of the condition of the Army, and what Priſoners they had taken (for many Perſons of Command and Quality were wanting) giving him order likewiſe to deſire to ſpeak with the Earl of *Lindſey*, who was known to be in their hands. Before Sr *William* came to the Army, he was receiv'd by the out Guards, and conducted, with ſtrictneſs (that he might ſay, or publiſh nothing among the Soldiers) to the Earl of *Eſſex*; who, when he offer'd to read the Proclamation aloud, and to deliver the effect of it, that he might be heard by thoſe who were preſent, rebuked him, with ſome roughneſs, and charged him, "as he lov'd his life, not to preſume to ſpeak a word "to the Soldiers; and after ſome few queſtions, ſent him preſently back well guarded through the Army, without any Anſwer at all. At his return he had ſo great and feeling a ſenſe of the danger he had paſſed, that he made little obſervation of the Poſture or Numbers of the Enemy. Only he ſeem'd to have ſeen, or apprehended ſo much trouble and diſorder in the faces of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the principal Officers about him, and ſo much dejection in the common Soldiers, that they look'd like Men who had no farther Ambition, than to keep what they had left. He brought word of the death of the Earl of *Lindſey*; who, being carried out of the Field a Priſoner, into a Barn of the next Village, for want of a Surgeon, and ſuch accommodations as were neceſſary, within few hours died with the loſs of Blood, his wound not being otherwiſe Mortal or dangerous. This was imputed to the inhumanity of the Earl of *Eſſex*, as if he had purpoſely neglected, or inhibited the performing any neceſſary offices to him, out of the Inſolence of his Nature, and in revenge of ſome former unkindneſſes, which had paſs'd between

between them. But, I preſume, it may be with more juſtice attributed to the hurry, and diſtraction of that ſeaſon, when, being ſo unſecure of their Friends, they had no thoughts vacant for their Enemies. For it is not to be denied at the time when the Earl of *Lindſey* was taken Priſoner, the Earl of *Eſſex* thought himſelf in more danger; and among his faults want of Civility and Courteſy was none.

THE Number of the ſlain, by the teſtimony of the Miniſters, and others of the next Pariſh, who took care of the Burying of the Dead, and which was the only computation that could be made, amounted to above five thouſand; whereof two parts were conceiv'd to be of thoſe of the Parliament Party, and not above a third part of the King's. Indeed the loſs of both ſides was ſo great, and ſo little of triumph appear'd in either, that the Victory could ſcarce be imputed to the One or the Other. Yet the King's keeping the Field, and having the ſpoil of it, by which many Perſons of Quality, who had lain wounded in the Field were preſerv'd, his purſuing afterwards the ſame deſign he had when he was diverted to the Battle, and ſucceeding in it (which ſhall be touch'd anon) were greater Enſigns of Victory on that ſide, than taking the General Priſoner, and the taking the Standard, which was likewiſe recover'd, were on the other. Of the King's the principal Perſons, who were loſt, were the Earl of *Lindſey*, General of the Army, the Lord *Stewart*, Lord *Aubigny* Son to the Duke of *Lenox*, and Brother to the then Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, Sr *Edmund Verney*, Knight Marſhal of the King's Horſe, and Standard Bearer, and ſome others of leſs Name, though of great Virtue, and good Quality.

A Character of the Earl of Lindſey, *the King's General.*

THE Earl of *Lindſey* was a Man of very noble extraction, and inherited a great Fortune from his Anceſtors; which though he did not manage with ſo great care, as if he deſired much to improve, yet he left it in a very fair condition to his Family, which more intended the encreaſe of it. He was a Man of great Honour, and ſpent his Youth and Vigour of his Age in Military Actions and Commands abroad; and albeit he indulged to himſelf great liberties of Life, yet he ſtill preſerv'd a very good reputation with all Men, and a very great Intereſt in his Country, as appear'd by the ſupplies he, and his Son, brought to the King's Army; the ſeveral Companies of his own Regiment of Foot, being commanded by the principal Knights and Gentlemen of *Lincolnſhire*, who engaged themſelves in the Service principally out of their perſonal affection to Him. He was of a very generous Nature, and punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him; which made him bear that reſtriction ſo heavily, which was put upon him by the Commiſſion granted to Prince *Rupert*, and by the King's preferring the Prince's opinion, in all matters relating to the War, before His. Nor did he conceal his reſentment: the day before the Battle, he ſaid to ſome Friends, with whom he had uſed freedom, "that "he did not look upon himſelf as General; and therefore he was re- "ſolv'd, when the day of Battle ſhould come, that he would be in the "head of his Regiment as a private Colonel, where he would dye. He was carried out of the Field to the next Village, and if he could then have procured Surgeons, it was thought his wound would not have proved Mortal. And aſſoon as the other Army was compoſed by the coming on of the night, the Earl of *Eſſex*, about midnight, ſent Sr *William Balfour*, and ſome other Officers to ſee him, and to offer him all offices, and meant himſelf to have viſited him. They found him upon

a little ſtraw in a poor Houſe, where they had laid him in his Blood, which had run from him in great abundance, no Surgeon having been yet with him, only he had great vivacity in his looks; and told them, "he was ſorry to ſee ſo many Gentlemen, ſome whereof were his old "Friends, engaged in ſo foul a Rebellion; and principally directed his diſcourſe to Sr *William Balfour*, whom he put in mind of "the great "obligations he had to the King; how much his Majeſty had diſobliged "the whole *Engliſh* Nation by putting him into the Command of the "Tower; and that it was the moſt odious ingratitude in Him to make "him that return. He wiſh'd them to tell my Lord *Eſſex*, "that he "ought to caſt himſelf at the King's feet to beg his pardon, which if he "did not ſpeedily do, his Memory would be odious to the Nation; and continued this kind of diſcourſe with ſo much vehemence, that the Officers by degrees withdrew themſelves, and prevented the Viſit the Earl of *Eſſex* intended him, who only ſent the beſt Surgeons to him, but in the very opening of his wounds he dyed before the morning, only upon the loſs of Blood. He had very many Friends, and very few Enemies; and died generally lamented.

THE Lord *Aubigney* was a Gentleman of great hopes, of a gentle and winning diſpoſition, and of very clear Courage: he was kill'd in the firſt charge with the Horſe; where, there being ſo little reſiſtance, gave occaſion to ſuſpect that it was done by his own Lieutenant, who was a *Dutch*-Man, and had not been ſo punctual in his duty, but that he receiv'd ſome reprehenſion from his Captain, which he murmur'd at. His Body was brought off, and buried at *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*; his two younger Brothers, the Lord *John* and the Lord *Bernard Stuart*, were in the ſame Battle, and were afterwards both kill'd in the War, and his only Son is now Duke of *Richmond*. Sr *Edmund Verney* hath been mention'd before; he was a Perſon of great Honour and Courage, and loſt his Life in that charge, when *Balfour*, with that Reſerve of Horſe, which had been ſo long undiſcern'd, broke into thoſe Regiments; but his body was not found.

OF the Parliament Party that periſh'd, the Lord *Saint-John* of *Bletnezo*, and *Charles Eſſex*, were of the beſt Quality. The laſt had been bred up a Page under the Earl of *Eſſex*, who afterwards, at his charge, preferr'd him to a Command in *Holland*; where he liv'd with very good reputation, and preſerv'd the credit of his decayed Family: And aſſoon as the Earl unfortunately accepted this Command, he thought his gratitude obliged him to run the fortune of his Patron, and out of pure kindneſs to the Perſon of the Earl, as many other Gentlemen did, engaged himſelf againſt the King without any malice or Rebellion in his heart towards the Crown. He had the Command of a Regiment of Foot, and was eſteem'd the beſt and moſt expert Officer of the Army, and was kill'd by a Muſquet ſhot in the beginning of the Battle. The Lord *Saint-John* was eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Bullingbrooke*, and got himſelf ſo well belov'd by the reputation of his Courteſy and Civility, which he expreſs'd towards all Men, that though his parts of underſtanding were very ordinary at beſt, and his courſe of life licentious and very much depraved, he got credit enough, by engaging the principal Gentlemen of *Bedford-ſhire* and *Hertford-ſhire* to be bound for him, to contract a debt of fifty or threeſcore thouſand pounds; for the payment whereof the fortune of the Family was not engaged, nor in his power to engage. So that the Clamour of his debts growing importunate, ſome years

before the Rebellion, he left the Kingdom and fled into *France*; leaving his vaſt debt to be paid by his Sureties, to the utter ruin of many Families, and the notable impairing of others. In the beginning of the Parliament, the King was prevailed with to call him to the Houſe of Peers, his Father being then alive, upon an aſſurance "that by his pre-"ſence and liberty, which could by no other way be ſecured, means "would be found out to pay his debts, and free ſo many worthy Per-"ſons from their engagements: Beſides that the times being like to be "troubleſome the King might be ſure of a faithful Servant, who would "always advance his ſervice in that Houſe. But the King had very ill fortune in conferring thoſe graces, nor was his ſervice more paſſionately, and inſolently oppoſed by any Men in that Houſe than by thoſe, who upon thoſe profeſſions were advanced by him from the condition of Commoners. And this Gentleman, from the firſt hour of his ſitting in that Houſe by the King's ſo extraordinary grace, was never known to concur in any one Vote for the King's Service, that receiv'd any oppoſition: and, aſſoon as it was in his power, he receiv'd a Commiſſion with the firſt to Command a Troop of Horſe againſt him, in which he behaved himſelf ſo ill, that he receiv'd ſome wounds in running away; and being taken Priſoner died before the next morning, without any other ſigns of repentance, than the canting words, "that he did not in-"tend to be againſt the King, but wiſh'd him all happineſs: ſo great an influence the firſt ſeeds of his birth had upon his Nature, that how long ſoever they were conceal'd, and ſeem'd even buried in a very different breeding and converſation, they ſprung up, and bore the ſame fruit upon the firſt occaſion. And it was an obſervation of that time, that the Men of moſt licentious lives, who appear'd to be without any ſenſe of Religion, or reverence to virtue, and the moſt unreſtrain'd by any obligations of conſcience, betook themſelves to that Party, and pretended an impulſe of Religion out of fear of Popery; and on the other ſide, very many Perſons of Quality, both of the Clergy and Laity, who had ſuffer'd under the imputation of Puritaniſm, and did very much diſlike the proceedings of the Court, and oppoſed them upon all occaſions, were yet ſo much ſcandalized at the very approaches to Rebellion, that they renounced all their old Friends, and applied themſelves with great Reſolution, Courage, and Conſtancy to the King's Service, and continued in it to the end, with all the diſadvantages it was liable to.

PRISONERS taken by the Enemy were, the Lord *Willoughby*, haſtily and piouſly endeavouring the reſcue of his Father; Sr *Thomas Lunsford*, and Sr *Edward Stradling*, both Colonels; and Sr *William Vavaſour*, who commanded the King's Regiment of Guards under the Lord *Willoughby*; and ſome other inferior Commanders. There were hurt, Sr *Jacob Aſtley*, and Sr *Nicholas Byron*, and more dangerouſly Colonel *Charles Gerrard*, who, being ſhot in the thigh, was brought off the field without any hopes of life, but recover'd to act a great part afterwards in the War; Sr *George Strode*, and ſome other Gentlemen who ſerv'd among the Foot; for of the Horſe there was not an Officer of Name, who receiv'd a Wound, the Lord *Aubigney* only excepted; ſo little reſiſtance did that part of the Enemy make. Of the Rebels there were ſlain, beſides the Lord *Saint-John*, Colonel *Charles Eſſex*, the Soldier of whom they had the beſt opinion, and who had always, till this laſt Action, preſerv'd a good reputation in the world, which was now the worſe, over and above the Guilt of Rebellion, by his having ſworn

to the Queen of *Bohemia*, by whoſe interceſſion he procured leave from the Prince of *Orange* to go into *England*, "that he would never ſerve "againſt the King: And many other of obſcure Names, though Officers of good command. There were a good Number of their Officers, eſpecially of Horſe, taken Priſoners, but (ſave that ſome of them were Parliament Men) of mean Quality in the world, except only Sr *William Eſſex* the Father of the Colonel, whoſe wants, from having waſted a very great Fortune, and his Son's invitation led him into that Company; where he was a private Captain of his Regiment.

WHEN the Armies had thus only look'd one upon another, the whole day, and it being diſcern'd that the Enemy had drawn off his Carriages, the King directed all his Army to retire into their old Quarters, preſuming (as it proved) that many of thoſe who were wanting would be found there. And ſo himſelf with his two Sons went to *Edgecot*, where he lay the night before the Battle, reſolving to reſt the next day, both for the refreſhing his wearied, and even tired Men, and to be inform'd of the motion and condition of the Enemy, upon which ſome Troops of the King's Horſe attended. The Earl of *Eſſex* retired with his to *Warwick* Caſtle, whither he had ſent all his Priſoners; ſo that, on the *Tueſday* morning, the King was inform'd, that the Enemy was gone, and that ſome of his Horſe had attended the rear of the Enemy almoſt to *Warwick*, and that they had left many of their Carriages, and very many of their wounded Soldiers at the Village next to the field; by which it appeared that their remove was in haſt, and not without apprehenſion.

AFTER the Horſe had march'd almoſt to *Warwick*, and found the Coaſt clear from the Enemy, they return'd to the field to view the dead Bodies, many going to enquire after their friends who were miſſing, where they found many not yet dead of their wounds, but lying ſtripp'd among the dead; among whom, with others, young Mr *Scroop* brought off his Father, Sr *Gervas Scroop*; who, being an old Gentleman of great fortune in *Lincoln-ſhire*, had raiſed a Foot Company among his Tenants, and brought them in to the Earl of *Lindſey*'s Regiment out of devotion and reſpect to his Lordſhip, as well as duty to the King; and had, about the time that the General was taken, faln with ſixteen wounds in his body and head; and had layen ſtripp'd among the dead, from that time, which was about three in the afternoon on *Sunday*, all that cold night, all *Monday*, and *Monday* night, and till *Tueſday* evening, for it was ſo late before his Son found him; whom with great piety he carried to a warm lodging, and afterwards to *Oxford*; where he wonderfully recover'd. The next morning after, being *Wedneſday*, there was another Gentleman, one *Bellingham*, of an ancient extraction, and the only Son of his Father, found among the dead, and brought off by his Friends with twenty wounds; who, after ten days, died at *Oxford*, by the negligence of his Surgeons, who left a wound in his thigh, of it ſelf not dangerous, undiſcern'd, and ſo by feſtering deſtroyed a body very hopefully recover'd of thoſe which were only thought Mortal. The Surgeons were of opinion, that both theſe Gentlemen owed their lives to the inhumanity of thoſe who ſtripp'd them, and to the coldneſs of the nights, which ſtopp'd their blood, better than all their skill and Medicaments could have done, and that if they had been brought off within any reaſonable diſtance of time after their wounds, they had undoubtedly periſhed.

ON *Wedneſday* morning, the King drew his Army to a Rendezvous, where he found his Numbers greater than he expected; for, in the night after the Battle, very many of the Common Soldiers out of cold, and hunger, had found their old Quarters. So that it was really believ'd upon this view, when this little reſt had recover'd a ſtrange chearfulneſs into all Men, that there were not in that Battle loſt above three hundred Men at moſt. There the King declared General *Ruthēn* General of his Army in the place of the Earl of *Lindſey*; and then march'd to *Ayno*, a little Village two miles diſtant from *Banbury*, of which his Majeſty that day took a View, and meant to attempt it the next day following. There was at that time in *Banbury* Caſtle a Regiment of eight hundred Foot, and a Troop of Horſe, which, with Spirits proportionable, had been enough to have kept ſo ſtrong a place from an Army better prepared to have aſſaulted it, than the King's then was, and at a ſeaſon of the year more commodious for a Siege. And therefore many were of opinion, that the King ſhould have march'd by it, without taking notice of it, and that the engaging before it, might prove very prejudicial to him. That which prevailed with him to ſtay there, beſides the Courage of his Soldiers, who had again recover'd their appetite to Action, was that he could not well reſolve whither to go; for till he was inform'd what the Earl of *Eſſex* did, he knew not how to direct his march; and if the Enemy advanced upon him, he could not fight in a place of more advantage. And therefore, having ſent a Trumpet to ſummon the Caſtle, and having firſt taken the Lord *Say*'s Houſe at *Broughton*, where there was ſome ſhew of reſiſtance, and in it a Troop of Horſe, and ſome good Armes, the Cannon were planted againſt the Caſtle, and the Army drawn out before it; but, upon the firſt ſhot made, the Caſtle ſent to treat, and upon leave to go away without their Armes, they fairly and kindly deliver'd the place; and half the Common Soldiers at the leaſt readily took conditions, and put themſelves into the King's Army, the reſt of the Armes came very ſeaſonably to ſupply many Soldiers of every Regiment, who either never had any before, or had loſt them at the Battle.

Banbury Caſtle ſurrendered to the King.

THIS laſt ſucceſs declared where the Victory was before at *Edge-hill*; for, though the routing of their Horſe, the having kill'd more upon the place, and taken more Priſoners, the number of the Colours wone from the Enemy (which were near forty in number) without the loſs of above three or four, and laſtly the taking four pieces of their Cannon the next morning after the Battle, were ſo many Arguments that the Victory inclined to the King: On the other ſide, the loſs of the General himſelf, and ſo many Men of Name either kill'd or taken Priſoners, who were generally known over the Kingdom (whereas, beſides the Lord *Saint-John*, and Colonel *Eſſex*, the names of the reſt of that Party were ſo obſcure, that neither the one ſide ſeem'd to be gainers by having taken or kill'd them, nor the other ſide to be loſers by being without them) the having kept the field laſt, were ſufficient Teſtimonies at the leaſt that they were not overcome. But now the taking of *Banbury*, which was the more ſignal, by the circumſtances of that part of the Army's being, before the Battle, deſign'd for that ſervice, then recalled to the field, and after that field fought, and the Retreat of the Enemy, the Readvancing upon it, and taking it, was ſo undeniable an Argument that the Earl of *Eſſex* was more broken and ſcatter'd than at firſt he appear'd to be, that the King's Army was look'd upon as Victorious. A Garriſon was

put into *Banbury*, and the Command thereof committed to the Earl of *Northampton*, and then the King marched to his own Houſe at *Woodſtock*; and the next day with the whole Army to *Oxford*, which was the only City of *England*, that he could ſay was entirely at his devotion; where he was receiv'd by the Univerſity, to whom the integrity and fidelity of that place is to be imputed, with all joy, and acclamation.

THE Earl of *Eſſex* continued ſtill at *Warwick*, repairing his broken Regiments and Troops, which every day leſſen'd and impaired; for the number of his ſlain Men was greater than it was reported to be, there being very many kill'd in the chaſe, and many who died of their wounds after they were carried off, and, of thoſe, who run away in the beginning, more ſtayed away than return'd; and which was more, they who run fartheſt and faſteſt told ſuch lamentable Stories of the defeat, and many of them ſhew'd ſuch hurts, that the terror thereof was even ready to make the People revolt to their Allegiance in all places. Many of thoſe who had ſtood their ground, and behaved themſelves well in the Battle, either with remorſe of Conſcience, horror of what they had done, and ſeen, or wearineſs of the duty and danger, withdrew themſelves from their Colours, and ſome from their Commands. And it is certain many engaged themſelves firſt in that ſervice, out of an opinion, that an Army would procure a Peace without fighting; others out of a deſire to ſerve the King, and reſolving to go away themſelves, and to carry others with them, aſſoon as they ſhould find themſelves within a ſecure diſtance to do it; both theſe being, contrary to their expectation, brought to fight, the latter, not knowing how to get to the King's Army in the Battle, diſcharged themſelves of the Service aſſoon as they came to *Warwick*; ſome with leave, and ſome without. But that which no doubt moſt troubled his Excellency was the temper, and conſtitutions of his new Maſters; who, he knew, expected no leſs from him than a Victory compleat, by his bringing the Perſon of the King alive or dead to them; and would conſider what was now fallen out, as it was ſo much leſs than they look'd for, not as it was more than any body elſe could have done for them. However, he gave them a glorious account of what had paſſed, and made as if his ſtay at *Warwick* were rather to receive new Orders and Commands from them, than out of any weakneſs or inability to purſue the old, and that he attended the King's motion as well as if he had been within ſeven miles of him.

The condition of the Earl of Eſſex's Army after the fight.

IT is certain the conſternation was very great at *London*, and in the two Houſes, from the time that they heard that the King march'd from *Shrewsbury* with a formed Army, and that he was reſolved to fight, aſſoon as he could meet with theirs. However they endeavour'd to keep up confidently the ridiculous opinion among the Common People, that the King did not Command, but was carried about in that Army of the Cavaliers, and was deſirous to eſcape from them; which they hoped the Earl of *Eſſex* would give him opportunity to do. The firſt news they heard of the Armies being engaged, was by thoſe who fled upon the firſt charge; who made marvellous haſt from the place of danger, and thought not themſelves ſafe, till they were gotten out of any poſſible diſtance of being purſued. It is certain, though it was paſt two of the clock before the Battle begun, many of the Soldiers, and ſome Commanders of no mean Name, were at St *Albans*, which was near thirty miles from the field, before it was dark. Theſe Men, as all Runaways do for their own

excuſe, reported all for loſt, and the King's Army to be ſo terrible, that it could not be encounter'd. Some of them, that they might not be thought to come away before there was cauſe, or whilſt there was any hope, reported the progreſs of the Battle, and preſented all thoſe lamentable things, and the circumſtances by which every part of the Army was defeated, which their terrified fancies had ſuggeſted to them whilſt they run away; ſome had ſeen the Earl of *Eſſex* ſlain, and heard his dying words; "That every one ſhould ſhift for himſelf, for all reſiſtance "was to no purpoſe: So that the whole City was, the *Monday*, full of the defeat; and though there was an expreſs, from the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf, of the contrary, there was not Courage enough left to believe it, and every hour produced ſomewhat to contradict the reports of the laſt. *Monday* in the afternoon, the Earl of *Holland* produced a Letter in the Houſe of Peers, which was written the night before by the Earl of *Eſſex*, in which all particulars of the day were ſet down, and "the im-"preſſion which had in the beginning been made npon his Horſe, but "that the concluſion was proſperous. Whilſt this was reading, and every Man greedily digeſting the good news, the Lord *Haſtings*, who had a Command of Horſe in the ſervice, enter'd the Houſe with frighted and ghaſtly looks, and poſitively declared "all to be loſt, againſt whatſoever "they believ'd or flatter'd themſelves with. And though it was evident enough that he had run away from the beginning, and only loſt his way thither, moſt Men look'd upon him as the laſt Meſſenger, and even ſhut their ears againſt any poſſible comfort; ſo that without doubt very many, in the horror and conſternation of eight and forty hours, paid and underwent a full penance and mortification for the hopes, and inſolence of three months before. At the laſt, on *Wedneſday* morning, the Lord *Wharton*, and Mr *William Strode*, the one a Member of the Houſe of Lords, the other of the Commons, arrived from the Army, and made ſo full a relation of the Battle, "of the great Numbers ſlain "on the King's part, without any conſiderable loſs on Their ſide, of the "miſerable and weak condition the King's Army was in, and of the Earl "of *Eſſex*'s reſolution to purſue him, That they were not now content to be ſavers, but Voted "that their Army had the Victory; and appointed a day for a ſolemn thankſgiving to God for the ſame; and that ſo great a joy might not be enjoyed only within thoſe Walls, they appointed thoſe two truſty Meſſengers to communicate the whole relation with all circumſtances to the City; which was convened together at the *Guild-Hall* to receive the ſame. But by this time, ſo many Perſons, who were preſent at the Action, came to the Town of both ſides (for there was yet a free intercourſe with all Quarters) and ſome diſcourſes were publiſhed, how little either of theſe two Meſſengers had ſeen themſelves of that day's buſineſs, that the City ſeem'd not ſo much exalted at their Relations, as the Houſes had been; the King's taking *Banbury*, and marching afterwards to *Oxford*, and the reports from thoſe parts of his power, with the Earl of *Eſſex*'s lying ſtill at *Warwick*, gave great Argument of diſcourſe; which grew the greater by the commitment of ſeveral Perſons, for reporting "that the King had the better of the field; which Men thought would not have been, if the ſucceſs had been contrary; and therefore there was nothing ſo generally ſpoken of, or wiſh'd for, as Peace.

THEY who were really well affected to the King, and from the beginning oppoſed all the extravagances, for of ſuch there were many in both

both Houſes, who could not yet find in their hearts to leave the company, ſpake now aloud, "that an humble Addreſs to the King for the "removal of all miſunderſtandings, was both in Duty neceſſary, and in "Policy convenient. The half hearted, and half witted People, which made much the Major part of both Houſes, plainly diſcern'd there muſt be a War, and that the King at leaſt would be able to make reſiſtance, which they had been promiſed he could not do, and ſo were equally paſſionate to make any overtures for accommodation. They only who had contrived the miſchief, and already had digeſted a full change and alteration of Government, and knew well, that all their Arts would be diſcover'd, and their Perſons odious, though they might be ſecured, violently oppoſed all motions of this kind. Theſe Men preſs'd earneſtly "to ſend an expreſs to their Brethren of *Scotland*, to invite, and con-"jure them to come to their Aſſiſtance, and to leave no way unthought "of, for ſuppreſſing, and totally deſtroying all thoſe who had preſum'd "to ſide with the King. This overture of calling the *Scots* in again was as Unpopular a thing, as could be mention'd; beſides that it implied a great, and abſolute diffidence in their own ſtrength, and an acknowledgement that the People of *England* ſtood not ſo generally affected to their deſires, which they had hitherto publiſh'd, and urged, as the beſt Argument to juſtify thoſe deſires. Therefore the wiſe Managers of that Party, by whoſe conduct they had been principally govern'd, ſeem'd fully to concur with thoſe who deſired Peace, "and to ſend an humble "Addreſs to the King, which they confeſs'd to be due from them as "Subjects, and the only way to procure happineſs for the Kingdom. And having hereby render'd themſelves gracious, and gain'd credit, they adviſed them "ſo to endeavour Peace, that they might not be diſap-"pointed of it, and wiſh'd them "to conſider that the King's Party were "high upon the ſucceſs of having an Army (of which they had reaſon-"ably before deſpaired) though not upon any thing that Army had yet "done. That it was apparent, the King had Miniſters ſtirring for him "in the North, and in the Weſt, though hitherto with little effect; and "therefore if they ſhould make ſuch an application for Peace, as might "imply the giving over the thoughts of War, they muſt expect ſuch a "Peace, as the mercy of thoſe whom they had provoked would conſent "to. But if they would ſteddily purſue thoſe Counſels as would make "their ſtrength formidable, they might then expect ſuch moderate con-"ditions, as they might, with their own, and the Kingdom's ſafety, ſe-"curely ſubmit to. That therefore the Propoſition of ſending into *Scot-"land* was very ſeaſonable; not that it could be hoped, or was deſired, "that they ſhould bring an Army into *England*, of which there was not "like to be any need; but that that Kingdom might make ſuch a De-"claration of their Affections, and readineſs to aſſiſt the Parliament, "that the King might look upon them with the more conſideration, as "a Body not eaſily to be oppreſs'd, if he ſhould inſiſt upon too high con-"ditions.

By this Artifice, whilſt they who preſſed a Treaty thought, that that being once conſented to, a Peace would inevitably be concluded, the ſame day that a Committee was appointed "to prepare heads of an hum-"ble Addreſs unto his Majeſty, for compoſing the preſent differences, and "diſtractions, and ſettling the Peace of the Kingdom (which was a great condeſcenſion) they made no ſcruple to declare, "that the preparations "of Forces, and all other neceſſary means for defence, ſhould be proſe-

"cuted

"cuted with all Vigour; and thereupon required "all thoſe Officers and "Soldiers, who had left their General, of which the Town was then full, "upon pain of death, to return to him; and for his better recruit, ſolemnly declared, "that in ſuch times of Common danger and neceſſity, "the Intereſt of private Perſons ought to give way to the publick; and *Apprentices invited by the Parliament to take Armes.* "therefore they ordain'd, that ſuch Apprentices, as would be liſted to "ſerve as Soldiers for the defence of the Kingdom, the Parliament, and "City (with their other uſual expreſſions of Religion, and the King's "Perſon) their Sureties, and ſuch as ſtood engaged for them, ſhould "be ſecured againſt their Maſters; and that their Maſters ſhould receive "them again, at the end of their ſervice, without imputing any loſs of "time to them, but the ſame ſhould be reckon'd as well ſpent, accord-"ing to their Indentures, as if they had been ſtill in their Shops. And by this means many Children were engaged in that ſervice, not only againſt the Conſent, but againſt the Perſons of their Fathers, and the Earl receiv'd a notable ſupply thereby.

THEN, in return for their conſent that a formal, and perfunctory Meſſage ſhould be ſent to his Majeſty, whereby they thought a Treaty would be enter'd upon, they procured at the ſame time, and as an Expedient for Peace, this material and full Declaration of both Houſes to the Subjects of *Scotland*, which they cauſed with all expedition to be ſent into that Kingdom.

The two Houſes Declaration to the Subjects of Scotland.

"WE the Lords and Commons, aſſembled in the Parliament of "*England*, conſidering, with what wiſdom, and publick affection, Our "Brethren of the Kingdom of *Scotland* did concur with the endeavours "of this Parliament, and the deſires of the whole Kingdom in procuring, "and eſtabliſhing a firm Peace and Amity between the two Nations, "and how lovingly they have ſince invited us to a nearer, and higher "degree of union in matters concerning Religion, and Church Govern-"ment, which We have moſt willingly and affectionately embraced, and "intend to purſue, cannot doubt but they will, with as much forward-"neſs and affection, concur with us in ſettling Peace in this Kingdom, "and preſerving it in their own; that ſo We may mutually reap the "benefit of that Amity and Allyance, ſo happily made, and ſtrongly con-"firm'd betwixt the two Nations. Wherefore, as We did about a year "ſince, in the firſt appearance of trouble then beginning among them, "actually declare, that in our ſenſe and apprehenſion of the National "Allyance betwixt us, We were thereby bound to apply the Authority "of Parliament, and power of this Kingdom to the preſervation, and "maintenance of their Peace: And, ſeeing now that the troubles of this "Kingdom are grown to a greater height, and the ſubtle practices of "the Common Enemies of the Religion, and Liberty of both Nations, "do appear with more evident ſtrength, and danger than they did at "that time, We hold it neceſſary to declare, that, in our judgement, "the ſame obligation lies upon Our Brethren, by the afore mention'd "Act, with the power and force of that Kingdom, to aſſiſt Us in re-"preſſing thoſe among us, who are now in Armes, and make War, not "only without conſent of Parliament, but even againſt the Parliament, "and for the deſtruction thereof.

"WHEREFORE We have thought good to make known unto our "Brethren, that his Majeſty hath given Commiſſion to divers eminent "and known Papiſts, to raiſe Forces, and to compoſe an Army in the "North,

"North, and other parts of this Kingdom, which is to joyn with divers "forreign Forces, intended to be tranſported from beyond the Seas, for "the deſtruction of this Parliament, and of the Religion, and Liberty "of the Kingdom: and that the principal part of the Clergy and their "adherents, have likewiſe invited his Majeſty to raiſe another Army, "which, in his own Perſon, he doth conduct againſt the Parliament, "and the City of *London*, plundering and robbing ſundry well affected "Towns within their power; and in proſecution of their malice, they "were ſo preſumptuous, and predominant of his Majeſty's Reſolutions, "that they forbear not thoſe outrages in places to which his Majeſty "hath given his Royal word and protection; a great cauſe and incen- "tive of which malice, proceeds from the deſign they have to hinder "the Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Government in this Kingdom, ſo "much longed for by all the true Lovers of the Proteſtant Religion.

"AND hereupon We farther deſire our Brethren of the Nation of "*Scotland*, to raiſe ſuch Forces as they ſhall think ſufficient for ſecuring "the Peace of their own Borders, againſt the ill affected Perſons there, "as likewiſe to aſſiſt us in ſuppreſſing the Army of Papiſts, and For- "reigners; which, as We expect, will ſhortly be on foot here, and if "they be not timely prevented may prove as miſchievous, and deſtru- "ctive to that Kingdom, as to our ſelves. And though We ſeek nothing "from his Majeſty that may diminiſh his juſt Authority, or Honour, "and have, by many humble Petitions, endeavour'd to put an end to "this unnatural War and Combuſtion in the Kingdom, and to procure "his Majeſty's protection, and ſecurity for our Religion, Liberty, and "Perſons (according to that great Truſt which his Majeſty is bound to "by the Laws of the Land) and ſhall ſtill continue to renew our Peti- "tions in that kind; yet, to our great grief, We ſee the Papiſtical and "Malignant Council ſo prevalent with his Majeſty, and his Perſon ſo "engaged to their power, that We have little hope of better ſucceſs of "our Petitions than We formerly had; and are thereby neceſſitated to "ſtand upon our juſt defence, and to ſeek this ſpeedy and powerful Aſ- "ſiſtance of our Brethren of *Scotland*, according to that Act agreed upon "in the Parliament of both Kingdoms, the Common Duty of Chriſtia- "nity, and the particular Intereſts of their own Kingdom: To which "We hope God will give ſuch a bleſſing, that it may produce the pre- "ſervation of Religion, the honour, ſafety, and peace of his Majeſty, "and all his Subjects, and a more ſtrict conjunction of the Counſels, De- "ſigns, and Endeavours of both Nations, for the comfort and relief of "the reform'd Churches beyond Sea.

The condition and inclinations of the Kingdom of Scotland *at that time.*

IT will not be here unſeaſonable to take ſome ſhort ſurvey of the Affections and Inclinations of *Scotland*; the ordering and well diſpoſing whereof either ſide ſufficiently underſtood, would be of moment, and extraordinary importance in the growing contention. From the time of the King's being laſt there, when he had ſo fully complied with all they had deſired, both for the publick Government, and their private advancements, that Kingdom within it ſelf enjoyed as much quiet and tranquillity as they could deſire; having the convenience of disburthen- ing themſelves of their late Army into *Ireland*, whither their old Ge- neral *Leſlie*, then made Earl of *Leven*, was imployed in his full Com- mand by the King, and the two Houſes, at the charge of *England*. So that many believ'd they had been ſo abundantly ſatisfied with what they

had already gotten from *England*, that they had no farther projects upon this Kingdom, but meant to make their fortunes by a new conqueſt in *Ireland*, where they had a very great part of the Province of *Ulſter* planted by their own Nation. So that, according to their rules of good Husbandry, they might expect whatſoever they got from the Rebels to keep for Themſelves. And the King himſelf was ſo confident that the Affections of that People could not be ſo corrupted towards him, as to make a farther attempt upon him, that he believ'd them, to a degree, ſenſible of their former breach of duty, and willing to repair it by any ſervice. *Leſlie* himſelf had made great acknowledgments, and great profeſſions to him, and had told him, "that it was nothing to promiſe "him, that he would never more bear Armes againſt him, but he pro- "miſed he would ſerve his Majeſty upon any ſummons without asking "the cauſe. The Earl of *Lowden*, and all the reſt, who had miſled the People, were poſſeſs'd of whatſoever they could deſire, and the future fortune of That Nation ſeem'd to depend wholely upon the keeping up the King's full power in This.

HIS Majeſty had, from time to time, given his Council of that Kingdom full relations of all his differences with his Parliament, and had carefully ſent them the Declarations, and publick Paſſages of both ſides, and they had allways return'd very ample expreſſions of their Affections and Duty, and expreſs'd a great ſenſe of the Parliaments proceedings towards him. And ſince the time of his being at *York*, the Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, in whoſe Integrity and Loyalty he was leaſt ſecure, had been with him; and ſeem'd ſo well ſatisfied with the Juſtice and Honour of his Majeſty's carriage towards the Parliament, that he writ to the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners at *London*, in the Name, and as by the direction of the Lords of the ſecret Council of that Kingdom, "that they "ſhould preſent to the two Houſes the deep ſenſe they had of the Inju- "ries and Indignities, which were offer'd to the King, whoſe juſt Rights "they were bound to defend; and that they ſhould conjure them, to "bind up thoſe wounds which were made, and not to widen them by "ſharpneſs of Language; and to give his Majeſty ſuch real ſecurity for "his ſafety among them, by an effectual declaring againſt Tumults, and "ſuch other Actions as were juſtly offenſive to his Majeſty, that he "might be induced to reſide nearer to them, and comply with them in "ſuch propoſitions as ſhould be reaſonably made; with many ſuch expreſſions, as together with his return into *Scotland* without coming to *London*, where he was expected, gave them ſo much offence and jealouſy, that they never communicated that Letter to the Houſes, and took all poſſible care to conceal it from the People.

THE Marquis *Hamilton* had been likewiſe with his Majeſty at *York*, and, finding the Eyes of all Men directed towards him with more than ordinary jealouſy, he offer'd the King to go into *Scotland*, with many Aſſurances and undertakings, confident "that he would at leaſt keep "that People from doing any thing, that might ſeem to countenance "the carriage of the Parliament. Upon which promiſes, and to be rid of him at *York*, where he was by all Men look'd upon with marvelous prejudice, the King ſuffer'd him to go, with full Aſſurance that he would, and he was ſure he could, do him very good ſervice there: as, on the other ſide, in his own Court he was ſo great an offence, that the whole Gentry of *York-ſhire*, who no doubt had infuſions to that purpoſe from others, had a deſign to have petition'd the King, that the Marquis might be

be ſequeſter'd from all Councils, and preſence at Court, as a Man too much truſted by them who would not truſt his Majeſty.

LASTLY, the King had many of the Nobility of *Scotland* then attending, and among thoſe the Earl of *Calander*, who had been Lieutenant General of the *Scotiſh* Army, when it invaded *England*, and had freely confeſs'd to his Majeſty, upon what errors and miſtakes he had been corrupted, and by whom, and pretended ſo deep a ſenſe of what he had done amiſs, that it was believ'd, he would have taken Command in the King's Army; which he declined, as if it might have been penal to him in *Scotland* by ſome clauſe in the Act of the Pacification, but eſpecially upon pretence it would diſable him from doing him greater ſervice in that Kingdom: whither, ſhortly after the Standard was ſet up, he repaired, with all ſolemn Vows of aſſerting, and improving his Majeſty's Intereſt in thoſe parts.

THE Parliament on the other hand aſſured themſelves, that that Nation was entirely Theirs, having their Commiſſioners reſiding with them at *London*; and the chief Managers and Governours in the firſt War, by their late intercourſe, and communication of Guilt, having a firm correſpondence with the Marquis of *Argyle*, the Earl of *Lowden*, and that Party, who being not able to excuſe themſelves, thought the King could never in his heart forgive them, when it ſhould be in his power to bring them to juſtice. And they undertook that when there ſhould be need of that Nation (which the other thought there would never be) they ſhould be as forward to ſecond them as They had been; in the mean time return'd as fair, and reſpective Anſwers to all their Meſſages, and upon their Declarations, which were conſtantly ſent to them, as they did to the King; aſſiſting them in their deſign againſt the Church, which was not yet grown Popular even in the two Houſes, by declaring "that the People of that Nation could never be engaged "on any other ground, than the Reformation of Religion. And therefore, about the beginning of *Auguſt*, the Aſſembly of the Kirk of *Scotland* publiſh'd a Declaration; "how exceedingly griev'd they were, and "made heavy, that in ſo long a time, againſt the profeſſions both of "King and Parliament, and contrary to the joynt deſires and prayers of "the Godly in both Kingdoms, to whom it was more dear and precious "than what was deareſt to them in the world, the Reformation of Re-"ligion had moved ſo ſlowly, and ſuffer'd ſo great interruption.

THE ground of which reproach was this; in the late Treaty of Peace, the Commiſſioners for *Scotland* had expreſs'd a deſire or wiſh warily couched in words, rather than a Propoſition, "that there were ſuch an "unity of Religion, and Uniformity of Church Government agreed on, "as might be a ſpecial means for conſerving of Peace betwixt the two "Kingdoms: To which there had been a general inclination to return a rough Anſwer, and reproof for their intermedling in any thing that related to the Laws of *England*. But, by the extraordinary induſtry, and ſubtlety of thoſe, who ſaw that buſineſs was not yet ripe, and who alledged, that it was only wiſh'd, not propoſed, and therefore that a ſharp reply was not merited, this gentle Anſwer, againſt the minds of very many, was return'd.

"THAT his Majeſty, with the advice of both Houſes of Parliament, did "approve of the Affection of his Subjects of *Scotland*, in their deſire of "having conformity of Church Government between the two Nations; "and as the Parliament had already taken into conſideration the Refor-

"mation of Church Government, ſo they would proceed therein in due "time, as ſhould beſt conduce to the glory of God, the Peace of the "Church, and of both Kingdoms.

WHICH was conſented to by moſt, as a civil Anſwer, ſignifying, or concluding nothing; by others, becauſe it admitted an interpretation of reducing the Government of the Church in *Scotland* to this of *England*, as much as the contrary. But it might have been well diſcern'd, that thoſe Men asked nothing without a farther deſign than the words naturally imported, nor ever reſted ſatisfied with a general formal Anſwer, except they found, that they ſhould hereafter make uſe, and receive benefit by ſuch Anſwer. So they now urged the matter of this Anſwer, as a ſufficient Title to demand the extirpation of Prelacy in *England*, and demoliſhing the whole Fabrick of that glorious Church; urging his Majeſty's late practice, while he was in Perſon in *Scotland*, in reſorting frequently to their exerciſes of publick Worſhip; and his Royal Actions, in eſtabliſhing the Worſhip and Government of that Kirk in Parliament. And therefore they deſired the Parliament "to begin their work of Re-"formation at the Uniformity of Kirk Government; for that there "could be no hope of unity in Religion, of one confeſſion of Faith, one "form of Worſhip, and one Catechiſm, till there were firſt one form of "Church Government; and that the Kingdom, and Kirk of *Scotland*, "could have no hope of a firm and durable Peace, till Prelacy, which "had been the main cauſe of their miſeries and troubles, firſt and laſt, "were pluck'd up root and branch, as a plant which God had not planted, "and from which no better fruits could be expected, than ſuch ſour "Grapes, as at that day ſet on edge the Kingdom of *England*.

WHICH Declaration the Lords of the ſecret Council, finding, as they ſaid, "the reaſons therein expreſs'd to be very pregnant, and the par-"ticulars deſired, much to conduce to the glory of God, the advance-"ment of the true Chriſtian Faith, his Majeſty's Honour, and the Peace, "and union of his Dominions, well approv'd of; and concurred in their earneſt deſires to the two Houſes of Parliament, "to take to their ſe-"rious conſiderations thoſe particulars, and to give favourable hearing "to ſuch deſires and overtures, as ſhould be found moſt conducible to "the promoting ſo great, and ſo good a work.

THIS being ſent to the Parliament at the time they were forming their Army, and when the King was preparing for his defence, they who, from the beginning, had principally intended this confuſion of the Church, inſinuated "how neceſſary it was, ſpeedily to return a very "affectionate, and ſatisfactory reply to the Kingdom of *Scotland*; not "only to preſerve the reputation of unity, and conſent between them, "which at that time, was very uſeful to them, but to hinder the ope-"rations of the diſaffected in that Kingdom; who, upon infuſions that "the Parliament only aim'd at taking his Majeſty's Regal rights from "him, to the prejudice of Monarchique Government, without any "thought of reforming Religion, endeavour'd to pervert the Affections "of that People towards the Parliament. Whereas if they were once "aſſured there was a purpoſe to reform Religion, they ſhould be ſure "to have their hearts; and, if occaſion required, their Hands too; which "poſſibly might be ſeduced for the King, if that purpoſe were not ma-"nifeſted. Therefore, for the preſent, they ſhould do well to return "their hearty thanks for, and their Brotherly acceptance and approba-"tion of the deſires, and advice of that Chriſtian Aſſembly, and of the

"Lords of the Council; and that though, for the preſent, by reaſon of "the King's diſtance from the Parliament, they could not ſettle any "concluſion in that matter, yet for Their parts they were reſolv'd to en- "deavour it.

BY this Artifice and Invention, they procured a Declaration from the two Houſes of Parliament, of wonderful kindneſs, and confeſſion of many inconveniencies, and miſchiefs the Kingdom had ſuſtain'd by Biſhops; and therefore they declared, "that that Hierarchical Govern- "ment was evil, and juſtly offenſive, and burthenſome to the Kingdom; a "great impediment to Reformation, and growth of Religion; very pre- "judicial to the State and Government of the Kingdom; and that they "were reſolv'd, that the ſame ſhould be taken away; and that their pur- "poſe was to conſult with Godly, and Learned Divines, that they might "not only remove That, but ſettle ſuch a Government, as might be "moſt agreeable to God's holy word; moſt apt to procure, and conſerve "the Peace of the Church at home, and happy union with the Church "of *Scotland*, and other Reform'd Churches abroad; and to eſtabliſh "the ſame by a Law, which they intended to frame for that purpoſe, "to be preſented to his Majeſty for his Royal Aſſent; and in the mean "time to beſeech him, that a Bill for the Aſſembly might be paſſed in "time convenient for their meeting; the two Houſes having extrajudi- cially and extravagantly nominated their own Divines to that purpoſe, as is before remember'd.

IT was then believ'd by many, and the King was perſwaded to believe the ſame, that all thoſe importunities from *Scotland* concerning the Government of the Church, were uſed only to preſerve themſelves from being preſs'd by the Parliament, to joyn with them againſt the King; imagining that this Kingdom would never have conſented to ſuch an alteration; and they again pretending, that no other obligation could unite that People in their ſervice. But it is moſt certain, this laſt Declaration was procured by perſwading Men, "that it was for the preſent "neceſſary, and that it was only an Engagement to do their beſt to per- "ſwade his Majeſty, who they concluded would be inexorable in the "point (which they ſeem'd not to be ſorry for) "and that a receding from "ſuch a concluſion would be a means to gratify his Majeſty in a Treaty. At worſt, they all knew, that there would be room enough, when any Bill ſhould be brought in, to oppoſe what they had, for this reaſon of State, ſeem'd generally to conſent to. And ſo by theſe Stratagems, thinking to be too hard for each other, they grew all ſo entangled, that they ſtill wound themſelves deeper into thoſe Labyrinths, in which the Major part meant not to be involv'd. And what effect that Declaration of the two Houſes, after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, which is mention'd before, wrought, will very ſhortly appear.

The King at Oxford recruits his Army

THE King found himſelf in good eaſe at *Oxford*, where care was taken for providing for the ſick, and wounded Soldiers, and for the accommodation of the Army, which was, in a ſhort time, recruited there in a good meaſure; and the ſeveral Colleges preſented his Majeſty with all the Money they had in their Treaſuries, which amounted to a good Sum, and was a very ſeaſonable ſupply, as they had formerly ſent him all their Plate. It had been very happy, if the King had continued his reſolution of ſitting ſtill during the Winter, without making farther attempts; for his reputation was now great, and his Army believ'd to be much greater than it was, by the Victory they had obtain'd, and the

Parliament grew more divided into factions, and diſlike of what they had done, and the City appear'd fuller of diſcontent, and leſs inclined to be impoſed upon than they had been: ſo that on all hands nothing was preſs'd, but that ſome addreſs might be made to the King for an accommodation; which temper and diſpoſition might have been cultivated, as many Men thought, to great effects, if no farther approaches had been made to *London*, to ſhew them how little cauſe they had for their great fear. But the Weather growing fair again, as it often is about *Allhollantide*, and a good Party of Horſe having been ſent out from *Abingdon*, where the head Quarter of the Horſe was, they advanced farther than they had order to do, and upon their approach to *Reading*, where *Harry Martin* was Governour for the Parliament, there was a great terror ſeiſed upon them, inſomuch as Governour and Garriſon fled to *London*, and left the place to the party of Horſe; which gave advertiſement to the King, "that all fled before them; that the "Earl of *Eſſex* remain'd ſtill at *Warwick*, having no Army to March; "and that there was ſo great diviſions in the Parliament, that, upon his "Majeſty's approach, they would all fly; and that nothing could inter- "rupt him from going to *White-Hall*. However, *Reading* it ſelf was ſo "good a Poſt, that if the King ſhould find it neceſſary to make his own "Reſidence in *Oxford*, it would be much the better by having a Garri- "ſon at *Reading*.

The Garriſon of the Parliament at Reading *quitting it, the King marches thither.*

UPON theſe and other motives, beſides the natural credulity in Men, in believing all they wiſh to be true, the King was prevailed with to march with his Army to *Reading*. This Alarm quickly came to *London*, and was receiv'd with the deepeſt horror: they now unbeliev'd all which had been told them from their own Army; that Army which, they were told, was well beaten, and ſcatter'd, was now advanced within thirty Miles of *London*; and the Earl of *Eſſex*, who pretended to the Victory, and who they ſuppoſed was watching the King, that he might not eſcape from him, could not be heard of, and continued ſtill at *Warwick*. Whilſt the King was at *Nottingham*, and *Shrewsbury*, they gave orders Magiſterially for the War, but now it was come to their own doors, they took not that delight in it.

BEFORE they were reſolv'd what to ſay, they diſpatch'd a Meſſenger, who found the King at *Reading*, only to deſire "a ſafe conduct from "his Majeſty for a Committee of Lords and Commons, to attend his "Majeſty with an humble Petition from his Parliament. The King pre- "ſently return'd his Anſwer, "that he had always been, and was ſtill "ready to receive any Petition from them; that their Committee ſhould "be Welcome, provided it conſiſted of Perſons, who had not been by "name declared Traytors by his Majeſty, and excepted as ſuch in his "Declarations, or Proclamations. The cauſe of this limitation was as well the former Rule his Majeſty had ſet down at *Shrewsbury* (from whence he thought not fit now to recede, after a Battle) as that he might prevent the Lord *Say's* being ſent to him, from whom he could expect no entire, aud upright dealing.

THE next day another Letter came from the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers to the Lord *Falkland*, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries, to deſire a "ſafe conduct for the Earls of *Northumberland*, and *Pem-* "*broke*, and four Members of the Houſe of Commons, to attend his Ma- "jeſty with their Petition; which ſafe conduct was immediately ſign'd by his Majeſty, excepting only for Sr *John Evelyn*, who was by name excepted

excepted in his Majeſty's Proclamation of Pardon to the County of *Wilts*; which Proclamation was then ſent to them with a ſignification, "that if they would ſend any other Perſon in his place, not ſubject to "the ſame exception, he ſhould be receiv'd as if his name were in the "ſafe conduct. Though this was no more than they had cauſe to look for, yet it gave them opportunity for a time to lay aſide the thought of Petitioning, as if his Majeſty had rejected all overtures of Peace: "For he might every day proclaim as many of their Members Traytors, "and except them from Pardon, as he pleaſed, and therefore it was to "no purpoſe to prepare Petitions, and appoint Meſſengers to preſent "them, when it was poſſible thoſe Meſſengers might, the hour before, "be proclaim'd Traytors: that to ſubmit to ſuch a limitation of the "King's was, upon the matter, to conſent to, and approve the higheſt "breach of Privilege, that had been yet offer'd to them.

So that, for ſome days, all diſcourſe of Peace was waved, and all poſſible preparations for defence and reſiſtance made; for which they had a ſtronger Argument than either of the other, the advancing of their General, the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was now on his march towards *London*; and a great fame came before him of the ſtrength and Courage of his Army; though in truth it was not anſwerable to the report: However, it ſerv'd to encourage, and inflame thoſe whoſe fear only inclined them to Peace, and to awe the reſt. The King, who had every night an account of what was tranſacted in the Houſes all day (what the cloſe Committee did, who guided all private deſigns, was not ſo ſoon known) reſolved to quicken them; and advanced with his whole Army to *Colebrook*. This indeed exalted their appetite to Peace; for the clamour of the People was importunate, and ſomewhat humbled their Style; for at *Colebrook*, the 11th of *November*, his Majeſty was met by the two Earls of *Northumberland*, and *Pembroke*, with thoſe three of the Houſe of Commons whoſe Names were in the ſafe conduct; they ſatisfying themſelves, that the leaving Sr *John Evelyn* behind them, without bringing another in his room, was no Submiſſion to the King's exception: and this Petition was by them preſented to him.

The King advances to Colebrook.

A Petition preſented to the King from both Houſes.

"We your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons "in Parliament aſſembled, being affected with a deep and piercing ſenſe "of the miſeries of this Kingdom, and of the dangers to your Majeſty's "Perſon, as the preſent affairs now ſtand; and much quicken'd therein "with the ſad conſideration of the great effuſion of Blood at the late Battle, and of the loſs of ſo many eminent Perſons; and farther weighing the addition of Loſs, Miſery, and Danger to your Majeſty, and "your Kingdom, which muſt enſue, if both Armies ſhould again joyn "in another Battle, as without God's eſpecial bleſſing, and your Majeſty's concurrence with your Houſes of Parliament will not probably "be avoided: We cannot but believe that a ſuitable impreſſion of tenderneſs, and compaſſion, is wrought in your Majeſty's Royal heart, "being your ſelf an Eye Witneſs of the bloody and ſorrowful deſtruction "of ſo many of yonr Subjects; and that your Majeſty doth apprehend "what diminution of your own power and greatneſs will follow, and "that all your Kingdoms will thereby be ſo weaken'd as to become ſubject to the Attempts of any ill affected to this State.

"In all which reſpects We aſſure our ſelves, that your Majeſty will "be inclined graciouſly to accept this our humble Petition; that the miſery,

"misery, and desolation of this Kingdom may be speedily removed, and "prevented. For the effecting whereof, We humbly beseech your Ma"jesty to appoint some convenient place, not far from the City of *Lon*"*don*, where your Majesty will be pleased to reside, untill Committees "of both Houses of Parliament may attend your Majesty with some "propositions for the removal of these bloody distempers and distra"ctions, and setling the State of the Kingdom in such a manner as may "conduce to the preservation of God's true Religion, your Majesty's Ho"nour, Safety, and Prosperity; and to the Peace, Comfort, and Secu"rity of all your People.

THE King, within two or three hours after the receipt of this Petition, deliver'd, to the same Messengers, this ensuing Answer, with which they return'd the same Night to *London*.

The King's Answer.

"WE take God to Witness, how deeply We are affected with the mi"series of this Kingdom, which heretofore We have stroven, as much "as in Us lay to prevent; it being sufficiently known to all the world "that, as We were not the first that took up Armes, so, We have shew'd "Our readiness of composing all things in a fair way, by our several of"fers of Treaty, and shall be glad now at length to find any such incli"nations in others. The same tenderness to avoid the destruction of our "Subjects (whom We know to be our greatest strength) which would "allways make our greatest Victories bitter to us, shall make us willing"ly hearken to such Propositions, whereby these bloody distempers may "be stopp'd, and the great distractions of this Kingdom settled to God's "glory, Our Honour, and the Welfare, and Flourishing of Our People: "And to that end shall reside at our own Castle at *Windsor* (if the Forces "there shall be removed) till Committees may have time to attend us "with the same (which, to prevent the Inconveniencies that will inter"vene, We wish be hastned) and shall be ready there, or, if that be re"fused us, at any place where We shall be, to receive such Propositions "as aforesaid, from Both Our Houses of Parliament. Do you Your duty, "We will not be wanting in Ours. God of his mercy give a blessing.

IT was then believ'd by many, that if the King had, assoon as the Messengers return'd to *London*, retired with his Army to *Reading*, and there expected the Parliaments Answer, they would immediately have withdrawn their Garrison from *Windsor*, and deliver'd that Castle to his Majesty for his accommodation to have treated in: And without doubt those Lords who had been with the Petition, and some others who thought themselves as much over-shaddow'd by the greatness of the Earl of *Essex*, and the Chief Officers of the Army, as they could be by the glory of any Favourite, or power of any Counsellors, were resolv'd to merit as much as they could of the King, by advancing an honourable Peace; and had it in their purpose to endeavour the giving up of *Windsor* to the King; but whether they would have been able to have prevailed that so considerable a strength, in so considerable a place, should have been quitted, whilst there was only hope of a Peace, I much doubt. But certainly the King's Army carried great terror with it; and all those reports, which publish'd the weakness of it, grew to be peremptorily disbelievd. For, besides that every days experience disproved somewhat which was so confidently reported, and it was evident great industry was

uſed to apply ſuch Intelligence to the People as was moſt like to make impreſſion upon the paſſions, and affections, of the Vulgar-ſpirited, it could not be believ'd that a handful of Men could have given Battle to their formidable Army, and, after taking two or three of their Garriſons, preſume to march within fifteen Miles of *London*: ſo that, if from thence the King had drawn back again to *Reading*, relying upon a Treaty for the reſt, it is probable his power would have been more valued, and conſequently his grace the more magnified. And ſure the King reſolv'd to have done ſo, or at leaſt to have ſtayed at *Colebrook* till he heard again from the Parliament. But Prince *Rupert*, exalted with the terror he heard his Name gave to the Enemy, truſting too much to the Vulgar Intelligence every Man receiv'd from his Friends at *London*, who according to their own paſſions and the Affections of thoſe with whom they correſponded, concluded that the King had ſo great a Party in *London*, that, if his Army drew near, no reſiſtance would be made, without any direction from the King, the very next morning after the Committee return'd to *London*, advanced with the Horſe and Dragoons to *Hounſlow*, and then ſent to the King to deſire him that the Army might march after; which was, in that caſe, of abſolute neceſſity; for the Earl of *Eſſex* had a part of his Army at *Brentford*, and the reſt at *Acton*, and *Kingſton*. So that if the King had not advanced with His Body, thoſe who were before might very eaſily have been compaſs'd in, and their Retreat made very difficult.

The King marches towards Brentford.

So the King march'd with his whole Army towards *Brentford*, where were two Regiments of their beſt Foot (for ſo they were accounted, being thoſe who had eminently behaved themſelves at *Edge-hill*) having Barricadoed the narrow Avenues to the Town, and caſt up ſome little Breaſt Works at the moſt convenient places. Here a *Welſh* Regiment of the King's, which had been faulty at *Edge-hill*, recover'd its Honour, and aſſaulted the Works, and forced the Barricadoes well defended by the Enemy. Then the King's Forces enter'd the Town after a very warm ſervice, the chief Officers, and many Soldiers of the other ſide being kill'd; and they took there above five hundred Priſoners, eleven Colours, and fifteen pieces of Cannon, and good ſtore of Ammunition. But this Victory (for conſidering the place it might well be call'd ſo) proved not at all fortunate to his Majeſty.

THE two Houſes were ſo well ſatisfied with the Anſwer their Committee had brought from the King, and with the report they made of his Majeſty's clemency, and gracious reception of them, that they had ſent order to their Forces, "that they ſhould not exerciſe any Act of "Hoſtility towards the King's Forces; and, at the ſame time, diſpatch'd a Meſſenger, to acquaint his Majeſty therewith, and to deſire "that "there might be the like forbearance on His part. The Meſſenger found both Parties engaged at *Brentford*, and ſo return'd without attending his Majeſty, who had no apprehenſion that they intended any Ceſſation, ſince thoſe Forces were advanced to *Brentford*, *Acton*, *Kingſton*, after their Committee was ſent to *Colebrook*. However they look'd upon this entering of *Brentford* as a ſurpriſe contrary to Faith, and the betraying their Forces to a Maſſacre, under the ſpecious pretence of a Treaty for Peace. The Alarm came to *London*, with the ſame terror as if the Army were enter'd their Gates, and the King accuſed "of Treachery, "Perfidy, and Blood; and that he had given the ſpoil and wealth of the "City as Pillage to his Army, which advanced with no other purpoſe.

THEY who believ'd nothing of thoſe Calumnies, were not yet willing the King ſhould enter the City with an Army, which, they knew, would not be govern'd in ſo rich Quarters; and therefore, with unſpeakable expedition, the Army under the Earl of *Eſſex* was not only drawn together, but all the Train'd-bands of *London* led out in their brighteſt equipage upon the Heath next *Brentford*; where they had indeed a full Army of Horſe and Foot, fit to have decided the Title of a Crown with an equal adverſary. The View and Proſpect of this ſtrength, which nothing but that ſuddain exigent could have brought together, extremely puffed them up; not only as it was an ample ſecurity againſt the preſent danger, but as it look'd like a ſafe power to encounter any other. They had now before their Eyes the King's little handful of Men, and then begun to wonder and bluſh at their own fears; and all this might be without exceſs of Courage; for without doubt their numbers then, without the advantage of equipage (which to Soldiers is a great addition of Mettle) were five times greater than the King's harraſſed, Weather-beaten, and half-ſtarved Troops.

The Earl of Eſſex's Army, and the City Train'd-bands oppoſed againſt them.

I HAVE heard many knowing Men, and ſome who were then in the City Regiments, ſay, "that if the King had advanced, and charged that "Maſſive body, it had preſently given ground; and that the King had "ſo great a Party in every Regiment, that they would have made no "reſiſtance. But it had been madneſs, which no ſucceſs could have vindicated, to have made that attempt; and the King eaſily diſcern'd that he had brought himſelf into ſtreights and difficulties, which would be hardly maſter'd, and expoſed his Victorious Army to a view, at too near a diſtance off his two Enemies, the Parliament and the City. Yet he ſtood all that day in Battalia to receive them, who only played upon him with their Cannon, to the loſs only of four or five Horſes, and not one Man. The conſtitution of their Forces, where there were very many not at all affected to the Company they were in, being a good argument to Them not to charge the King, which had been an ill one to Him to charge Them.

WHEN the evening drew on, and it appear'd that great Body ſtood only for the defence of the City, the King appointed his Army to draw off to *Kingſton*, which the Rebels had kindly quitted; which they did without the loſs of a Man; and himſelf went to his own Houſe at *Hampton*-Court; where he reſted the next day, as well to refreſh his Army, even tired with watching and faſting, as to expect ſome Propoſitions from the Houſes. For, upon his advance to *Brentford*, he had ſent a Servant of his own, one Mr *White*, with a Meſſage to the Parliament, containing the reaſons of that motion (there being no Ceſſation offer'd on Their part) and deſiring "the Propoſitions might be diſpatch'd "to him with all ſpeed. But his Meſſenger, being carried to the Earl of *Eſſex*, was by him uſed very roughly, and by the Houſes committed to the Gate-houſe, not without the motion of ſome Men, "that he "might be executed as a Spy.

The King's Army drawn off to Kingſton.

AFTER a days ſtay at *Hampton*-Court, the King removed himſelf to his Houſe at *Otelands*, leaving the groſs of his Army ſtill at *Kingſton*, and thereabouts; but being then inform'd of the high imputations they had laid upon him; "of breach of Faith, by his march to *Brentford*; "and that the City was really inflamed with an opinion, that he meant "to have ſurpriſed them, and to have ſacked the Town; that they were "ſo poſſeſs'd with that fear, and apprehenſion, that their care and pre-

"paration

"paration for their ſafety would at leaaſt keep off all Propoſitions for "Peace, whilſt the Army lay ſo near *London*: He gave direction for all his Forces to retire to *Reading*; firſt diſcharging all the Common Soldiers, who had been taken Priſoners at *Brentford* (except ſuch who Voluntarily offer'd to ſerve him) upon their Oaths that they would no more bear Armes againſt his Majeſty. *Thence to Reading.*

THE King then ſent a Meſſage to the Houſes, in which "he took no- *The King ſends a Meſſage to the Houſes.* "tice of thoſe unjuſt and unreaſonable imputations raiſed on him; told "them again of the reaſons and circumſtances of his motion towards "*Brentford*; of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s drawing out his Forces towards him, "and poſſeſſing thoſe Quarters about him, and almoſt hemming him in, "after the time that the Commiſſioners were ſent to him with the Peti- "tion; that he had never heard of the leaſt overture of the forbearing "all Acts of Hoſtility, but ſaw the contrary practiced by Them by that "advance; that he had not the leaſt thought or intention of maſtering "the City by Force, or carrying his Army thither: That he wonder'd "to hear his Soldiers charged with thirſting after blood, when they took "above five hundred Priſoners in the very heat of the Fight. He told "them ſuch were moſt apt, and likely to maintain their Power by blood "and rapine, who had only got it by Oppreſſion and Injuſtice; that His "was veſted in him by the Law, and by that only (if the deſtructive "Counſels of others did not hinder ſuch a Peace, in which that might "once again be the univerſal rule, and in which only Religion and Ju- "ſtice could flouriſh) he deſired to maintain it: that he intended to "march to ſuch a diſtance from his City of *London* as might take away "all pretence of apprehenſion from his Army, that might hinder them "from preparing their Propoſitions, in all ſecurity, to be preſented to "him; and there he would be ready to receive them, or, if that expe- "dient pleaſed them not, to end the Preſſures and Miſeries, which his "Subjects, to his great grief, ſuffer'd through this War, by a preſent "Battle.

BUT as the Armies being ſo near *London* was an Argument againſt a preſent Treaty, ſo it's remove to *Reading* was a greater with very many not to deſire any. The danger, which they had brought themſelves for ſome days together to look upon at their Gates, was now to be contemn'd at the diſtance of thirty miles; and this retreat imputed only to the fear of their power; not to the inclinations to Peace. And therefore they, who during the time that the Major part did really deſire a good Peace, and whilſt overtures were preparing to that purpoſe, had the skill to intermingle Acts more deſtructive to it, than any Propoſitions could be contributory (as the inviting the *Scots* to their Aſſiſtance by that Declaration, which is before mention'd; and the publiſhing a Declaration at the ſame time, which had lain long by them, in reply to one ſet forth by the King long before in Anſwer to their's of the 26th of *May*, in which they uſed both his Perſon and his Power with more irreverence than they had ever done before) now only inſiſted on the ſurpriſe, as they call'd it, of *Brentford*; and publiſhed, by the Authority of both Houſes, a relation of the carriage of the King's Soldiers in that Town after their Victory (which they framed upon the diſcourſes of the Country People, who poſſibly, as it could not be otherwiſe, had receiv'd damage by their Licence then) to make the King and his Army odious to the Kingdom; "as affecting nothing but blood and rapine; and concluding, "that there could not be reaſonably expected any good condi-

"tions of a tolerable Peace from the King, whilſt he was in ſuch com-
"pany; and therefore, that all particular propoſitions were to be reſolv'd
"into that one, of inviting his Majeſty to come to them; and got a Vote
from the Major part of both Houſes, "that no other meaſure for Ac-
commodation or Treaty ſhould be thought on.

THEIR Truſty Lord Mayor of *London*, *Iſaac Pennington*, who was again choſen to ſerve another year, ſo beſtir'd himſelf, having to aſſiſt him two Sheriffs, *Langham*, and *Andrews*, as they could wiſh, that there was not only no more importunity or interpoſition from the City for Peace; but, inſtead thereof, an Overture and Declaration from di- 10
vers, under the ſtyle of well affected Perſons, "that they would ad-
"vance a conſiderable number of Soldiers, for the ſupply and recruit of
"the Parliament Forces; and would arme, maintain, and pay them for
"ſeveral months, or during the times of danger, and diſtractions; pro-
"vided that they might have the publick Faith of the Kingdom for re-
"payment of all ſuch Sums of Money, which they ſhould ſo advance by
"way of Loan. This wonderful kind of propoſition was preſently declared "to be an acceptable ſervice to the King, Parliament, and "Kingdom, and neceſſarily tending to the preſervation of them; and therefore an Ordinance, as they call it, was framed and paſſed both 20
Houſes:

An Ordinance for raiſing Money upon the publick faith.

"THAT all ſuch as ſhould furniſh Men, Money, Horſe, or Armes
"for that Service, ſhould have the ſame fully repaid again, with In-
"tereſt for the forbearance thereof, from the times diſburſed. And for
"the true payment thereof, they did thereby engage to all, and every
"ſuch Perſon, and Perſons, the publick Faith of the Kingdom. And order'd the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs of *London*, by themſelves, or ſuch Sub-Committees as they ſhould appoint, to take Subſcriptions, and to intend the advancement of that Service. Upon this voluntary, general propoſition, made by a few obſcure Men, probably ſuch who were not 30
able to ſupply much Money, was this Ordinance made; and from this Ordinance the Active Mayor, and Sheriffs, appointed a Committee of ſuch Perſons whoſe inclinations they well knew, to preſs all kind of Peo-
ple, eſpecially thoſe who were not forward, to new Subſcriptions; and, by degrees, from this unconſider'd paſſage, grew the monthly Tax of ſix thouſand pounds to be ſet upon the City for the payment of the Army.

As they provided, with this notable circumſpection, to raiſe Men and Money; ſo they took not leſs care, nor uſed leſs Art, and Induſtry, to raiſe their General; and leſt he might ſuppoſe himſelf fallen in their 40
good grace, and confidence, by bringing an Army back ſhatter'd, poor, and diſcomforted, which he had carried out in full Numbers, and glo-
rious Equipage, they uſed him with greater reverence and ſubmiſſion than ever. They had before appointed another diſtinct Army to be raiſed under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, and not ſubject to the Power of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and of this, ſeveral Regiments and Troops were raiſed; theſe they ſent to the old Army, and the Earl of *Warwick* gave up his Commiſſion, upon reſolution "that there
"ſhould be only One General, and He, the Earl of *Eſſex*. Then the two Houſes paſs'd, and preſented, with great ſolemnity, this Declara- 50
tion to his Excellency, the ſame day that their Committee went to the King with their Petition:

THAT,

"THAT, as they had, upon mature deliberation, and aſſured confi- *A Declaration of both Houſes concerning their General's acceptable ſervice.*
"dence in his Wiſdom, Courage, and Fidelity, choſen, and appointed
"Him their Captain General; ſo they did find, that the ſaid Earl had
"managed that ſervice, of ſo high importance, with ſo much care, va-
"lour, and dexterity, as well by the extreameſt hazard of his life, in a
"bloody Battle near *Keinton* in *Warwick-ſhire*, as by all the Actions of
"a moſt excellent and expert Commander, in the whole courſe of that
"imployment, as did deſerve their beſt acknowledgement: And they
"did therefore declare, and publiſh, to the laſting Honour of the ſaid
"Earl, the great and acceptable ſervice, which he had therein done to
"the Common-wealth; and ſhould be willing and ready, upon all occa-
"ſion, to expreſs the due ſenſe they had of his merits, by aſſuring and
"protecting Him, and all others imployed under his Command in that
"ſervice, with their lives and fortunes, to the uttermoſt of their power:
"that Teſtimony and Declaration to remain upon record, in both Houſes
"of Parliament, for a mark of Honour to his Perſon, Name, and Fa-
"mily, and for a Monument of his ſingular Virtue, to Poſterity.

WHEN they had thus compoſed their Army and their General, they ſent this Petition to the King to *Reading*, who ſtayed ſtill there in expectation of their Propoſitions.

"May it pleaſe your Majeſty: *The Houſes Petition to the King, Nov. 24.*
"IT is humbly deſired by both Houſes of Parliament, that your Ma-
"jeſty will be pleaſed to return to your Parliament, with your Royal,
"not your Martial, Attendance; to the end that Religion, Laws, and
"Liberties, may be ſettled and ſecured by Their advice; finding by a
"ſad, and late accident, that your Majeſty is environ'd by ſome ſuch
"Councils, as do rather perſwade a deſperate diviſion, than a joyning
"and a good agreement with your Parliament and People: And We
"ſhall be ready to give your Majeſty Aſſurances of ſuch ſecurity, as may
"be for your Honour, and the Safety of your Royal Perſon.

ASSOON as the King receiv'd this ſtrange Addreſs, he return'd them by the ſame Meſſenger a ſharp Anſwer to this effect; He told them,
"he hoped all his good Subjects would look upon that Meſſage with In- *The Subſtance of the King's Anſwer.*
"dignation, as intended, by the Contrivers thereof, as a ſcorn to him;
"and thereby deſign'd by that Malignant Party (of whom he had ſo of-
"ten complain'd, whoſe ſafety and ambition was built upon the Divi-
"ſions and Ruins of the Kingdom, and who had too great an influence
"upon their Actions) for a Wall of ſeparation betwixt his Majeſty and
"his People. He ſaid, he had often told them the reaſons, why he de-
"parted from *London*; how he was chaſed thence, and by whom; and
"as often complain'd, that the greateſt part of his Peers, and of the
"Members of the Houſe of Commons, could not, with ſafety to their
"Honours and Perſons, continue, and Vote freely among them; but,
"by violence, and cunning practices, were debarred of thoſe Privileges,
"which their Birthrights, and the truſt repoſed in them by their Coun-
"tries, gave them: That the whole Kingdom knew that an Army was
"raiſed, under pretence of Orders of both Houſes (an uſurpation ne-
"ver before heard off in any Age) which Army had purſued his Ma-
"jeſty in his own Kingdom; given him Battle at *Keinton*; and now,
"thoſe Rebels being recruited, and poſſeſſed of the City of *London*, he

"was courteouſly invited to return to his Parliament there, that is, to "the power of that Army.

"THAT, he ſaid, could ſignify nothing but that, ſince the Trayterous "endeavours of thoſe deſperate Men could not ſnatch the Crown from "his head, it being defended by the providence of God, and the Affections "and Loyalty of his good Subjects, he ſhould now tamely come up, "and give it them; and put Himſelf, his Life, and the Lives, Liberties, "and Fortunes of all his good Subjects into their Mercyful hands. He "ſaid, he thought not fit to give any other Anſwer to that part of their "Petition: But as he imputed not that affront to both his Houſes of "Parliament, nor to the Major part of thoſe who were then preſent "there, but to that dangerous Party his Majeſty and the Kingdom muſt "ſtill cry out upon; ſo he would not (for his good Subjects ſake, and "out of his moſt tender ſenſe of their Miſeries, and the general Calami- "ties of the Kingdom, which muſt, if the War continued, ſpeedily over- "whelm the whole Nation) take advantage of it: But if they would "really purſue the courſe they ſeem'd, by their Petition at *Colebrook*, "to be inclined to, he ſhould make good all he then promiſed; where- "by the hearts of his diſtreſſed Subjects might be raiſed with the hopes "of Peace; without which, Religion, the Laws, and Liberties, could "by no ways be ſettled and ſecured.

"FOR the late, and ſad accident they mention'd, if they intended "that of *Brentford*, he deſired them once again to deal ingenuouſly with "the People, and to let them ſee his laſt Meſſage to them, and his De- "claration concerning the ſame (both which his Majeſty had ſent to his Preſs at *London*, but were taken away from his Meſſenger, and not ſuf- fer'd to be publiſh'd) "and then he doubted not, but they would be "ſoon undeceiv'd, and eaſily find out thoſe Councils, which did rather "perſwade a deſperate diviſion, than a good agreement betwixt his Ma- "jeſty, his two Houſes, and People.

THIS Anſwer being deliver'd, without any farther conſideration whe- ther the ſame were reaſonable or not reaſonable, they declared "the "King had no mind to Peace; and thereupon laid aſide all farther De- bates to that purpoſe; and order'd their General to march to *Windſor* with the Army, to be ſo much nearer the King's Forces; for the better recruiting whereof, two of their moſt eminent Chaplains, Dr *Downing* and Mr *Marſhal*, publickly avow'd, "that the Soldiers lately taken Pri- "ſoners at *Brentford*, and diſcharged, and releaſed by the King upon "their Oaths that they would never again bear Armes againſt him, "were not obliged by that Oath; but, by Their power, abſolved them thereof, and ſo engaged again thoſe miſerable Wretches in a ſecond Rebellion.

WHEN the King diſcern'd clearly that the Enemies to Peace had the better of him, and that there was now no farther thought of preparing Propoſitions to be ſent to him; after he had ſeen a Line drawn about *Reading*, which he reſolv'd to keep as a Garriſon, and the works in a reaſonable forwardneſs, he left Sr *Arthur Aſton*, whom he had lately made Commiſſary General of the Horſe (Mr *Wilmot* being at the ſame time conſtituted Lieutenant General) Governour thereof, with a Gar- riſon of above two thouſand Foot, and a good Regiment of Horſe: and himſelf with the reſt of his Army march'd to *Oxford*, where he re- ſolv'd to reſt that Winter, ſettling at the ſame time a good Garriſon at *Wallingford*, a place of great importance within eight Miles of *Oxford*;

The King having Garriſon'd Reading *and* Wallingford, *and ſome other places marches to* Oxford.

another at the *Brill* upon the edge of *Buckinghamſhire*; a third being before ſettled at *Banbury*; *Abingdon* being the head Quarters for his Horſe; and by this means he had all *Oxford-ſhire* entire, all *Berkſhire*, but that barren diviſion about *Windſor*; and from the *Brill*, and *Banbury*, a good influence upon *Buckingham-ſhire*, and *Northampton ſhire*.

THE King was hardly ſettled in his Quarters, when he heard that the Parliament was fixing a Garriſon at *Marlborough* in *Wilt-ſhire*, a Town the moſt notoriouſly diſaffected of all that County; otherwiſe, ſaving the obſtinacy and malice of the Inhabitants, in the Situation of it very unfit for a Garriſon. Thither the Earl of *Eſſex* had ſent one *Ramſey* (a *Scots*-man, as very many of their Officers were of that Nation) to be Governour; who, with the help of the Factious People there, had quickly drawn together five or ſix hundred Men. This place, the King ſaw, would ſoon prove an ill Neighbour to him; not only as it was in the heart of a rich County, and ſo would ſtreighten, and even infeſt his Quarters (for it was within twenty Miles of *Oxford*) but as it did cut off his Line of Communication with the Weſt: And therefore, though it was *December*, a ſeaſon, when his tired, and almoſt naked Soldiers might expect reſt, he ſent a ſtrong Party of Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, under the Command of Mr *Wilmot* the Lieutenant General of his Horſe, to viſit that Town; who, coming thither on a *Saturday*, found the place ſtrongly Mann'd: for, beſides the Garriſon, it being Market day, very many Country People came thither to buy and ſell, and were all compell'd to ſtay and take Armes for the defence of the place; which, for the moſt part, they were willing to do, and the People peremptory to defend it. Though there was no Line about it, yet there were ſome places of great advantage, upon which they had raiſed Batteries, and planted Cannon, and ſo Barricadoed all the Avenues, which were through deep narrow Lanes, that the Horſe could do little ſervice.

Marlborough Garriſon'd by the Parliament.

WHEN the Lieutenant General was, with his Party, near the Town, he apprehended a fellow who confeſſed upon examination, "that he was "a Spy, and ſent by the Governour to bring Intelligence of their ſtrength "and motion. When all Men thought, and the poor fellow himſelf fear'd, he ſhould be executed; the Lieutenant General cauſed his whole Party to be ranged in order in the next convenient place, and bid the fellow look well upon them, and obſerve them, and then bid him return to the Town, and tell thoſe that ſent him, what he had ſeen, and withal that he ſhould acquaint the Magiſtrates of the Town, "that they ſhould "do well to treat with the Garriſon, to give them leave to ſubmit to "the King; that if they did ſo, the Town ſhould not receive the leaſt "prejudice; but if they compell'd him to make his way, and enter the "Town by force, it would not be in his power to keep his Soldiers from "taking that which they ſhould win with their blood: and ſo diſmiſs'd him. This generous Act proved of ſome advantage; for the fellow, tranſported with having his life given him; and the Numbers of the Men he had ſeen, beſides his no experience in ſuch fights, being multiplied by his fear, made notable relations of the ſtrength, gallantry, and reſolution of the Enemy, and of the impoſſibility of reſiſting them; which, though it prevailed not with thoſe in Authority to yield, yet it ſtrangely abated the hopes, and courage of the People. So that when the King's Soldiers fell on, after a Volley or two, in which much execution was done, they threw down their Armes, and run into the Town;

ſo that the Foot had time to make room for the Horſe, who were now enter'd at both ends of the Town, yet were not ſo near an end as they expected; for the Streets were in many places Barricadoed, which were obſtinately defended by ſome Soldiers and Townſmen, who kill'd many Men out of the Windows of the Houſes; ſo that, it may be, if they had truſted only to their own ſtrength, without compelling the Country Men to encreaſe their Number, and who being firſt frighted, and weary, diſhearten'd their companions, that place might have coſt more blood. *Ramſey* the Governour was himſelf retired into the Church with ſome Officers, and from thence did ſome hurt; upon this, there being ſo many kill'd out of Windows, fire was put to the next Houſes, ſo that a good part of the Town was burn'd, and then the Soldiers enter'd, doing leſs execution than could reaſonably be expected; but, what they ſpared in Blood, they took in Pillage, the Soldiers enquiring little who were friends or foes.

Marlborough *taken by the King's Forces under Lieutenant General* Wilmot.

THIS was the firſt Garriſon taken on either ſide; for *Farnham* Caſtle in *Surrey*, whither ſome Gentlemen who were willing to appear for the King had repaired, and were taken with leſs reſiſtance than was fit, by Sr *William Waller*, ſome few days before, deſerv'd not the name of a Garriſon. In this of *Marlborough* were taken, beſides the Governour, and other Officers, who yielded upon Quarter, above one thouſand Priſoners; great ſtores of Armes, four pieces of Cannon, and a good quantity of Ammunition, with all which the Lieutenant General return'd ſafe to *Oxford*: Though this ſucceſs was a little ſhadow'd, by the unfortunate loſs of a very good Regiment of Horſe within a few days after; for the Lord *Grandiſon*, by the miſcarriage of Orders, was expoſed, at too great a diſtance from the Army, with his ſingle Regiment of Horſe conſiſting of three hundred, and a Regiment of two hundred Dragoons, to the unequal encounter of a Party of the Enemy of five thouſand Horſe and Dragoons; and ſo was Himſelf, after a retreat made to *Wincheſter*, there taken with all his Party; which was the firſt loſs of that kind the King ſuſtain'd; but without the leaſt fault of the Commander; and the misfortune was much leſſen'd by his making an eſcape himſelf with two or three of his principal Officers, who were very welcome to *Oxford*.

THE firſt thing the King applied himſelf to conſult upon, after he was ſettled in his Winter Quarters, and deſpaired of any honeſt Overtures for a Peace, was, how to apply ſome Antidote to that Poyſon, which was ſent into *Scotland*, in that Declaration We mention'd before; the which he had not only ſeen, as an Act communicated abroad and in many hands, but the *Scotiſh* Earl of *Lindſey*, who was then a Commiſſioner Leiger at *London* for *Scotland*, had preſented it to him. And there was every day ſome motion in the Houſe of Commons to preſs the *Scots* to invade the Kingdom for their aſſiſtance, upon the growth of the Earl of *New-Caſtle*'s power in the North. And therefore, after full thoughts, the King writ to his Privy Council of *Scotland* (who by the Laws enacted when he was laſt there, had the abſolute, indeed Regal, power of that Kingdom) and took notice of that Declaration, which had been ſent to them, earneſtly inviting, and in a manner challenging an Aſſiſtance from that his Native Kingdom of Men and Armes, for making a War againſt him, and making claim to that Aſſiſtance by virtue of the late Act of Pacification.

HE

The Substance of the King's Message to the Privy Council of Scotland, upon occasion of the two Houses Declaration to that Kingdom.

HE told them, "that, as he was at his Soul afflicted, that it had been "in the power of any factious, ambitious, and malicious Persons, so far "to possess the hearts of many of his Subjects of *England*, as to raise "this miserable distemper, and distraction in this Kingdom against all "his real endeavours and actions to the contrary; so he was glad, that "that rage and fury had so far transported them, that they applied themselves, in so gross a manner, to his Subjects of *Scotland*; whose experience of his Religion, Justice, and Love of his People, would not suffer them to believe those horrid Scandals, laid upon his Majesty: and "their Affection, Loyalty, and Jealousy of his Honour, would disdain "to be made Instruments to oppress their native Soveraign, by assisting "an odious Rebellion. He remember'd them, "that he had from time "to time acquainted his Subjects of that Kingdom with the Accidents, "and Circumstances which had disquieted This; how, after all the Acts "of Justice, Grace, and Favour, perform'd on His part, which were or "could be desired to make a People compleatly happy, he was driven, "by the force and violence of rude and tumultuous Assemblies, from his "City of *London*, and his Houses of Parliament; how attempts had "been made to impose Laws upon his Subjects, without His consent, "and contrary to the foundation and constitution of the Kingdom; how "his Forts, Goods, and Navy, had been seised, and taken from him by "force, and imployed against him; his Revenue, and ordinary Subsistence, wrested from him: How he had been pursued with scandalous and reproachful Language; bold, false, and seditious Pasquils, and "Libels, publickly allow'd against him; and had been told that he "might, without want of Modesty and Duty, be deposed: That after all "this, before any force raised by Him, an Army was raised, and a General appointed to lead that Army against his Majesty, with a Commission to kill, slay, and destroy all such who should be faithful to him: "That when he had been, by these means, compell'd, with the Assistance "of his good Subjects, to raise an Army for his necessary defence, he had "sent divers gracious Messages, earnestly desiring that the calamities, "and miseries of a Civil War might be prevented by a Treaty; and so "he might know the grounds of that misunderstanding: That he was absolutely refused to be treated with, and the Army (raised, as was pretended, for the defence of his Person) brought into the Field against "him; gave him Battle; and, though it pleased God to give his Majesty "the Victory, destroyed many of his good Subjects, with as eminent "danger to his own Person, and his Children, as the skill and malice of "desperate Rebels could contrive.

"OF all which, and the other Indignities, which had been offer'd to "him, he doubted not the Duty and Affection of his *Scotish* Subjects "would have so just a resentment, that they would express to the world "the sense they had of his sufferings: And, he hoped, his good Subjects "of *Scotland* were not so great strangers to the affairs of this Kingdom, "to believe that this misfortune and distraction was begot and brought "upon him by his two Houses of Parliament; though, in truth, no unwarrantable Action against the Law could be justified even by That "Authority; but that they well knew how the Members of both Houses "had been driven thence, insomuch that, of above five hundred Members of the House of Commons, there were not then there above fourscore; and, of above one hundred of the House of Peers, not above "fifteen or sixteen; all which were so aw'd by a multitude of *Anabaptists*,

"*Brownists*, and other Persons, desperate, and decayed in their fortunes, "in and about the City of *London*, that, in truth, their consultations "had not the Freedom and Privilege which belong to Parliaments.

"CONCERNING any Commissions granted by his Majesty to Papists "to raise Forces, he referred them to a Declaration, lately set forth by "him upon the occasion of that scandal, which he likewise then sent to "them. And for his own true, and zealous affection to the Protestant "Religion, he would give no other Instance than his own constant pra- "ctice, on which Malice it self could lay no blemish; and those many "Protestations he had made in the sight of Almighty God, to whom he "knew he should be dearly accountable if he failed in the observation.

"FOR that scandalous imputation of his intention of bringing in "Forreign Forces, as the same was raised without the least shadow or "colour of reason, and solemnly disavow'd by his Majesty, in many of "his Declarations; so there could not be a clearer Argument to his Sub- "jects of *Scotland* that he had no such thought, than that he had hi- "therto forborne to require the Assistance of that his native Kingdom; "from whose obedience, duty, and affection, he should confidently ex- "pect it, if he thought his own strength here too weak to preserve him; "and of whose Courage, and Loyalty, he should look to make use, be- "fore he should think of any Forreign aid to succour him. And he knew "no reasonable or understanding Man could suppose that they were "obliged, or enabled, by the late Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, "to obey the invitation that was made to them by that pretended De- "claration, when it was so evidently provided for by that Act, that as "the Kingdom of *England* should not War against the Kingdom of *Scot*- "*land*, without consent of the Parliament of *England*, so the Kingdom "of *Scotland* should not make War against the Kingdom of *England* "without the consent of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

HE told them, "if the grave Counsel and Advice, which they had "given, and deriv'd to the Houses of Parliament here, by their Act of "the 22[d] of *April* last, had been follow'd in a tender care of his Royal "Person, and of his Princely Greatness and Authority, there would not "that face of confusion have appear'd, which now threaten'd this King- "dom: and therefore he required them to communicate what he then "writ to all his Subjects of that Kingdom, and to use their utmost en- "deavours to inform them of the truth of his condition; and that they "suffer'd not the scandals and imputations laid on his Majesty by the "Malice and Treason of some Men, to make any impression in the minds "of his People, to the lessening or corrupting their Affections and Loyal- "ty to him; but that they assured them all, that the hardness he then "underwent, and the Armes he had been compell'd to take up, were "for the defence of his Person and safety of his Life; for the maintenance "of the true Protestant Religion, for the preservation of the Laws, Li- "berties, and constitution of this Kingdom, and for the just Privileges "of Parliament; and that he look'd no longer for blessing from Heaven, "than he endeavour'd the defence and advancement of all these: And, "He could not doubt, a dutiful concurrence in his Subjects of *Scotland*, "in the care of his Honour, and just Rights, would draw down a blessing "upon that Nation too.

THOUGH his Majesty well knew all the Persons, to whom he directed this Letter, to be those who were only able and willing to do him all possible disservice, yet he was sure by other Instruments, if they

neglected, which, for that reaſon, they were not like to do, to publiſh it to the People there; wich he believ'd might ſo far operate upon them, as the others would not be able to procure them to invade *England*; and other fruit of their Allegiance he expected not, than that they ſhould not Rebel.

HIS Majeſty's next care was the procuring Money for the payment of his Army; that the narrow circuit which contain'd his Quarters, might not be ſo intolerably oppreſſed with that whole burthen. This was a very difficult matter; for the Soldiery already grew very high, and would obey no Orders or Rules but of their own making; and Prince *Rupert* conſider'd only the ſubſiſtence, and advance of the Horſe, as His Province, and indeed as if it had been a Province apart from the Army; and therefore would by no means endure that the great contributions, which the Counties within command willingly ſubmitted to, ſhould be aſſign'd to any other uſe than the ſupport of the Horſe, and to be immediately collected, and receiv'd by the Officers. So that the ſeveral Garriſons, and all the Body of Foot, were to be conſtantly paid, and his Majeſty's weekly expence for his Houſe borne, out of ſuch Monies as could be borrow'd. For, of all his own Revenue, he had not yet the receiving a penny within his power; neither did he think fit to compel any one, even ſuch who were known to have contributed freely to the Parliament, to ſupply him: Only by Letters, and all other gentle ways, he invited thoſe who were able, to conſider how much their own ſecurity and proſperity was concern'd, and depended upon the preſervation of His Rights; and offer'd to ſell any of his Lands, or to give any Perſonal ſecurity for whatſoever Money would be lent to him at Intereſt: for he had directed a Grant to be prepared of ſeveral Parks, and Forreſts, and other Crown Lands, to many Perſons of Honour and great Fortune about him, whoſe Eſtates and Reputation were well known; who were ready to be Perſonally bound for whatſoever Sums could be borrow'd.

What means the King then uſed to raiſe Money.

THE affection of the Univerſity of *Oxford* was moſt eminent: For, as they had before, when the Troubles firſt broke out, ſent the King above ten thouſand pounds out of the ſeveral ſtocks of the Colleges, and the purſes of particular Perſons, many whereof lent him all they had; ſo they now again made him a new Preſent. By theſe means, and the Loan of particular Perſons, eſpecially from *London* (for from thence, notwithſtanding all the ſtrict watch to the contrary, conſiderable Sums were drawn) the King, even above his hopes, was able to pay his Foot, albeit it amounted to above three thouſand pounds weekly, in ſuch manner, that during the whole Winter, there was not the leaſt diſorder for want of pay. And then he uſed all poſſible care to encourage and countenance new Levies of Horſe and Foot, for the recruiting his Army againſt the next Spring.

THE Parliament's Army being now about *London*, the Officers of it who were Members of Parliament, attended that Council diligently, upon which that Army alone depended; and, though they ſtill ſeem'd very deſirous of Peace, they very ſolemnly and ſeverely proſecuted all thoſe who really endeavour'd it. Their partiality and injuſtice was ſo notorious, that there was no rule or meaſure of Right in any matter depending before them, but conſideration only of the affections and opinions of the Perſons contending; neither could any thing be more properly ſaid of them, than what *Tacitus* once ſpoke of the *Jews*, *apud Ipſos fides obſtinata, miſericordia in promptu, adverſus omnes alios hoſtile odium.*

odium. Volumes would not contain the inſtances. But they found the old Arguments of Popery, the Militia, and Delinquents, for the juſtification of the War, grew every day of leſs reverence with the People; and that as the King's own Religion was above any ſcandal they could lay upon it, ſo the Regal power ſeem'd ſo aſſerted by Law, and the King, upon all occaſions, cited particular Statutes for the Vindication of his Right, that whilſt they confeſs'd the Soveraign power to be veſted in him, all Legal Miniſters had that dependence on him, that Their Authority would by degrees grow into contempt.

The King makes new Sheriffs.

AND of this diſadvantage the ſeaſon of the year put them in mind: for the King now, according to courſe, prick'd Sheriffs, and made ſuch choice in all Counties, that they foreſaw the People were not like to be ſo implicitely at their diſpoſal. Therefore, as they had before craftily inſinuated the ſame in ſome particulars, they now barefaced avow, "that "the Soveraign Power was wholely and entirely in them; and that the "King himſelf, ſevered from Them, had no Regal Power in him. Their Clergy had hitherto been their Champions, and wreſted the Scripture to their ſenſe; their Lawyers were now to vindicate their Title, and they were not more modeſt in applying Their profeſſion to their ſervice. As all places of Scripture, or in the Fathers, which were ſpoken of the Church of Chriſt, are by the Papiſts applied to the Church of *Rome*; ſo, whatſoever is written in any of the Books of the Law, or mention'd in the Records, of the Authority and Effects of the Soveraign Power, and of the Dignity and Juriſdiction of Parliament, was, by theſe Men, alledged and urged for the Power of the two Houſes, and ſometimes for the ſingle Authority of the Houſe of Commons. Being ſupplied with the Learning of theſe Gentlemen, they declared, "that the Sheriffs, then "conſtituted by the King, were not Legal Sheriffs, nor ought to execute, "or be ſubmitted to in that Office; and order'd, "whomſoever the King "made Sheriff in any County, to be ſent for as Delinquent; and becauſe it ſeem'd unreaſonable, that the Counties ſhould be without that Legal Miniſter, to whom the Law had intruſted it's Cuſtody, it was propoſed "that they might make a new great Seal, and by that Authority make "Sheriffs, and ſuch other Officers as they ſhould find neceſſary; but for the preſent that Motion was laid aſide.

THE King had appointed ſome of thoſe Priſoners who were taken in the Battle at *Keinton* field, and others apprehended in the Act of Rebellion, to be Indicted of High Treaſon, upon the Statute of the 25th year of King *Edward* the third, before the Lord Chief Juſtice, and other Learned Judges of the Law, by Virtue of his Majeſty's Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*: The Parliament declared "all ſuch Indictments, "and all Proceedings thereupon, to be unjuſt, and illegal; and inhibited the Judges to proceed farther therein; declaring (which was a ſtronger Argument) "that if any Man were executed, or ſuffer'd hurt, for any "thing he had done by Their Order, the like puniſhment ſhould be in-"flicted, by death or otherwiſe, upon ſuch Priſoners as were, or ſhould "be, taken by Their Forces: And, in none of their caſes, ever asked the Judges what the Law was. By the determination of the Statute, and the King's refuſal, which hath been mention'd before, to paſs any new Law to that purpoſe, there was no farther duty of Tonnage and Poundage due upon Merchandize, and the Statute made this very Parliament involv'd all Men in the guilt and penalty of a premunire, who offer'd to receive it. The King publiſh'd a Proclamation upon that Statute, and

"required all Men to forbear paying that duty, and forbid all to receive "it. They again declared, "that no Perſon, who receiv'd thoſe duties "by Virtue of Their Orders, was within the danger of a premunire, or "any other penalty whatſoever; becauſe the intent, and meaning of "that penal clauſe was only to reſtrain the Crown from impoſing any "duty or payment upon the Subjects, without their conſent in Parlia-"ment; and was not intended to extend to any caſe whereunto the "Lords and Commons give their aſſent in Parliament.

AND that this Soveraignty might be farther taken notice of than within the Limits of this Kingdom, they ſent, with all formality, Letters of Credence, and Inſtructions, and their Agents, into Forreign States and Kingdoms.

The Subſtance of the Declaration of the Lords and Commons to the States General of the united Provinces.

BY their Agent to the united Provinces, where the Queen was then reſiding, they had the Courage in plain terms to accuſe the Prince of *Orange* "for ſupplying the King with Armes and Ammunition; for "Licenſing divers Commanders, Officers, and Soldiers, to reſort into "this Kingdom to his aid. They remember'd them "of the great help "that they had receiv'd from this Kingdom, when heretofore they lay "under the heavy oppreſſion of their Princes; and how conducible the "friendſhip of this Nation had been to their preſent greatneſs, and "power; and therefore they could not think, that they would be for-"ward to help to make Them Slaves, who had been ſo uſeful, and Aſ-"ſiſtant in making Them Free-men; or that they would forget, that "their troubles and dangers iſſued from the ſame Fountain with their "own; and that thoſe who were ſet a work to undermine Religion, and "Liberty in the Kingdom, were the ſame who by open force did ſeek "to bereave Them of both. They told them, "it could not be unknown "to that wiſe State, that it was the Jeſuitical Faction in this Kingdom, "that had corrupted the Councils of the King, the Conſciences of a great "part of the Clergy; which ſought to deſtroy the Parliament, and had "raiſed the Rebellion in *Ireland*. They deſired them therefore, "not "to ſuffer any more Ordnance, Armour, or any other warlike Proviſion, "to be brought over to ſtrengthen thoſe, who, aſſoon as they ſhould pre-"vail againſt the Parliament, would uſe that ſtrength to the ruin of "thoſe from whom they had it.

THEY deſired them, "they would not ſend over any of their Coun-"try men to farther Their deſtruction, who were ſent to them for their "preſervation; that they would not anticipate the ſpilling of *Engliſh* "Blood, in an unnatural Civil War, which had been ſo chearfully and "plentifully hazarded, and ſpent, in that juſt and honourable War by "which they had been ſo long preſerv'd, and to which the Blood of thoſe "Perſons, and many other Subjects of this Kingdom, was ſtill in a man-"ner dedicated; but rather that they would caſhiere, and diſcard from "their imployment, thoſe that would preſume to come over for that "purpoſe. They told them, "the queſtion between his Majeſty and the "Parliament, was not whether he ſhould enjoy the ſame Prerogative, "and Power, which had belonged to their former Kings, his Majeſty's "Royal Predeceſſors; but whether that Prerogative, and Power, ſhould "be imployed to their defence, or to their ruin. That it could not be "denied by thoſe, who look indifferently on their Proceedings and Af-"fairs, that it would be more honour, and wealth, ſafety and greatneſs "to his Majeſty, in concurring with his Parliament, than in the courſe "in which he now is: But ſo unhappy had his Majeſty, and the Kingdom

"been, in thoſe who had the greateſt influence upon his Counſels, that "they look'd more upon the prevailing of their own Party, than upon "any of thoſe great advantages both to his Crown, and Royal Perſon, "which he might obtain by joyning with his People: and ſo cunning "were thoſe Factors for Popery, in proſecution of their own aimes, "that they could put on a counterfeit Viſage of Honour, Peace, and Great-"neſs, upon thoſe courſes and counſels, which had no truth, and reali-"ty, but of Weakneſs, Diſhonour, and Miſeries to his Majeſty, and the "whole Kingdom.

THEY ſaid, "they had lately expreſs'd their earneſt inclinations to "that National love and amity with the united Provinces, which had "been nouriſh'd and confirm'd by ſo many civil reſpects, and mutual "intereſts, as made it ſo natural to them, that they had, this Parliament, "in their humble Petition to his Majeſty, deſired, that they might be "joyn'd with that State in a more near and ſtreight League, and Union: "And they could not but expect ſome returns from Them, of the like "expreſſions: and that they would be ſo far from blowing the fire, "which begun to kindle among them, that they would rather endea-"vour to quench it, by ſtrengthning and encouraging them who had no "other deſign but not to be deſtroyed, and to preſerve their Religion, "ſave themſelves, and the other Reform'd Churches of *Chriſtendom*, "from the Maſſacres and Extirpations, with which the principles of "the *Roman* Religion did threaten them all; which were begun to be "acted in *Ireland*, and in the Hopes, and Endeavours, and Intentions "of that Party, had long ſince been executed upon Them, if the Mer-"cy, Favour, and Bleſſing of Almighty God, had not ſuperabounded, "and prevented the ſubtlety and malignity of cruel, wicked, and blood-"thirſty Men.

WITH this ſpecious diſpatch, in which were many other particulars to render the King's cauſe ungracious, and their own very plauſible, their Agent, one *Strickland*, an obſcure Gentleman, was receiv'd by the States; and, notwithſtanding the Queen was then there, and the Prince of *Orange* viſibly inclined to aſſiſt the King with all his Intereſts, and the Interpoſition of the King's Reſident, did not only hinder the States from giving the leaſt countenance to the King's cauſe, but really ſo corrupted the *Engliſh* in the Army, and in that Court, that there was nothing deſign'd to advance it by the Prince of *Orange* himſelf (who with great generoſity ſupplied the King with Armes and Ammunition to a very conſiderable Value) or by the private activity and dexterity of particular Perſons, out of their own Fortune, or by the ſale or pawning of Jewels, but intelligence was given ſoon enough to the Parliament, either to get ſtops, and ſeizures upon it, by Order of the State, or to intercept the ſupply by their Navy at Sea. So that much more was in that manner, and by that means, taken and intercepted at Sea, than ever arrived at any Port within his Majeſty's obedience: of which at that time he had only one, the Harbour of *New-Caſtle*. With the ſame ſucceſs, they ſent another Agent to *Bruſſels*, who prevailed with *Don Franciſco de Melos*, then Governour of *Flanders*, to diſcountenance always, and ſometimes to prevent the preparations which were there making by the King's Miniſters. And in *France* they had another Agent, one *Aulgier*, a Man long before in the conſtant pay of the Crown; who though he was not receiv'd, and avow'd (to put the better varniſh upon their Profeſſions to the King) by that Crown, did them more ſervice

than

than either of the other; by how much more that People had an influence upon the diſtempers of the three Kingdoms.

AND as the Parliament made all theſe addreſſes to Forreign States, and Princes, which no Parliament had ever done before, ſo it will be fit here to take notice how other Princes appear'd concern'd on the King's behalf. The *Spaniard* was ſufficiently incenſed by the King's reception of the Embaſſadors of *Portugal*, and, which was more, entring into terms of Amity and League with that Crown, and had therefore contributed notable aſſiſtance to the Rebellion in *Ireland*; and ſent both Armes, and Money thither. And, ſince the extravagances of this Parliament, the Embaſſador of *Spain* had made great application to them.

The Inclinations of Forreign Kings, and States, in this cauſe between the King and Parliament.

THE *French*, according to their Nature, were much more active, and more intent upon blowing the fire. The former commotions in *Scotland* had been raiſed by the ſpecial encouragement, if not contrivance of the Cardinal *Richelieu*; who had carefully kept up, and enlarg'd the old Franchiſes of the *Scots* under that Crown; which made a very ſpecious ſhew of wonderful grace and benefit, at a diſtance, to that Nation, and was of little burthen to the *French*; and, in truth, of little advantage to thoſe who were in full poſſeſſion of all thoſe Privileges. Yet, by this means, the *French* have always had a very great influence upon the Affections of that People, and opportunities to work great prejudice to that Crown: As nothing was more viſible than that, by the Cardinal's Activity, all thoſe late diſtempers in *Scotland* were carried on till his death, and, by His Rules and Principles, afterwards: The *French* Miniſters always making their correſpondence with, and relation to, thoſe who were taken Notice to be of the *Puritan* Party; which was underſtood to be in order only to the oppoſition of thoſe Counſels, which ſhould at any time be offer'd on the behalf of *Spain*.

SINCE the beginning of this Parliament, the *French* Embaſſador, Mounſieur *la Fertè*, diſſembled not to have notable familiarity with thoſe who govern'd moſt in the two Houſes; diſcover'd to them whatſoever he knew, or could reaſonably deviſe to the prejudice of the King's Counſels and Reſolutions; and took all opportunities to leſſen, and undervalue the King's Regal Power, by applying himſelf on publick occaſions of State, and in his Maſter's Name, and to improve his Intereſt, to the two Houſes of Parliament (which had in no Age before been ever known) as in the buſineſs of Tranſportation of Men out of *Ireland*, before remember'd; in which he cauſed, by the importunity of the two Houſes, his Majeſty's promiſe, and engagement to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, to be render'd of no effect. And, after that, he formally exhibited, in writing, a Complaint to the two Houſes againſt Sr *Thomas Rowe*, his Majeſty's extraordinary Embaſſador to the Emperor, and Princes of *Germany*, upon the Treaty of an accommodation on the behalf of the Prince Elector and reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, confidently avowing, "that Sr *Thomas Rowe* had offer'd, on the King's part, to enter into a "League Offenſive and Defenſive with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and to "wed all their Intereſts; and, in plain terms, asked them, "whether "They had given Sr *Thomas* inſtructions to that purpoſe? expreſſing a great value his Maſter had of the Affection of the Parliament of *England*; which drew them to a return of much, and unuſual civility, and to aſſure the *French* King, "that Sr *Thomas Rowe* had no ſuch Inſtructions "from Them; and that they would examine the truth of it; and would "be careful that nothing ſhould be done, and perfected in that Treaty

"which

"which might reflect upon the good of the *French* King. Whereas in truth there was not the leaſt ground, or pretence for that ſuggeſtion; Sr *Thomas Rowe* having never made any ſuch offer, or any thing like it. And when, after his return out of *Germany*, he expoſtulated with the *French* Embaſſador, for ſuch an injurious, cauſleſs information, he anſwer'd, "that his Maſter had receiv'd ſuch advertiſement, and had given "him order to do what he did. So that it eaſily appear'd, it was only a fiction of State, whereby they took occaſion to publiſh, that they would take any opportunity to reſort to the two Houſes, and thereby to flatter them in their uſurpation of any Soveraign Authority.

THERE is not a ſadder conſideration than this Paſſion, and Injuſtice, in Chriſtian Princes (and I pray God the Almighty Juſtice be not angry, on this account, with the Government of Kings, Princes, and States) that they are ſeldom ſo Sollicitous that the Laws be executed, Juſtice adminiſter'd, and Order perform'd within their own Kingdoms, as they are that all three may be diſturbed, and confounded amongſt their Neighbours. And there is no ſooner a ſpark of Diſſenſion, a diſcompoſure in Affections, a jealouſy in Underſtandings, diſcern'd to be in a Neighbour Province, or Kingdom, to the hazarding the Peace thereof, but they, though in League and Amity, with their utmoſt Art and Induſtry, make it their buſineſs to kindle that ſpark into a flame, and to contract and ripen all unſettled humours, and jealous Apprehenſions, into a peremptory diſcontent, and all diſcontent to Sedition, and all Sedition to open and profeſſed Rebellion. And they have rarely ſo ample ſatisfaction in their own greatneſs, or ſo great a ſenſe and value of God's bleſſing upon them, as when they have been Inſtruments of drawing ſome notorious Calamity upon their Neighbours. As if the Religion of Princes were nothing but Policy, and that they conſider'd nothing more, than to make all other Kingdoms but their own miſerable: and becauſe God hath reſerv'd them to be try'd only within his own Juriſdiction, and before his own Tribunal, that he means to try them too by other Laws, and Rules, than he hath publiſh'd to the world for his Servants to walk by. Whereas they ought to conſider, that God hath placed them over his People as Examples, and to give countenance to his Laws by their own ſtrict obſervation of them; and that as their Subjects are to be defended, and protected by their Princes, ſo They themſelves are to be aſſiſted and ſupported by one another; the function of Kings being an Order by it ſelf: and as a contempt and breach of every Law is, in the Policy of State, an Offence againſt the Perſon of the King, becauſe there is a kind of violation offer'd to his Perſon in the tranſgreſſion of that Rule without which he cannot govern; ſo the Rebellion of Subjects againſt their Prince ought to be look'd upon, by all other Kings, as an Aſſault of their own Soveraignty, and, in ſome degree, a deſign againſt Monarchy it ſelf; and conſequently to be ſuppreſſed, and extirpated, in what other Kingdom ſoever it is, with the like concernment as if it were in their own Bowels.

BESIDES theſe indirect Artifices, and Activity before mention'd in the *French* Embaſſador, very many of the *Hugonots* in *France* (with whom this Crown heretofore, it may be, kept too much correſpondence) were declared Enemies to the King; and, in publick, and in ſecret, gave all poſſible Aſſiſtance to thoſe whoſe buſineſs was to deſtroy the Church. And as this animoſity prov'd of unſpeakable inconvenience and damage to the King, throughout all theſe troubles, and of equal benefit to his Enemies;

Enemies; ſo the occaſion, from whence thoſe diſaffections grew, was very unskilfully and imprudently adminiſter'd by the State here. Not to ſpeak of the buſineſs of *Rochel*, which, though it ſtuck deep in all, yet moſt imputed the Counſels of that time to Men that were dead, and not to a fix'd deſign of the Court; they had a greater Quarrel, which made them believe, that their very Religion was perſecuted by the Church of *England*.

WHEN the Reformation of Religion firſt begun in *England*, in the time of King *Edward* the ſixth, very many, out of *Germany* and *France*, left their Countries, where the Reformation was ſeverely perſecuted, and tranſplanted themſelves, their Families, and Eſtates, into *England*, where they were receiv'd very hoſpitably; and that King, with great Piety and Policy, by ſeveral Acts of State, granted them many Indemnities, and the free uſe of Churches in *London* for the exerciſe of their Religion: whereby the Number of them encreaſed; and the benefit to the Kingdom, by ſuch an acceſs of Trade, and improvement of Manufactures, was very conſiderable. Which Queen *Elizabeth* finding, and well knowing that other notable uſes of them might be made, enlarg'd their Privileges by new Conceſſions; drawing, by all means, great Numbers over, and ſuffering them to erect Churches, and to enjoy the exerciſe of their Religion after their own manner, and according to their own Ceremonies, in all places, where, for the conveniency of their Trade, they choſe to reſide. And ſo they had Churches in *Norwich*, *Canterbury*, and other places of the Kingdom, as well as in *London*; whereby the Wealth of thoſe places marvellouſly encreaſed. And beſides the benefit from thence, the Queen made uſe of them in her great Tranſactions of State in *France*, and the Low Countries, and by the mediation and interpoſition of thoſe People, kept an uſeful Intereſt in that Party, in all the Forreign Dominions where they were tolerated. The ſame Charters of Liberty were continued and granted to them, during the peaceable Reign of King *James*, and in the beginning of this King's Reign, although, it may be, the politick conſiderations in thoſe Conceſſions, and Connivances, were neither made uſe of, nor underſtood.

SOME few years before theſe Troubles, when the power of Church Men grew more tranſcendent, and indeed the Faculties and Underſtandings of the Lay Counſellors more dull, lazy, and unactive (for without the laſt, the firſt could have done no hurt) the Biſhops grew jealous that the countenancing another Diſcipline of the Church here, by Order of the State (for thoſe Forreign Congregations were govern'd by a Presbytery according to the Cuſtom, and Conſtitution of thoſe parts of which they had been Natives: the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Walloons*, had the free uſe of ſeveral Churches according to their own diſcipline) would at leaſt diminiſh the Reputation and Dignity of the Epiſcopal Government, and give ſome countenance to the Factious, and Schiſmatical Party in *England* to hope for ſuch a toleration.

THEN there wanted not ſome fiery, turbulent, and contentious Perſons of the ſame Congregations, who, upon private differences and conteſts, were ready to inform againſt their Brethren, and to diſcover, what, they thought, might prove of moſt prejudice to them; ſo that, upon pretence that they far exceeded the Liberties which were granted to them, and that, under the Notion of Forreigners, many *Engliſh* ſeparated themſelves from the Church, and joyn'd themſelves to thoſe Con-

gregations (which poſſibly was in part true) the Council-Board connived at, or interpoſed not, whilſt the Biſhops did ſome Acts of Reſtraint, with which thoſe Congregations grew generally diſcontented, and thought the Liberty of their Conſciences to be taken from them; which cauſed in *London* much complaining of this kind, but much more in the Dioceſs of *Norwich*; where Dr *Wren*, the Biſhop there, paſſionately, and warmly proceeded againſt them: ſo that many left the Kingdom, to the leſſening the Wealthy Manufacture there of Kerſeys, and narrow Cloaths, and, which was worſe, tranſporting that myſtery into Forreign Parts.

AND that this might be ſure to look like more than what was neceſſary to the Civil Policy of the Kingdom, whereas, in all former times, the Embaſſadors, and all Forreign Miniſters of State, imployed from *England* into any parts where the Reform'd Religion was exerciſed, frequented their Churches, gave all poſſible Countenance to their profeſſion, and held correſpondence with the moſt active, and powerful Perſons of that relation, and particularly, the Embaſſador Lieger at *Paris* had diligently, and conſtantly frequented the Church at *Charenton*, and held a fair intercourſe with thoſe of that Religion throughout the Kingdom, by which they had ſtill receiv'd advantage, that People being induſtrious and active to get into the ſecrets of the State, and ſo deriving all neceſſary Intelligence to thoſe whom they deſired to gratify: The contrary to this was now with great induſtry practiced, and ſome advertiſements, if not inſtructions, given to the Embaſſadors there, "to forbear any extraordinary commerce with the Men of that profeſ- "ſion. And the Lord *Scudamore*, who was the laſt Ordinary Embaſſador there, before the beginning of this Parliament, whether by the Inclinations of his own Nature, or by advice from others, not only declined going to *Charenton*, but furniſh'd his own Chapel, in his Houſe, with ſuch Ornaments (as Candles upon the Communion Table and the like) as gave great offence, and umbrage to thoſe of the Reformation there, who had not ſeen the like; beſides that he was careful to publiſh, upon all occaſions, by himſelf, and thoſe who had the neareſt relation to him, "that the Church of *England* look'd not on the *Hugonots* as a "part of their Communion; which was likewiſe too much, and too induſtriouſly diſcourſed at home.

THEY of the Church of *England* who committed the greateſt errors this way, had, undoubtedly, not the leaſt thoughts of making alterations in it towards the countenancing of Popery, as hath been uncharitably conceiv'd: But (having too juſt cauſe given them to diſlike the Paſſion, and Licence, that was taken by ſome Perſons in the Reform'd Churches, under the Notion of Conſcience, and Religion, to the diſturbance of the Peace of Kingdoms) unskilfully believ'd, that the Total declining the Intereſt of that Party, where it exceeded the neceſſary bounds of Reformation, would make this Church of *England* look'd upon with more reverence; and that thereby the Common Adverſary, the Papiſt, would abate ſomewhat of his arrogance, and ſupercilioufneſs; and that both Parties, piouſly conſidering the Charity which Religion ſhould beget, might, if not unite, yet refrain from the bitterneſs, and uncharitableneſs of Contention in matters of opinion, and agree in the practical duties of Chriſtians and Subjects. Thus, contracting their conſiderations in too narrow a compaſs, theſe Men contented themſelves with their Pious Intentions, without duly weighing objections,

or the circumſtances of Policy. And ſome of our own Communion, who differ'd with them in opinion in this point, though they were in the right, not giving, and, it may be, not knowing the right reaſons, rather confirm'd than reform'd them in their Inclinations: Neither of them diſcerning the true, and ſubſtantial grounds of that Policy, upon which that good correſpondence had been founded, which they were now about to change: And ſo the Church of *England*, not giving the ſame Countenance to thoſe of the Religion in Forreign Parts, which it had formerly done, no ſooner was diſcern'd to be under a Cloud at home; but thoſe of the Religion abroad, were glad of the occaſion to publiſh their malice againſt her, and to enter into the ſame conſpiracy againſt the Crown, without which they could have done little hurt to the Church.

Now, to return to the Courſe of our Hiſtory; After all diſcourſes and motions for Peace were, for a time, laid aſide; and new thoughts of Victory, and utterly ſubduing the King's Party, again entertain'd; they found one trouble falling upon them which they had leaſt ſuſpected, want of Money; all their vaſt Sums collected, upon any former Bills, paſſed by the King for the relief of *Ireland*, and payment of the debt to the *Scots*, and all their Money upon Subſcriptions of Plate, and Loans upon the publick Faith, which amounted to incredible proportions, were even quite waſted; and their conſtant expence was ſo great, that no Ordinary ſupply would ſerve their turn; and they eaſily diſcern'd, that their Money only, and not their Cauſe, procured them Soldiers of all kinds; and that They could never ſupport their power, if their power was not able to ſupply Them. All voluntary Loans were at an end, and the publick Faith thought a ſecurity not to be relied on, and by how much greater the difficulty was, by ſo much the more fatal would the ſinking under it prove; and therefore it was with the more Vigour to be reſiſted. In the end, they reſolv'd upon the thorough execution of their full Soveraign power, and to let the people ſee what they might truſt to; in which it is neceſſary to obſerve the Arts, and Degrees of their motion.

New ways of raiſing Money by the two Houſes.

THEY firſt order'd, "that Committees ſhould be named in all Counties, to take care for proviſions of Victuals for the Army, and alſo for "the taking up of Horſes for ſervice in the field, Dragooners and draught "Horſes, and for borrowing of Money and Plate to ſupply the Army: "and upon Certificate from thoſe Committees (who had power to ſet "what Value or Rates they pleaſed upon theſe proviſions of any kind) "the ſame ſhould be enter'd with their Treaſurer, who ſhould hereafter "repay the ſame. It was alledged, "that this would only draw ſupplies from their friends, and the well affected; and that others, who "either liked not their proceedings, or lov'd their Money better than "the Liberty of their Country, would not contribute. Upon this it was order'd, "that in caſe the Owners refuſed to bring in Money, Proviſions, Plate, and Horſe, upon the publick Faith, for the uſe of the "Army; for the better preventing the ſpoil, and imbezelling of ſuch "proviſions of Money, Plate, and Horſes, by the diſorder of the Soldiers, "and that they may not come into the hands of the Enemies, that the "Committees, or any two of them, ſhould be authoriſed, and enabled "to ſend for ſuch Proviſions, Money, Plate, and Horſes; and to take the "ſame into their Cuſtody, and to ſet indifferent value and rate upon "them; which value they ſhould certify to the Treaſurers, for the portions

"portions to be repaid at ſuch time, and in ſuch manner, as ſhould be "order'd by both Houſes of Parliament.

THIS was done only to ſhew what they meant to do over all *England*, and as a ſtock of credit to them. For at preſent it would neither ſupply their wants; neither was it ſeaſonable for them, or indeed poſſible to endeavour the execution of it in many Counties. *London* was the place from whence only their preſent help muſt come. To them therefore they declared, "that the King's Army had made divers Aſſeſments "upon ſeveral Counties, and the Subjects were compell'd, by the Sol- "diers, to pay the ſame; which Army, if it continued, would ſoon "ruin, and waſt the whole Kingdom; and overthrow Religion, Law, "and Liberty: That there was no probable way, under God, for the "ſuppreſſing that Army, and other ill affected Perſons, but by the Ar- "my raiſed by the Authority of the Parliament; which Army could "not be maintain'd, without great Sums of Money; and for raiſing ſuch "Sums, there could be no Act of Parliament paſſed with his Majeſty's "Aſſent, albeit there was great Juſtice that ſuch Money ſhould be raiſed: "That, hitherto, the Army had been, for the moſt part, maintain'd by "the voluntary contributions of well affected People, who had freely "contributed according to their Abilities: That there were divers others "within the Cities of *London*, and *Weſtminſter*, and the Suburbs, that "had not contributed at all towards the maintenance of that Army, or "if they had, yet not anſwerable to their Eſtates; who notwithſtanding "receiv'd benefit, and Protection by the ſame Army, as well as any "others; and therefore it was moſt juſt, that They ſhould, as well as "others, be charged to contribute to the maintenance thereof.

UPON theſe grounds, and reaſons, it was ordain'd "by the Autho- "rity of Parliament, that *Iſaac Pennington*, the then Lord Mayor of "*London*, and ſome other Aldermen, and Citizens, or any four of them, "ſhould have Power and Authority to Nominate, and Appoint, in eve- "ry Ward, within the City of *London*, fix ſuch Perſons as they ſhould "think fit, who ſhould have power to enquire of all who had not con- "tributed upon the Propoſitions concerning the raiſing of Money, "Plate, *&c.* and of ſuch able Men, who had contributed, yet not ac- "cording to their Eſtates, and Abilities; and thoſe Perſons ſo ſubſtituted, "or any four of them, within their ſeveral Wards and Limits, ſhould "have power to Aſſeſs all Perſons of Ability who had not contributed, "and alſo thoſe who had contributed, yet not according to their Abi- "lity, to pay ſuch Sums of Money, according to their Eſtates, as the "Aſſeſſors, or any four of them ſhould think reaſonable, ſo as the ſame "exceeded not the twentieth part of their Eſtates; and to nominate fit "Perſons for the receipt thereof. And if any Perſon ſo Aſſeſs'd ſhould "refuſe to pay the Money ſo Aſſeſs'd upon him, it ſhould be Lawful "for the Aſſeſſors, and Collectors, to levy that Sum by way of diſtreſs, "and ſale of the goods of Perſons ſo refuſing. And if any Perſon diſtrain'd "ſhould make reſiſtance, it ſhould be Lawful for the Aſſeſſors, and Col- "lectors, to call to their Aſſiſtance any of the Train'd-bands of *London*, "or any other of his Majeſty's Subjects; who were required to be aid- "ing, and aſſiſting to them. The Burgeſſes of *Weſtminſter*, and *South- "wark*, and a Committee appointed to that purpoſe, were to do the "ſame within thoſe Limits, as the other in *London*.

AND that there might be no ſtratagem to avoid this Tax (ſo ſtrange and unlook'd for) by a ſecond Ordinance in explanation of the former,

They ordain'd, "that, if no ſufficient diſtreſs could be found for the payment of what ſhould be Aſſeſs'd, the Collectors ſhould have power to "enquire of any Sum of Money due to thoſe Perſons ſo Aſſeſs'd, from "what Perſons ſoever, for Rents, Goods, or Debts, for any other "thing or cauſe whatſoever. And the Collectors had power to receive "all ſuch Debts, until the full Value of the Sums ſo Aſſeſs'd, and the "Charges in levying or recovering the ſame ſhould be ſatisfied: and leſt "the diſcovery of thoſe Debts might be difficult, the ſame Collectors "had power to compound for any Rents, Goods, or Debts, due to ſuch "Perſons ſo Aſſeſs'd, with any Perſon by whom the ſame was due, and "to give full diſcharges for the Money ſo compounded for, which ſhould "be good and effectual to all purpoſes. And if the Money Aſſeſs'd could "not be levied by any of theſe ways, then the Perſons Aſſeſs'd ſhould "be impriſon'd in ſuch places of the Kingdom, and for ſo long time, as "the Committee of the Houſe of Commons for examinations ſhould appoint, and order; and the families of all ſuch Perſons ſo impriſon'd "ſhould no longer remain within the Cities of *London*, or *Weſtminſter*, "the Suburbs, or the Counties adjacent. And all Aſſeſſors, and Collectors, ſhould have the protection of both Houſes of Parliament, for "their Indemnity in that Service, and receive allowance for their pains, "and charges. Several additional, and explanatory Orders they made for the better execution of this grand one, by every of which ſome clauſe of ſeverity, and monſtrous irregularity was added, and for the complement of all, they order'd that themſelves, the Members of either Houſe, ſhould not be Aſſeſs'd by any but themſelves.

THE truth is, the King was not ſorry to ſee this Ordinance, which he thought ſo prodigious, that he ſhould have been a greater Gainer by it than they that made it; ſeeing it was ſo palpable, and clear a demonſtration of the Tyranny the People were to live under, that they would eaſily have diſcern'd the change of their condition: yet he took ſo much pains, to awaken his Subjects to a due apprehenſion of it, and to apply the thorough conſideration of it to them, that he publiſh'd a Declaration upon that Ordinance; the which, preſenting many things to them, which have ſince fallen out, may be, in this place, fit to be inſerted in the King's own words, which were theſe:

His Majeſty's Declaration upon occaſion of the former Ordinance.

"IT would not be believ'd (at leaſt great pains have been taken that "it might not) that the pretended Ordinance of the Militia (the firſt "attempt that ever was, to make a Law by Ordinance, without Our "conſent) or the keeping us out of *Hull*, and taking Our Armes and "Ammunition from us, could any way concern the Intereſt, Property, "or Liberty of the Subject: And it was confeſs'd, by that deſperate Declaration it ſelf of the 26th of *May*, that if they were found guilty of "that charge of deſtroying the Title and Intereſt of Our Subjects to "their Lands, and Goods, it were indeed a very great crime. But it "was a ſtrange fatal Lethargy which had ſeiſed Our good People, and "kept them from diſcerning that the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of *England*, were not only ſtripp'd of their Preeminences, and "Privileges, but of their Liberties, and Eſtates, when Our juſt Rights "were denied us; and that no Subject could from thenceforth expect to "dwell at home, when We were driven from Our Houſes, and Our "Towns. It was not poſſible, that a Commiſſion could be granted to "the Earl of *Eſſex*, to raiſe an Army againſt Us, and, for the ſafety of

"our Perſon and preſervation of the Peace of the Kingdom, to purſue, "kill, and ſlay Us, and all who wiſh well to us: But that, in a ſhort "time, inferior Commanders, by the ſame Authority, would reqnire "Our good Subjects, for the maintenance of the property of the Sub- "ject, to ſupply them with ſuch Sums of Money as they think fit, upon "the penalty of being plunder'd with all extremity of War (as the Title "of Sr *Edmund Bainton*'s Warrant runs againſt Our poor Subjects in "*Wilt-ſhire*) and by ſuch Rules of unlimited Arbitrary Power as are in- "conſiſtent with the leaſt pretence or ſhadow of that property, it would "ſeem to defend.

"IF there could be yet any Underſtanding ſo unskilful and ſupine to "believe, that theſe Diſturbers of the publick Peace do intend any thing "but a general Confuſion, they have brought them a ſad argument to "their own doors to convince them. After this Ordinance and Decla- "ration, it is not in any ſober Man's power to believe himſelf to be worth "any thing, or that there is ſuch a thing as Law, Liberty, or Property, "left in *England*, under the juriſdiction of theſe Men. And the ſame "power that robs them now of the twentieth part of their Eſtates, hath, "by that, but made a claim, and entitled it ſelf to the other nineteen, "when it ſhall be thought fit to haſten the general ruin. Sure, if the "minds of all Men be not ſtubbornly prepared for ſervitude, they will "look on this Ordinance, as the greateſt Prodigy of Arbitrary Power "and Tyranny, that any Age hath brought forth in any Kingdom. Other "Grievances (and the greateſt) have been conceiv'd intolerable, rather "by the Logick and Conſequence, than by the preſſure it ſelf: This, "at once ſweeps away all that the Wiſdom, and Juſtice of Parliaments "have provided for them. Is their Property in their Eſtates (ſo carefully "look'd to by their Anceſtors, and ſo amply eſtabliſh'd by Us, againſt "any poſſibility of Invaſion from the Crown) which makes the meaneſt "Subject as much a Lord of his own as the greateſt Peer, to be va- "lued, or conſider'd? Here is a twentieth part of every Man's Eſtate, or "ſo much as four Men will pleaſe to call the twentieth part, taken away "at once, and yet a power left to take a twentieth ſtill of that which "remains: and this to be levied by ſuch circumſtances of Severity, as "no Act of Parliament ever conſented to.

"IS their Liberty, which diſtinguiſhes Subjects from Slaves, and in "which this freeborn Nation hath the advantage of all *Chriſtendom*, "dear to them? They ſhall not only be impriſon'd in ſuch places of this "Kingdom (a latitude of Judgement no Court can challenge to it ſelf "in any Caſes) but for ſo long time, as the Committee of the Houſe of "Commons for examination ſhall appoint and order: The Houſe of "Commons it ſelf having never aſſumed, or in the leaſt degree pretended "to, a power of Judicature; having no more Authority to adminiſter an "Oath, the only way to diſcover and find out the truth of facts, than "to cut off the Heads of any of Our Subjects: And this Committee be- "ing ſo far from being a part of the Parliament, that it is deſtructive "to the Whole, by uſurping to it ſelf all the power of King, Lords, and "Commons. All who know any thing of Parliaments know that a Com- "mittee of either Houſe ought not, by the Law, to publiſh their own "Reſults; neither are their concluſions of any Force, without the con- "firmation of the Houſe, which hath the ſame power of controlling "them, as if the matter had never been debated. But that any Com- "mittee ſhould be ſo contracted (as this of Examination, a ſtyle no

"Committee

"Committee ever bore before this Parliament) as to exclude the Mem-
"bers of the Houſe, who are equally truſted by their Country, from
"being preſent at the Councils, is ſo monſtrous to the Privileges of Par-
"liament, that it is no more in the power of any Man to give up that
"freedom, than of himſelf to order, that, from that time, the place for
"which he ſerves ſhall never more ſend a Knight or Burgeſs to the Par-
"liament; and in truth is no leſs than to alter the whole frame of Go-
"vernment, to pull up Parliaments by the Roots, and to commit the
"Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates, of all the People of *England* to the Ar-
"bitrary power of a few unqualified Perſons, who ſhall diſpoſe thereof
"according to their diſcretion, without account to any Rule or Autho-
"rity whatſoever.

"ARE their Friends, their Wives, and Children, the greateſt bleſſings
"of Peace, and Comforts of Life, precious to them? Would their pe-
"nury, and impriſonment be leſs grievous by thoſe Cordials? They ſhall
"be divorced from them, baniſhed, and ſhall no longer remain within
"the Cities of *London*, and *Weſtminſter*, the Suburbs and the Counties
"adjacent, and how far thoſe adjacent Counties ſhall extend no Man
"knows. Is there now any thing left to enjoy but the Liberty to Rebel,
"and deſtroy one another? Are the outward bleſſings only of Peace,
"Property, and Liberty, taken and forced from our Subjects? Are their
"Conſciences free and unaſſaulted by the Violence of theſe Firebrands?
"Sure the Liberty and Freedom of Conſcience cannot ſuffer by theſe
"Men. Alas! all theſe puniſhments are impoſed upon them, becauſe
"they will not ſubmit to Actions contrary to their natural Loyalty, to
"their Oaths of Allegiance, and Supremacy, and to their late voluntary
"Proteſtation, which obliges them to the care of our Perſon, and our
"juſt Rights.

"How many Perſons of Honour, Quality, and Reputation, of the
"ſeveral Counties of *England*, are now impriſon'd, without any ob-
"jections againſt them, but ſuſpicion of their Loyalty? How many of
"the graveſt, and moſt ſubſtantial Citizens of *London*, by whom the
"Government and Diſcipline of that City was preſerv'd, are diſgraced,
"robbed, and impriſoned, without any Proceſs of Law, or Colour of
"Accuſation, but of obedience to the Law, and Government of the
"Kingdom? Whilſt *Anabaptiſts*, and *Browniſts*, with the Aſſiſtance of
"vicious and debauched Perſons of deſperate fortunes, take upon them
"to break up and rifle Houſes, as publick and avow'd Miniſters of a new-
"invented Authority. How many Godly, Pious, and Painful Divines,
"whoſe Lives and Learning have made them of Reverend Eſtimation,
"are now ſlander'd with inclination to Popery, diſcountenanced, and im-
"priſon'd, for diſcharging their Conſciences, inſtructing the People in
"the Chriſtian duty of Religion and Obedience? Whilſt Schiſmatical,
"Illiterate, and ſcandalous Preachers, fill the Pulpits and Churches with
"Blaſphemy, Irreverence, and Treaſon; and incite their Auditory to
"nothing but Murther, and Rebellion.

"WE paſs over the Vulgar Charm, by which they have captivated
"ſuch who have been contented to diſpenſe with their Conſciences for
"the Preſervation of their Eſtates, and by which they perſwade Men
"chearfully to part with this twentieth part of their Eſtates to the good
"work in hand. For whoſoever will Give what he hath may eſcape
"Robbing. They ſhall be repaid upon the Publick Faith, as all other
"Monies lent upon the Propoſitions of both Houſes. It may be ſo.

"But

"But Men must be condemn'd to a strange unthriftiness, who will lend "upon such security. The Publick Faith indeed is as great an earnest "as the State can give, and engages the Honour, Reputation, and Ho- "nesty of the Nation, and is the Act of the Kingdom: 'Tis the Security "of the King, the Lords, and Commons, which can never need an Exe- "cutor, can never die, never be bankrupt; and therefore We willingly "consented to it for the indemnity of our good Subjects of *Scotland* "(who, We hope, will not think the worse of it for being so often, and "so cheaply mention'd since) But that a Vote of One, or Both Houses, "should be an Engagement upon the Publick Faith, is as impossible, as "that the Committee of the House of Commons for Examinations "should be the High Court of Parliament.

"And what is, or can be said, with the least shadow of reason, to "justify these extravagancies? We have not heard lately of the funda- "mental Laws, which used to Warrant the Innovations: these need a "refuge even below those foundations. They will say, they cannot "manage their great Undertakings without such extraordinary ways. "We think so too. But that proves only, they have undertaken some- "what they ought not to undertake, not that it is lawful for them to "do any thing that is convenient for those ends. We remember'd them "long ago, and We cannot do it too often, of that excellent Speech of "Mr *Pym*'s, The Law is that which puts a difference betwixt Good and "Evil, Just and Unjust: If you take away the Law, all things will be "in a confusion, every Man will become a Law unto himself; which, "in the deprav'd condition of human Nature, must needs produce ma- "ny great Enormities. Lust will become a Law, and Envy will become "a Law, Covetousness and Ambition will become Laws; and what "dictates, what decision such Laws will produce may easily be discern'd. "It may indeed by sad Instances over the whole Kingdom.

"But will Posterity believe, that, in the same Parliament, this Do- "ctrine was avow'd with that Acclamation, and these Instances after "produced? That, in the same Parliament, such care was taken that no "Man should be committed in what case soever, without the cause of "his imprisonment express'd; and that all Men should be immediately "bailed in all cases bailable; and, during the same Parliament, that Al- "derman *Pennington*, or indeed any body else, but the sworn Ministers "of Justice, should imprison whom they would, and for what they "would, and for as long time as they would? That the King should be "reproached with breach of Privilege, for accusing Sr *John Hotham* of "High Treason, when with force of Armes he kept him out of *Hull*, "and despised him to his face, because in no case a Member of either "House might be committed, or accused without leave of that House "of which he is a Member; and yet that during the same Parliament, "the same Alderman shall commit the Earl of *Middlesex*, a Peer of the "Realm, and the Lord *Buckhurst*, a Member of the House of Com- "mons, to the Counter, without reprehension? That to be a Traytor "(which is defined, and every Man understands) should be no crime, and "to be call'd Malignant, which no body knows the meaning of, should "be ground enough for close imprisonment? That a Law should be made, "that whosoever should presume to take Tonnage and Poundage with- "out an Act of Parliament, should incur the penalty of a premunire, "and, in the same Parliament, that the same imposition should be laid "upon Our Subjects, and taken by Order of both Houses, without, and

"against

"againſt Our conſent? Laſtly, that, in the ſame Parliament, a Law "ſhould be made to declare the proceedings, and Judgement upon Ship-"money to be illegal, and void; and during that Parliament, that an "Order of both Houſes ſhall, upon pretence of neceſſity, enable four "Men to take away the twentieth part of their Eſtates from all their "Neighbours, according to their diſcretion.

"BUT Our good Subjects will no longer look upon theſe and the like "reſults, as upon the Counſels and Concluſions of both our Houſes of "Parliament (though all the world knows, even that Authority can "never juſtify things unwarrantable by the Law) They well know how "few of the Perſons truſted by them, are truſted at Their conſultations, "of above five hundred of the Commons not fourſcore: and of the "Houſe of Peers, not a fifth part: That they who are preſent enjoy not "the Privilege and Freedom of Parliament, but are beſieged by an "Army, and awed by the ſame Tumults which drove Us, and their fel-"low Members from thence, to conſent to what ſome few ſeditious "ſchiſmatical Perſons among them do propoſe. Theſe are the Men, who "joyning with the *Anabaptiſts*, and *Browniſts* of *London*, firſt changed "the Government and Diſcipline of that City; and now, by the pride "and power of that City, would undo the Kingdom: whilſt their Lord "Mayor, a Perſon accuſed and known to be guilty of High Treaſon, by "a new Legiſlative Power of his own, ſuppreſſes, and reviles the Book "of Common Prayer, robs and impriſons whom he thinks fit; and, with "the Rabble of his Faction, gives Laws to both Houſes of Parliament, "and tells them, *They will have no Accommodation*; whilſt the Mem-"bers ſent, and intruſted by their Countries, are expell'd the Houſe, or "committed, for refuſing to take the Oath of Aſſociation to live and die "with the Earl of *Eſſex*, as very lately Sr *Sydney Mountague*. Theſe "are the Men who have preſumed to ſend Embaſſadors, and to enter "into Treaties with Forreign States in their own behalf, having at this "time an Agent of their own with the States of *Holland*, to negotiate "for them upon private Inſtructions: Theſe are the Men who not think-"ing they have yet brought Miſchief enough unto this Kingdom, at this "time invite, and ſollicite Our Subjects of *Scotland*, to enter this Land "with an Army againſt Us: in a word, theſe are the Men who have "made this laſt devouring Ordinance to take away all Law, Liberty, "and Property from our People, and have by it really acted that upon "our People, which with infinite Malice, and no Colour, or Ground, "was laboured to be infuſed into them, to have been Our intention by "the Commiſſions of Array.

"WE have done: What Power and Authority theſe Men have, or "will have, We know not: For Our ſelf, We challenge none ſuch. We "look upon the Preſſures and Inconveniencies our good Subjects bear, "even by Us, and Our Army (which the Army firſt raiſed by them en-"forced Us to raiſe in Our defence, and their refuſal of all offers and de-"fires of Treaty enforceth Us to keep) with very much ſadneſs of heart. "We are ſo far from requiring a twentieth part of their Eſtates, though "for their own viſible preſervation, that, as We have already ſold or "pawn'd our own Jewels, and Coin'd our own Plate, ſo We are willing "to ſell all our own Lands and Houſes for their relief: Yet We do not "doubt but Our good Subjects will ſeriouſly conſider Our condition, "and their own duties, and think our readineſs to protect them with the "utmoſt hazard of our Life, deſerves their readineſs to aſſiſt Us with

"ſome part of Their fortunes; and, whilſt other Men give a twentieth "part of their Eſtates to enable them to forfeit the other nineteen, that "they will extend themſelves to Us in a liberal, and free proportion, "for the preſervation of the reſt, and for the maintenance of God's true "Religion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and the "Safety, and very Being of Parliaments, and this Kingdom: For if all "theſe ever were, or can be, in manifeſt danger, 'tis now in this preſent "Rebellion againſt Us.

"LASTLY, We will and require all Our loving Subjects, of what "degree or quality ſoever, as they will Anſwer it to God, to Us, and "to Poſterity, by their Oaths of Allegiance, and Supremacy; as they "would not be look'd upon now, and remember'd hereafter, as Betrayers "of the Laws and Liberties they were born to; that they in no degree "ſubmit to this wild pretended Ordinance, and that they preſume not "to give any Encouragement, or Aſſiſtance to the Army now in Rebel-"lion againſt Us; which if notwithſtanding they ſhall do, they muſt ex-"pect from Us the ſevereſt puniſhment the Law can inflict, and a per-"petual Infamy with all good Men.

WHATSOEVER every Man could ſay to another againſt that Ordinance, and whatſoever the King ſaid to them all againſt it, it did bring in a great ſupply of Money, and gave them a ſtock of Credit to borrow more; ſo that the Army was again drawn out, though but to Winter Quarters, twenty Miles from *London*, and the Earl of *Eſſex* fix'd his head Quarters at *Windſor*, to ſtreighten the King's new Garriſon at *Reading*, and ſent ſtrong Parties ſtill abroad, which got as much ground as, at that time of the year, could reaſonably be expected; that is, brought thoſe adjacent Counties entirely under the obedience of the Parliament, which would at leaſt have kept themſelves Neutral: And ſtill perſwaded the People, "that their work was even at an end, and that "the King's Forces would be ſwallow'd up in a very ſhort time: ſo that there was no day, in which they did not publiſh themſelves to have obtain'd ſome notable Victory, or taken ſome Town, when in truth each Party wiſely abſtain'd from diſturbing the other: Yet the Bulk of their ſupply came only from the City of *London*. For though their Ordinance extended over the whole Kingdom, they had power to execute it only there; for it was not yet time to try the Affections of all places within their own Verge, with the ſevere exerciſe of that Authority.

AND therefore divers of the Wealthieſt and moſt Subſtantial Citizens of *London*, obſerving liberty to be taken by all Men to Petition the Houſes, and the Multitude of the Petitioners to carry great Authority with them, and from thoſe Multitudes and that Authority, the brand to have been laid upon the City, "of being an Enemy to Peace, met together, and prepared a very modeſt and moderate Petition to the Houſes; in which they deſired "ſuch Propoſitions and Addreſſes might "be made by Them to his Majeſty, as he might with his Honour com-"ply with, and thereby a happy Peace enſue; which, being ſign'd by many thouſand hands, was ready to be preſented, but was not receiv'd by the Houſe of Commons, for no other reaſon publickly given, but "that it was prepared by a Multitude; and objections were framed againſt the principal Promoters of it, upon other pretences of Delinquency; ſo that they were compell'd to forſake the Town, and that Party were, for the preſent, diſcountenanced.

AT the ſame time the Inhabitants of *Weſtminſter*, St *Martins*, and *Covent-Garden*, who allways underwent the Imputation of being well affected to the King, prepared the like Petition, and met with the ſame reproach, being ſtrictly inhibited to approach the Houſes with more than ſix in Company. This unequal kind of proceeding added nothing to their reputation, and they eaſily diſcern'd thoſe humours, thus obſtructed, would break out the more violently: therefore they again reſumed all profeſſions of a deſire of Peace, and appointed a Committee to prepare Propoſitions to be ſent to the King to that purpoſe: and becauſe they found that would be a work of time (for the reaſons which will be anon remember'd) and that many Arts were to be applied to the ſeveral affections, and to wipe out the imagination that the City deſired Peace upon any other Terms than They did, and the diſadvantage that accrew'd to them by ſuch imagination, and alſo to ſtay the appetite of thoſe who were importunate to have any advance made towards Peace, having procured, by the Activity of their Agents and Miniſters, to have ſuch a Common Council choſen for the City, as would undoubtedly comply with their deſires and deſigns, they underhand directed their own Mayor to engage that body in ſuch a Petition to his Majeſty, as, carrying the ſenſe and reputation of the whole City, might yet ſignify nothing to the prejudice of the two Houſes; and ſo a Petition was framed in theſe words:

A Petition of the City to the King.

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty;

The humble Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London.

"Sheweth,

"THAT the Petitioners, your Majeſty's moſt humble and Loyal "Subjects, being much pierced with the long and great diviſions between "your Majeſty and both your Houſes of Parliament, and with the ſad "and bloody effects thereof, both here, and in *Ireland*, are yet more "deeply wounded by the miſapprehenſion, which your Majeſty ſeemeth "to entertain of the Love and Loyalty of this your City, as if there "were ſome cauſe of fear, or ſuſpition of danger to your Royal Perſon "if your Majeſty ſhould return hither; and that this is made the un-"happy bar to that bleſſed Reconciliation with your great and moſt "faithful Council for preventing that deſolation, and deſtruction, which "is now moſt apparently imminent to your Majeſty, and all your "Kingdoms.

"FOR ſatisfaction therefore of your Majeſty, and clearing of the Pe-"titioners innocency, they moſt humbly declare, as formerly they have "done, That they are no way conſcious of any diſloyalty, but abhor all "thoughts thereof; and that they are reſolv'd to make good their late "ſolemn Proteſtation, and ſacred Vow, made to Almighty God; and, "with the laſt drop of their deareſt bloods, to defend, and maintain the "true Reform'd Proteſtant Religion, and, according to the duty of their "Allegiance, your Majeſty's Royal Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate (what-"ſoever is Maliciouſly and falſly ſuggeſted to your Majeſty to the con-"trary) as well as the Power, and Privileges of Parliament, and the "Lawful Rights and Liberty of the Subject: And do hereby engage "Themſelves, their Eſtates, and all they have, to their utmoſt power, "to defend and preſerve your Majeſty, and both Houſes of Parliament

"from all Tumults, Affronts, and Violence, with as much Loyalty, Love, "and Duty, as ever Citizens expreſs'd towards your Majeſty, or any of "your Royal Progenitors in their greateſt glory.

"THE Petitioners therefore, upon their bended Knees, do moſt hum- "bly beſeech your Majeſty, to return to your Parliament (accompanied "with your Royal, not Martial, Attendance) to the end that Religion, "Laws, and Liberties, may be ſettled, and ſecured, and whatſoever is "amiſs in Church, and Common-wealth, reform'd by Their advice, ac- "cording to the fundamental Conſtitutions of this Kingdom: And that "ſuch a Peace may thereby be obtain'd, as ſhall be for the glory of God, "the Honour, and Happineſs of your Majeſty, and Poſterity, and Wel- "fare of all your Loyal Subjects; who (the Petitioners are fully aſſured) "whatſoever is given out to the contrary, do unanimouſly deſire the "Peace herein expreſs'd.

THOUGH this Petition was in effect no other than to deſire the King to disband his Army, and to put himſelf into the abſolute diſpoſal of the Parliament, and therefore all wiſe Men concluded that no great Progreſs would be made by it towards Peace; yet ſo ſotted and infatuated were the People, that, upon this very Petition, they were prevailed with to ſubmit to another Subſcription for Money, and Plate, for the neceſſary Proviſion of Armes, Ammunition, and Pay of their Army, untill their disbanding and return home to their ſeveral Counties: that ſo they might not be occaſioned, through want of Pay, to Plunder, Rob, or Pillage by the way homewards, after their diſcharge and diſmiſſion. So that Men were perſwaded that this was now the laſt Tax they ſhould be invited to, though every one of thoſe Ordinances and Declarations loaded the King with ſome new calumnies, and reproaches, that it was plain the Authors of them meant not ſo ſoon to put themſelves under his Subjection.

THIS Petition was, about the tenth of *January* 1642, preſented to the King at *Oxford*, by ſome Aldermen, and others of the Common Council, who were for the moſt part of moderate Inclinations. The King conſider'd ſadly what Anſwer to return; for, albeit it appear'd that the Petition had been craftily framed by thoſe who had no thoughts of Peace, and that there was no Argument in it to hope any good from that People; yet there were, to Vulgar Underſtandings, very ſpecious and popular Profeſſions of great Piety, and Zeal to his ſervice, and care of his ſecurity; and he was to be very tender in ſeeming to doubt the Inclinations, and Affections of that City, by whoſe ſtrength chiefly the War was ſupported, and that ſtrength procured by corrupting thoſe Affections: And therefore the King was not ſorry to have this opportunity of ſaying ſomewhat, and communicating himſelf freely to the City, being perſwaded, that the ill they did, proceeded rather from miſinformation than any general, or habitual Malice in them. All his Proclamations, Meſſages, and Declarations, had been with ſo much induſtry ſuppreſs'd there, that they were not in truth generally inform'd of the matter of Fact, and the Juſtice of the King's cauſe; and therefore he was perſwaded that if he enlarged himſelf in his Anſwer to this Petition, and expoſed thoſe few Men who were moſt notoriouſly Malignant againſt the Government of the Church and State, and who were generally known to be ſo, to the knowledge of the People, that it would at leaſt leſſen their power and ability to do hurt; and ſo he reſolv'd to return an Anſwer to them in theſe words:

THAT

"THAT his Majeſty doth not entertain any miſapprehenſion of the "Love, and Loyalty of his City of *London*; as he hath allways expreſs'd "a ſingular regard and eſteem of the Affections of that City, and is ſtill "deſirous to make it his chief place of reſidence, and to continue, and "renew many Marks of his favour to it; ſo he believes, much the bet- "ter and greater part of that his City is full of Love, Duty, and Loyalty "to his Majeſty; and that the Tumults which heretofore forced his "Majeſty, for his ſafety, to leave that place, though they were contriv'd "and encourag'd by ſome principal Members thereof (who are ſince "well known, though they are above the reach of Juſtice) conſiſted more "of deſperate Perſons of the Suburbs, and the neighbouring Towns (who "were miſled too by the cunning and malice of their Seducers) than of "the Inhabitants of that City. He looks on his good Subjects there "as Perſons groaning under the ſame burthen which doth oppreſs his Ma- "jeſty, and awed by the ſame Perſons who begot thoſe Tumults, and "the ſame Army which gave Battle to his Majeſty: And therefore, as "no good Subject can more deſire, from his Soul, a compoſure of the "general Diſtractions; ſo no good Citizen can more deſire the eſtablſh- "ment of the particular Peace, and Proſperity of that place, by his Ma- "jeſty's acceſs thither, than his Majeſty himſelf doth. *The King's Anſwer.*

"BUT his Majeſty deſires his good Subjects of *London*, ſeriouſly to "conſider, what confidence his Majeſty can have of ſecurity there, whilſt "the Laws of the Land are ſo notoriouſly deſpiſed, and trampled un- "der foot, and the wholeſome Government of that City, heretofore ſo "famous over all the world, is now ſubmitted to the Arbitrary Power "of a few deſperate Perſons, of no reputation, but for malice and diſ- "loyalty to Him; whilſt Armes are taken up, not only without, but "againſt His Conſent, and expreſs Command, and Collections publickly "made, and Contributions avow'd, for the maintenance of the Army "which hath given him Battle, and therein uſed all poſſible means Trea- "ſon and Malice could ſuggeſt to them, to have taken his Life from "him, and to have deſtroyed his Royal Iſſue; whilſt ſuch of his Ma- "jeſty's Subjects, who, out of Duty and Affection to his Majeſty, and "compaſſion of their bleeding Country, have laboured for Peace, are "reviled, injured, and murthered, even by the Magiſtrates of that City, "or by Their Directions: Laſtly, what hopes his Majeſty can have of "ſafety there, whilſt Alderman *Pennington*, their pretended Lord "Mayor, the principal Author of thoſe Calamities which ſo nearly "threaten the ruin of that famous City, *Ven*, *Foulke*, and *Manwairing*, "all Perſons notoriouſly guilty of Schiſm and High Treaſon, commit "ſuch Outrages, in oppreſſing, robbing, and impriſoning, according to "their diſcretion, all ſuch his Majeſty's Loving Subjects, whom they "are pleaſed to ſuſpect for but wiſhing well to his Majeſty.

"AND his Majeſty would know, whether the Petitioners believe, "that the reviling, and ſuppreſſing the Book of Common Prayer, eſta- "bliſh'd in this Church ever ſince the Reformation, the diſcounte- "nancing and impriſoning Godly, Learned, and Painful Preachers, and "the cheriſhing and countenancing of *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and all "manner of Sectaries, be the way to defend and mantain the true Re- "form'd Proteſtant Religion? That to comply with, and aſſiſt Perſons "who have actually attempted to kill his Majeſty, and to allow, and fa- "vour Libels, Paſquils, and ſeditious Sermons againſt his Majeſty, be to "defend his Royal Perſon, and Honour, according to the duty of their

"Allegiance? Whether to impriſon Mens Perſons, and to plunder their "Houſes, becauſe they will not Rebel againſt his Majeſty, nor aſſiſt "thoſe that do; whether to deſtroy their property by taking away the "twentieth part of their Eſtates from them, and by the ſame Arbitrary "Power, to refer to four Standers by, of their own Faction, to judge "what that twentieth part is, be to defend the Lawful Rights, and Li-"berties of the Subject? And if they think theſe Actions to be inſtances "of either; whether they do not know the Perſons before named to be "guilty of them all? Or whether they think it poſſible, that Almighty "God can bleſs that City, and preſerve it from deſtruction, whilſt Per-"ſons of ſuch known guilt, and wickedneſs, are defended and juſtified "among them, againſt the power of that Law, by which they can only "ſubſiſt.

"HIS Majeſty is ſo far from ſuffering himſelf to be incenſed againſt "the whole City, by the Actions of theſe ill Men, though they have hi-"therto been ſo prevalent, as to make the Affections of the reſt of little "uſe to him; and is ſo willing to be with them, and to protect them, "that the Trade, Wealth, and Glory thereof, ſo decayed and eclipſed "by theſe publick diſtractions, may again be the Envy of all Forreign "Nations, that he doth once more graciouſly offer his free and general "Pardon to all the Inhabitants of that his City of *London*, the Suburbs "and City of *Weſtminſter* (except the Perſons formerly excepted by his "Majeſty) if they ſhall yet return to their Duty, Loyalty, and Obedience. "and if his good Subjects of that his City of *London* ſhall firſt ſolemnly "declare, that they will defend the known Laws of the Land, and will "ſubmit to, and be govern'd by, no other Rule; if they ſhall firſt ma-"nifeſt, by defending themſelves, and maintaining their own Rights, "Liberties, and Intereſts, and ſuppreſſing any Force and Violence un-"lawfully raiſed againſt thoſe and his Majeſty, their power to defend, "and preſerve him from all Tumults, Affronts, and Violence; laſtly, if "they ſhall apprehend, and commit to ſafe cuſtody, the Perſons of thoſe "four Men who enrich themſelves by the ſpoil and oppreſſion of his "Loving Subjects; and the ruin of the City, that his Majeſty may pro-"ceed againſt them by the Courſe of Law, as guilty of High Treaſon; "his Majeſty will ſpeedily return to them with his Royal, and without "his Martial, Attendance; and will uſe his utmoſt endeavours, that they "may hereafter enjoy all the bleſſings of Peace and Plenty; and will no "longer expect obedience from them, than he ſhall, with all the facul-"ties of his Soul, labour in the preſerving, and advancing the true Re-"form'd Proteſtant Religion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty and "Property of the Subjects, and the juſt Privileges of Parliament.

"IF, notwithſtanding all this, the Art, and Intereſt of theſe Men can "prevail ſo far, that they involve more Men in their guilt, and draw "that his City to ſacrifice it's preſent happineſs, and future hopes, to "their Pride, Fury, and Malice, his Majeſty ſhall only give them this "warning; That whoſoever ſhall henceforward take up Armes, with-"out His conſent, contribute any Money, or Plate, upon what pretence "of Authority ſoever, for maintenance of the Army under the Com-"mand of the Earl of *Eſſex*, or any other Army in Rebellion againſt "him, or ſhall pay Tonnage and Poundage, till the ſame ſhall be ſettled "by Act of Parliament, every ſuch Perſon muſt expect the ſevereſt pu-"niſhment the Law can inflict; and, in the mean time, his Majeſty "ſhall ſeiſe upon any part of his Eſtate within his power, for the relief

"and ſupport of him and his Army, raiſed and maintained for the de-
"fence of his Perſon, the Laws, and this his Kingdom: And ſince he de-
"nies to his Majeſty the duty and benefit of his Subjection, by giving
"Aſſiſtance to Rebels, which, by the known Laws of the Land, is High
"Treaſon; his Majeſty ſhall likewiſe deny Him the benefit of his Pro-
"tection, and ſhall not only ſignify to all his Forreign Miniſters, that
"ſuch Perſon ſhall receive no advantage by being his Subject, but ſhall,
"by all other ways and means, proceed againſt him as a publick Enemy
"to his Majeſty, and this Kingdom.

"YET his Majeſty hopes, and doubts not, but his good Subjects of
"*London* will call to mind the Acts of their Predeceſſors, the Duty, Af-
"fection, Loyalty, and Merit towards their Princes, the Renown they
"have had with all Poſterity for, and the bleſſing of Heaven which al-
"ways accompanied, thoſe Virtues; and will conſider the perpetual ſcorn,
"and infamy which unavoidably will follow Them and their Children,
"if infinitely the meaner part in quality, and much the leſſer part in
"Number, ſhall be able to alter the Government, ſo admirably eſtabliſh'd,
"deſtroy the Trade ſo excellently ſettled, and to waſt the Wealth ſo in-
"duſtriouſly gotten, of that flouriſhing City: And they will eaſily ga-
"ther up the courage and reſolution to joyn with his Majeſty in defence
"of that Religion, Law, and Liberty, which hitherto hath, and only
"can make Themſelves, his Majeſty, and his Kingdom, happy.

"FOR concurring with the advice of his two Houſes of Parliament,
"which, with reference to the Common-wealth, may be as well at this
"diſtance, as by being at *White-Hall*, his Majeſty doubts not, but his
"good Subjects of *London* well know, how far, beyond the example of
"his Predeceſſors, his Majeſty hath concurr'd with their advice, in paſſing
"of ſuch Laws, by which he willingly parted with many of his known
"Rights, for the benefit of his Subjects; which the fundamental Con-
"ſtitutions of this Kingdom did not oblige him to conſent unto; and
"hath uſed all poſſible means to beget a right underſtanding between
"them: And will therefore apply themſelves to thoſe who by making
"juſt, peaceable, and honourable Propoſitions to his Majeſty, can only
"beget that concurrence.

THIS Anſwer the King ſent by a Servant of his own, ſuppoſing, that if he ſent by the Meſſengers who brought the Petition, it might either be ſuppreſs'd, or not communicated in that manner as he deſired. Beſides, the Meſſengers themſelves, after the King had cauſed it to be read to them, were very well contented that it ſhould be deliver'd by other hands than theirs. So they promiſed his Majeſty, that they would procure a Common Hall (which is the moſt general Aſſembly of the City, the meaneſt Perſon being admitted) to be called aſſoon as they return'd; where his Meſſenger might deliver it: and having been graciouſly uſed by the King and the Court, after two days ſtay, they return'd from *Oxford* together with the Gentleman ſent by his Majeſty. When they came to *London*, the contents of the Anſwer were quickly known, though not deliver'd; and the two Houſes made an Order, "that the Lord
"Mayor ſhould not call a Common Hall, till he receiv'd farther di-
"rection from Them. So that, though the Gentleman, ſent by the King, often ſollicited the Lord Mayor, "that he would call a Com-
"mon Hall, at which he was to deliver a Meſſage from the King, many days paſſed before any Orders were iſſued to that purpoſe.

AT

AT laſt, a day was appointed: and, at the ſame time, a Committee of the Lords and Commons were ſent to be preſent, to ſee that it might not have ſuch a reception, as might render their Intereſt ſuſpected. Aſſoon as the Gentleman ſent by the King had read his Majeſty's Anſwer, the Earl of *Mancheſter* told them, "of the high value the Parliament "had of the City; that they had conſider'd of thoſe wounding Aſperſions, "which, in that Anſwer, were caſt upon Perſons of ſuch eminent Af- "fection in their City, and upon others, of great fidelity and truſt among "them: That they own'd themſelves to be equally intereſted in all "things that concern'd them, and would ſtand by them with their Lives, "and Fortunes, for the preſervation of the City in general, and thoſe "Perſons in particular who had been faithful, and deſerv'd well both of "the Parliament, and Kingdom. And they would purſue all means with "their Lives and Fortunes, that might be for the preſervation of that "City, and for the procuring of Safety, Happineſs, and Peace, to the "whole Kingdom.

ASSOON as his Lordſhip had finiſh'd his Oration, which was receiv'd with marvellous Acclamations, Mr *Pym* enlarged himſelf, in a Speech then printed, upon the ſeveral parts of the King's Anſwer (for it was ſo long before it was deliver'd, that the printed Copies from *Oxford*, which were printed there after the Meſſenger was gone ſo long that all Men concluded it was deliver'd, were publick and in all hands) and told them the ſenſe of the two Houſes of Parliament, upon every part of it. Among the reſt, "that the demanding the Lord Mayor, and "the other three Citizens, was againſt the Privilege of Parliament (two "of them being Members of the Houſe of Commons) and moſt diſho- "nourable to the City, that the Lord Mayor of *London* ſhould be ſub- "jected to the violence of every baſe Fellow; and that they ſhould be "commanded to deliver up their chief Magiſtrates, and ſuch eminent "Members of the City, to the King's pleaſure, only becauſe they had "done their duty, in adhering to the Parliament, for the defence of the "Kingdom.

HE told them, "that, to the objection that the Government of the "City had been managed by a few deſperate Perſons, and that they did "exerciſe an Arbitrary Power, the two Houſes gave them this Teſti- "mony, that they had, in moſt of the great occaſions concerning the "Government of the City, follow'd Their direction; and that direction "which the Parliament had given, They had executed; and they muſt, "and would maintain to be ſuch, as ſtood with Their honour in giving "it, and the others truſt, and fidelity in performing it.

To the objection, "that the Property of the Subject was deſtroyed, "by taking away the twentieth part by an Arbitrary Power, he told them, "that that Ordinance did not require a twentieth part, but did "limit the Aſſeſſors that they ſhould not go beyond a twentieth part, "and that was done by a Power deriv'd from both Houſes of Parliament; "the Lords, who had an hereditary Intereſt in making of Laws in this "Kingdom; and the Commons, who were elected and choſen to repre- "ſent the whole Body of the Commonalty, and truſted, for the good "of the People, when ever they ſee cauſe, to charge the Kingdom. He ſaid farther, "that the ſame Law which did enable the two Houſes "of Parliament to raiſe Forces to maintain, and defend the ſafety of "Religion, and of the Kingdom, did likewiſe enable them to require "contributions whereby thoſe Forces might be maintain'd; or elſe it

"were

"were a vain power to raiſe Forces, if they had not a power likewiſe to "maintain them in that Service for which they were raiſed. He obſerv'd, "that it was reported, that the King declared he would ſend "ſome Meſſengers to obſerve their carriage in the City, and what was "done among them: the Parliament had juſt cauſe to doubt, that thoſe "would be Meſſengers of ſedition, and trouble, and therefore deſired "them to obſerve and find them out, that they might know who they "were. He concluded with "commending unto their conſideration, the "great danger that they were all in; and that the danger could not be "kept off, in all likelyhood, but by the Army that was then on foot; and aſſured them, "that the Lords and Commons were ſo far from be-"ing frighted by any thing, in that Anſwer, that they had, for Them-"ſelves, and the Members of both Houſes, declared a farther contribu-"tion, towards the maintenance of that Army; and could not but hope, "and deſire, that the City, which had ſhew'd ſo much good Affection in "the former neceſſities of the State, would be ſenſible of their own, "and of the condition of the whole Kingdom, and add to that which "they had already done, ſome farther Contribution, whereby that Ar-"my might be maintain'd for all their ſafeties.

WHETHER the ſolemnity for the reception of this Meſſage after it was known what the contents were, and the bringing ſo great a Guard of arm'd Men to the place where it was to be deliver'd, frighted the well affected Party of the City from coming thither, or frighted them, when they were there, from expreſſing thoſe Affections, I know not. But it is certain, theſe Speeches and Diſcourſes were receiv'd, and entertain'd with all imaginable applauſe, and that meeting was concluded with a general Acclamation, "that they would live, and die with the Houſes, and other expreſſions of that nature. So that all thoughts of farther Addreſs, or complyance with his Majeſty from the City, were ſo entirely and abſolutely laid aſide, that the Licence of Seditious and Treaſonable diſcourſes daily encreaſed; inſomuch, that complaint being made to the then Lord Mayor, that a certain deſperate Perſon, had ſaid, "that "he hoped ſhortly to waſh his hands in the King's blood, that Miniſter of Juſtice refuſed to ſend any Warrant, or to give any direction to any Officer, for the apprehenſion of him. This was the ſucceſs of that Petion, and Anſwer.

THE Houſes now began to ſpeak Themſelves, of ſending Propoſitions to the King for Peace. For, how great ſoever the complyance ſeem'd with them from the City, or the Country, they well enough diſcern'd that complyance was generally upon the hope and expectation that they would procure a ſpeedy Peace. And they had now procured that to paſs both Houſes, which they only wanted, the Bill for the extirpation of Epiſcopacy: in the doing whereof, they uſed marvellous Art, and Induſtry. They who, every day, did ſomewhat, how little ſoever then taken notice of, to make Peace impoſſible, and reſolv'd, that no Peace could be ſafe for Them, but ſuch a one as would be unſafe for the King, well enough knew that they ſhould never be able to hold up, and carry on the War againſt the King in *England*, but by the help of an Army out of *Scotland*; which they had no hope to procure but upon the Stock of the Alteration of the Government of the Church; to which that Nation was violently inclined. But to compaſs That, was very difficult; very much the Major part, even of thoſe Members who ſtill continued with them, being cordially Affected to the Government eſta-

bliſh'd, at leaſt not affected to any Other. To thoſe therefore, who were ſo far engaged as to deſire to have it in Their power to compel the King to conſent to ſuch a Peace as they deſired, they repreſented, "the con-"ſequence of getting the *Scots* to declare for them; which would more "terrify the King, and keep the Northern parts in Subjection more, "than any Forces they ſhould be able to raiſe: That it was impoſſible "to draw ſuch a Declaration from them, without firſt declaring them-"ſelves that they would alter the Government by the Biſhops; which "that People pretended to believe the only juſtifiable ground to take up "Armes. To others, which was indeed their publick, and avow'd, and current Argument in debates, they alledged, "that they could not ex-"pect that any Peace would be effected by the King's free concurrence "to any Meſſage they could ſend to him, but that it muſt ariſe, and re-"ſult from a Treaty between them, upon ſuch Propoſitions as either "Party would make upon their own Intereſt: that it could not be ex-"pected that ſuch Propoſitions would be made on either ſide, as would "be pertinaciouſly inſiſted on by them who made them; it being the "courſe, in all Affairs of this Nature, to ask more than was expected "to be conſented to; that it concern'd them as much, to make demands "of great Moment to the King, from which they meant to recede, as "others upon which they muſt inſiſt: that all Men knew the inclination "and affection the King had to the Church, and therefore if he ſaw "That in danger, he would reſcue it at any price, and very probably "their departing from their Propoſition concerning the Church, might "be the moſt powerful Argument to the King, to gratify them with the "Militia.

By theſe Artifices, and eſpecially by concluding obſtinately, "that "no Propoſitions ſhould be ſent to the King for Peace, till the Bill for "extirpation of Biſhops was paſs'd the Lords Houſe (where it would never otherwiſe have been ſubmitted to) they had their deſire; and, about the end of *January*, they ſent the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Holland*, with eight Members of the Commons to *Oxford*, with their Petition and Propoſitions. And here I cannot omit one Stratagem, which, at that time, occaſion'd ſome Mirth. The Common People of *London* were perſwaded, "that there was ſo great ſcarci-"ty of Victual, and Proviſions at *Oxford*, and in all the King's Quarters, "that they were not without danger of ſtarving: and that, if all other "ways failed, That alone would in a ſhort time bring the King to them. To make good this report, Proviſions of all kinds, even to Bread, were ſent in Waggons, and on Horſes from *London* to *Oxford*, for the ſup-ply of this Committee: when, without doubt, they found as great plenty of all things where they came, as they had left behind them. The Petition preſented to his Majeſty with the Propoſitions were, in theſe words, at the preſentation, read by the Earl of *Northumberland*.

Commiſſioners ſent to the King with Propoſitions of Peace about the end of January.

The humble deſires, and Propoſitions of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, tender'd to his Majeſty.

"We your Majeſty's moſt humble and faithful Subjects, the Lords "and Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, having in our thoughts the "glory of God, your Majeſty's honour, and the proſperity of your Peo-"ple, and being moſt grievouſly afflicted with the preſſing Miſeries, and "Calamities, which have overwhelm'd your two Kingdoms of *England*,

"and *Ireland*, ſince your Majeſty hath, by the perſwaſion of evil Coun-
"ſellors, withdrawn your ſelf from the Parliament, raiſed an Army
"againſt it, and, by force thereof protected Delinquents from the juſtice
"of it, conſtraining Us to take Armes for the defence of Our Religion,
"Laws, Liberties, Privileges of Parliament, and for the ſitting of the
"Parliament in ſafety; which fears and dangers are continued, and en-
"creaſed, by the raiſing, drawing together, and Arming of great Num-
"bers of Papiſts, under the Command of the Earl of *New Caſtle*; like-
"wiſe by making the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland*, and other known Pa-
"piſts, Commanders of great Forces, whereby many grievous oppreſ-
"ſions, rapines, and cruelties have been, and are daily exerciſed upon
"the Perſons and Eſtates of your People, much innocent blood hath
"been ſpilt, and the Papiſts have attain'd means of attempting, with
"hopes of effecting, their miſchievous deſigns of rooting out the Re-
"form'd Religion, and deſtroying the Profeſſors thereof: In the tender
"ſenſe, and compaſſion of theſe Evils, under which your People, and
"Kingdom lie (according to the duty, which We owe to God, your Ma-
"jeſty, and the Kingdom, for which we are truſted) do moſt earneſtly
"deſire, that an end may be put to theſe great diſtempers and diſtractions,
"for the preventing of that deſolation which doth threaten all your Ma-
"jeſty's Dominions. And as We have render'd, and ſtill are ready to ren-
"der to your Majeſty, that Subjection, Obedience, and Service, which
"We owe unto you, ſo We moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, to re-
"move the cauſes of this War, and to vouchſafe Us that Peace and Pro-
"tection, which We, and Our Anceſtors have formerly enjoyed under
"your Majeſty, and your Royal Predeceſſors, and graciouſly to accept,
"and grant theſe our moſt humble Defires and Propoſitions:

1. "THAT your Majeſty will be pleaſed to disband your Armies, as
"We likewiſe ſhall be ready to disband all thoſe Forces, which We have
"raiſed, and that you will be pleaſed to return to your Parliament.

2. "THAT you will leave Delinquents to a Legal Tryal, and Judge-
"ment of Parliament.

3. "THAT the Papiſts may not only be disbanded, but diſarm'd ac-
"cording to Law.

4. "THAT your Majeſty will be pleaſed to give your Royal Aſſent
"unto the Bill for taking away the ſuperſtitious Innovations; to the Bill
"for the utter aboliſhing, and taking away of all Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops,
"their Chancellors, and Commiſſaries, Deans, Sub-Deans, Deans and
"Chapters, Arch-Deacons, Canons, and Prebendaries, and all Chaunters,
"Chancellors, Treaſurers, Sub-Treaſurers, Succentors, and Sacriſts, and
"all Vicars Choral, Choiriſters, old Vicars, and new Vicars of any Ca-
"thedral, or Collegiate Church, and all other their under Officers, out
"of the Church of *England*: to the Bill againſt ſcandalous Miniſters;
"to the Bill againſt Pluralities; and to the Bill for conſultation to be
"had with Godly, Religious, and Learned Divines. That your Majeſty
"will be pleaſed to promiſe to paſs ſuch other good Bills for ſettling of
"Church Government, as upon Conſultation with the Aſſembly of the
"ſaid Divines, ſhall be reſolv'd on by both Houſes of Parliament, and
"by Them preſented to your Majeſty.

5. "THAT your Majeſty having expreſt, in your Anſwer to the Nine-
"teen Propoſitions of both Houſes of Parliament, an hearty Affection
"and Intention for the rooting out of Popery out of this Kingdom; and

"that, if both the Houſes of Parliament can yet find a more effectual "courſe to diſable Jeſuits, Prieſts, and Popiſh Recuſants, from diſturbing "the State, or eluding the Laws, that you would willingly give your "conſent unto it; that you would be graciouſly pleaſed, for the better "diſcovery, and ſpeedier conviction of Recuſants, that an Oath may be "eſtabliſh'd by Act of Parliament, to be adminiſter'd in ſuch manner as "by both Houſes ſhall be agreed on; wherein they ſhall abjure and re-"nounce the Pope's Supremacy, the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, "Purgatory, Worſhipping of the Conſecrated Hoſt, Crucifixes, and "Images: And the refuſing the ſaid Oath, being tender'd in ſuch man-"ner as ſhall be appointed by Act of Parliament, ſhall be a ſufficient "conviction in Law of Recuſancy. And that your Majeſty will be gra-"ciouſly pleaſed to give your Royal Aſſent unto a Bill, for the Educa-"tion of the Children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Reli-"gion. That for the more effectual execution of the Laws againſt Po-"piſh Recuſants, your Majeſty will be pleaſed to conſent to a Bill, for "the true levying of the Penalties againſt them; and that the ſame Pe-"nalties may be levied, and diſpoſed of in ſuch manner as both Houſes "of Parliament ſhall agree on, ſo as your Majeſty be at no loſs; and "likewiſe to a Bill, whereby the practice of Papiſts againſt the State may "be prevented, and the Law againſt them duly executed.

6. "THAT the Earl of *Briſtol* may be removed from your Majeſty's "Councils; and that both He and the Lord *Herbert*, eldeſt Son to the "Earl of *Worceſter*, may likewiſe be reſtrain'd from coming within the "Verge of the Court; and that they may not bear any Office, or have "any Employments concerning State or Common-wealth.

7. "THAT your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed, by Act of Par-"liament, to ſettle the Militia both by Sea and Land, and for the Forts "and Ports of the Kingdom, in ſuch a manner as ſhall be agreed on by "both Houſes.

8. "THAT your Majeſty will be pleaſed, by your Letters Patents, "to make Sr *John Bramſton*, Chief Juſtice of the Court of King's Bench; "*William Lenthall* Eſquire, the now Speaker of the Common's Houſe, "Maſter of the Rolls; and to continue the Lord Chief Juſtice *Banks*, "Chief Juſtice of the Court of Common Pleas; and likewiſe to make "Mr Serjeant *Wild*, Chief Baron of your Court of Exchequer; and that "M^r Juſtice *Bacon* may be continued; and Mr Serjeant *Rolls*, and M^r "Serjeant *Atkins*, made Juſtices of the King's Bench: That M^r Juſtice "*Reeves*, and M^r Juſtice *Foſter*, may be continued; and Mr Serjeant "*Pheaſant*, made one of the Juſtices of your Court of Common Pleas: "That Mr Serjeant *Creſwell*, Mr *Samuel Brown*, and Mr *John Puleſton*, "may be Barons of the Exchequer; and that all theſe, and all the Judges "of the ſame Courts, for the time to come, may hold their places by "Letters Patents under the great Seal, *Quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*: And "that the ſeveral Perſons not before named, that do hold any of theſe "places before mention'd, may be remov'd.

9. "THAT all ſuch Perſons, as have been put out of the Commiſ-"ſions of Peace, or *Oyer* and *Terminer*, or from being *Cuſtodes Rotu-"lorum*, ſince the firſt day of *April* 1642 (other than ſuch as were put "out by deſire of both or either of the Houſes of Parliament) may again "be put into thoſe Commiſſions, and Offices; and that ſuch Perſons "may be put out of thoſe Commiſſions, and Offices, as ſhall be excepted "againſt by both Houſes of Parliament.

10. "THAT your Majeſty will be pleaſed to paſs the Bill now pre-
"ſented to your Majeſty, to vindicate and ſecure the Privileges of Par-
"liament, from the ill conſequence of the late Precedent in the Charge
"and Proceeding againſt the Lord *Kimbolton*, now Earl of *Mancheſter*,
"and the five Members of the Houſe of Commons.

11. "THAT your Royal Aſſent may be given unto ſuch Acts as ſhall
"be adviſed by both Houſes of Parliament, for the ſatisfying and pay-
"ing the Debts, and Damages, wherein the two Houſes of Parliament
"have engaged the Publick Faith of the Kingdom.

12. "THAT your Majeſty will be pleaſed, according to a gracious
"Anſwer heretofore receiv'd from you, to enter into a more ſtrict Al-
"liance with the States of the united Provinces, and other Neighbour
"Princes, and States of the Proteſtant Religion, for the defence and
"maintenance thereof againſt all deſigns and attempts of the Popiſh,
"and Jeſuitical Faction, to ſubvert and ſuppreſs it; whereby your Sub-
"jects may hope to be free from the miſchiefs which this Kingdom hath
"endured, through the power which ſome of that Party have had in
"your Councils; and will be much encouraged, in a Parliamentary way,
"for your aid and aſſiſtance in reſtoring your Royal Siſter, and the Prince
"Elector, to thoſe Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them;
"and relieving the other Proteſtant Princes who have ſuffer'd in the
"ſame Cauſe.

13. "THAT in the general Pardon which your Majeſty hath been
"pleaſed to offer to your Subjects, all Offences and Miſdemeanours com-
"mitted before the 10th of *January* 1641, which have been or ſhall be
"queſtion'd, or proceeded againſt in Parliament, upon Complaint in the
"Houſe of Commons, before the 10th of *January* 1643, ſhall be ex-
"cepted; which Offences, and Miſdemeanours ſhall nevertheleſs be taken,
"and adjudged to be fully diſcharged againſt all other inferior Courts.
"That likewiſe there ſhall be an exception of all offences committed by
"any Perſon or Perſons, which hath, or have had, any hand or practice
"in the Rebellion of *Ireland*; which hath, or have given, any Counſel,
"Aſſiſtance, or Encouragement to the Rebels there, for the maintenance
"of that Rebellion; as likewiſe an exception of *William* Earl of *New-
"Caſtle*, and *George* Lord *Digby*.

14. "THAT your Majeſty will be pleaſed to reſtore ſuch Members
"of either Houſe of Parliament to their ſeveral places of Services, and
"Employment, out of which they have been put ſince the beginning of
"this Parliament; that they may receive ſatisfaction, and reparation
"for thoſe places, and for the profits which they have loſt by ſuch re-
"movals, upon the Petition of both Houſes of Parliament: And that
"all others may be reſtored to their Offices, and Employments, who have
"been put out of the ſame upon any diſpleaſure conceiv'd againſt them,
"for any Aſſiſtance given to both Houſes of Parliament, or obeying their
"Commands, or forbearing to leave their Attendance upon the Parlia-
"ment without Licence; or for any other occaſion, ariſing from theſe
"unhappy differences, betwixt your Majeſty, and both Houſes of Par-
"liament, upon the like Petition of both Houſes.

"THESE things being granted, and perform'd, as it hath always
"been our hearty Prayer, ſo ſhall We be enabled to make it our hope-
"ful Endeavour, that your Majeſty, and your People, may enjoy the
"bleſſings of Peace, Truth, and Juſtice; the Royalty and Greatneſs of
"your Throne may be ſupported by the Loyal, and bountiful Affections

"of your People; Their Liberties, and Privileges, maintain'd by your "Majeſty's Protection, and Juſtice; and this publick Honour, and Hap-"pineſs of your Majeſty, and all your Dominions, communicated to "other Churches, and States of your Alliance, and derived to your Royal "Poſterity, and the future Generations of this Kingdom for ever.

THEY who brought this Petition and Propoſitions, ſpake to their friends at *Oxford* with all freedom of the Perſons from whom they came; inveighed againſt "their Tyranny, and Unreaſonableneſs, and eſpecially againſt the Propoſitions themſelves had brought; but poſitively declar'd, "that, if the King would vouchſafe ſo gracious an Anſwer (which they "confeſs'd they had no reaſon to expect) as might engage the two Houſes "in a Treaty, it would not be then in the power of the Violent Party "to deny whatſoever his Majeſty could reaſonably deſire. However (though the King expected little from thoſe private undertakings, well knowing, that they who wiſh'd beſt, were of leaſt power, and that the greateſt among them, aſſoon as they were but ſuſpected to incline to Peace, immediately loſt their Reputation) his Majeſty, within two days, graciouſly diſmiſſed thoſe Meſſengers with this Anſwer.

"IF his Majeſty had not given up all the faculties of his Soul to an "earneſt endeavour of Peace, and Reconciliation with his People; or if "he would ſuffer himſelf, by any Provocation, to be drawn to a ſharp-"neſs of Language, at a time when there ſeems ſomewhat like an Over-"ture of Accommodation, he could not but reſent the heavy Charges "upon him in the Preamble of theſe Propoſitions; would not ſuffer him-"ſelf to be reproached, with protecting of Delinquents, by force, from "juſtice (his Majeſty's deſire having always been, that all Men ſhould "be tried by the known Law, and having been refuſed it) with raiſing "an Army againſt his Parliament, and to be told that Armes have been "taken up againſt Him for the defence of Religion, Laws, Liberties, and "Privileges of Parliament, and for the ſitting of the Parliament in "ſafety, with many other particulars in that Preamble ſo often and ſo "fully anſwer'd by his Majeſty, without remembring the world of the "Time, and Circumſtances of raiſing thoſe Armes againſt him; when "his Majeſty was ſo far from being in a condition to invade other Mens "Rights, that he was not able to maintain, and defend his own from "violence; and without telling his good Subjects, that their Religion "(the true Proteſtant Religion, in which his Majeſty was born, hath faith-"fully liv'd, and to which he will die a willing Sacrifice) their Laws, "Liberties, Privileges, and ſafety of Parliament, were ſo amply ſettled, "and eſtabliſh'd, or offer'd to be ſo by his Majeſty, before any Army "was raiſed againſt him, and long before any raiſed By him for his de-"fence, that if nothing had been deſired but that Peace and Protection "which his Subjects, and their Anceſtors, had in the beſt times enjoyed, "under his Majeſty, or his Royal Predeceſſors, this miſunderſtanding "and diſtance between his Majeſty and his People, and this general mi-"ſery and diſtraction upon the face of the whole Kingdom, had not "been now the diſcourſe of all *Chriſtendom*.

"BUT his Majeſty will forbear any expreſſions of bitterneſs, or of a "ſenſe of his own ſufferings, that, if it be poſſible, the Memory thereof "may be loſt to the world. And therefore, though many of the Propo-"ſitions, preſented to his Majeſty by both Houſes, appear to him very

"derogatory

"derogatory from, and deſtructive to, his juſt Power and Prerogative, "and no way beneficial to his Subjects, few of them being already due "to them by the Laws eſtabliſh'd (and how Unparliamentary it is by "Armes to require New Laws, all the world may judge) yet (becauſe "theſe may be waved, or mollified, and many things, that are now dark "and doubtful in them, clear'd, and explain'd upon debate) his Majeſty "is pleaſed, ſuch is his ſenſe of the miſeries, this Kingdom ſuffers by "this unnatural War, and his earneſt deſire to remove them by an hap-"py Peace, that a ſpeedy time and place be agreed upon, for the meet-"ing of ſuch Perſons as his Majeſty and both Houſes ſhall appoint to "diſcuſs theſe Propoſitions, and ſuch others here following as his Ma-"jeſty doth propoſe to them.

1. "THAT his Majeſty's own Revenue, Magazine, Towns, Forts, "and Ships, which have been taken or kept from him by force, be forth-"with reſtored unto him.

2. "THAT whatſoever hath been done, or publiſh'd, contrary to the "known Laws of the Land, or derogatory to his Majeſty's Legal, and "known Power and Rights, be renounced, and recalled, that no ſeed "may remain for the like to ſpring out of for the future.

3. "THAT whatſoever illegal Power hath been claimed, and exer-"ciſed by, or over his Subjects, as impriſoning their Perſons without "Law, ſtopping their *Habeas Corpus*'s, and impoſing upon their Eſtates "without Act of Parliament *&c.* Either by both, or either Houſe, or "any Committee of both, or either, or by any Perſons appointed by "any of them, be diſclaim'd; and all ſuch Perſons ſo committed, forth-"with diſcharged.

4. "THAT as his Majeſty will readily conſent (having done ſo here-"tofore) to the execution of all Laws already made, and to any good "Acts to be made for the ſuppreſſing of Popery, and for the firm ſettling "of the Proteſtant Religion now eſtabliſh'd by Law; ſo he deſires, that "a good Bill may be framed, for the better preſerving the Book of Com-"mon Prayer from the ſcorn and violence of *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, "and other Sectaries, with ſuch Clauſes for the eaſe of tender Conſciences, "as his Majeſty hath formerly offer'd.

5. "THAT all ſuch Perſons, as, upon the Treaty, ſhall be excepted "out of the general Pardon, ſhall be tried *per pares*, according to the "uſual Courſe, and known Law of the Land; and that it be left to that, "either to acquit, or condemn them:

6. "AND to the intent this Treaty may not ſuffer interruption, by "any intervening Accidents, that a Ceſſation of Armes, and free Trade "for all his Majeſty's Subjects, may be firſt agreed upon.

"THIS offer and deſire of his Majeſty, he hopes, will be ſo chearfully "entertain'd, that a ſpeedy, and bleſſed Peace may be accompliſh'd. If "it ſhall be rejected, or, by inſiſting upon unreaſonable circumſtances, "be made impoſſible (which, he hopes, God in his Mercy to this Nation "will not ſuffer) the guilt of the blood which will be ſhed, and the de-"ſolation which muſt follow, will lie upon the heads of the Refuſers. "However, his Majeſty is reſolv'd, through what Accidents ſoever he "ſhall be compell'd to recover his Rights, and with what proſperous "ſucceſs ſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to bleſs him, that by his earneſt, con-"ſtant Endeavours to propagate and promote the true Proteſtant Reli-"gion, and by his governing according to the known Laws of the Land,

"and

"and upholding the juſt Privileges of Parliament, according to his fre-
"quent proteſtations made before Almighty God (which he will always
"inviolably obſerve) the world ſhall ſee, that he hath undergone all theſe
"difficulties, and hazards, for the defence and maintenance of thoſe,
"the zealous preſervation of which, his Majeſty well knows, is the
"only foundation and means for the true happineſs of Him, and his
"People.

WHILST theſe Overtures and Diſcourſes were made of Peace, the Kingdom, in all parts, felt the ſad effects of War; neither the King, nor the Parliament, being ſlack in purſuing the buſineſs by the Sword; and the Perſons of Honour and Quality in moſt Counties more vigorouſly declaring themſelves than they had done. Among the reſt, upon the King's retreat from *Brentford*, whilſt he yet ſtay'd about *Reading*, ſome of the well affected Gentry of *Suſſex*, upon the confidence of their Intereſts in thoſe parts, offer'd the King to raiſe Forces there; and preſumed they ſhould be able to ſeiſe ſome place of ſecurity and importance for their retreat, if the Enemy ſhould attempt upon them; which, at that time of the year, was not conceiv'd could be with any notable ſucceſs. And being arm'd with ſuch Authority, and Commiſſions, as they deſired, and ſeconded with a good Number of conſiderable Officers, their firſt ſucceſs was anſwerable to their own hopes, and they poſſeſs'd themſelves, partly by Force, and partly by Stratagem, of the City of *Chicheſter*; which, being incompaſs'd with a very good old Wall, was very eaſy to be ſo fortified, that, with the Winter, they might well think themſelves ſecure againſt any forcible Attempt could be made upon them. And no doubt they had been ſo, if the Common People of the County (out of which the Soldiers were to riſe) had been ſo well affected as was believ'd.

Chicheſter poſſeſs'd by the King's Forces:

BUT before they could draw in Men or Proviſions into the City, the Earl of *Eſſex* ſent Sr *William Waller* with Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, to infeſt them; who, with the Aſſiſtance of the Country, quickly ſhut them up within their Walls. They within the Town were eaſily reduced to ſtreights they could not contend with; for, beſides the Enemy without, againſt which the Walls and the Weather ſeem'd of equal power, and the ſmall ſtock of Proviſions, which, in ſo ſhort time, they were able to draw thither, they had cauſe to apprehend their Friends would be weary before their Enemies; and that the Citizens would not prove a truſty part of the Garriſon; and their Number of Common Men was ſo ſmall, that the conſtant duty was perform'd by the Officers, and Gentlemen of Quality, who were abſolutely tired out. So that after a week or ten days Siege, they were compell'd, upon no better Articles than Quarter, to deliver that City, which could hardly have been taken from them; by which (with the Loſs of fifty or threeſcore Gentlemen of Quality, and Officers of Name, whoſe very good reputation made the loſs appear a matter of abſolute, and unavoidable neceſſity) the King found that he was not to venture to plant Garriſons ſo far from his own Quarters, where he could not, in reaſonable time, adminiſter ſuccour or ſupply.

But ſurrender'd to Sr W. Waller.

THIS Triumph of the Enemy was ſhortly after abated, and the loſs on the King's part repaired, by the winning of *Cirenceſter*, a good Town in *Gloceſter-ſhire*, which the Rebels were fortifying, and had in it a very ſtrong Garriſon; and, being upon the edge of *Wilt-ſhire*, *Berk-ſhire*, and

and *Oxfordſhire*, ſhrewdly ſtreighten'd the King's Quarters. The Marquis of *Hertford* bringing with him, out of *Wales*, near two thouſand Foot, and one Regiment of Horſe, intended, with the Aſſiſtance of Prince *Rupert*, who appointed to joyn with him with ſome Regiments from *Oxford*, to take in that Town; But by the extreme foulneſs of the ways, the great fall of rain at that time (being about *Chriſtmas*) and ſome miſtake in Orders between the two Generals, that Deſign was diſappointed: and the Alarm gave the Enemy ſo much the more courage, and diligence to provide for an Aſſault.

Cirencester *wone by the King's Forces under Prince* Rupert.

IN the beginning of *February*, Prince *Rupert* went upon the ſame Deſign with better ſucceſs; and at one and the ſame time, ſtorming the Town in ſeveral places, their Works being not yet finiſh'd, though pertinaciouſly enough defended, enter'd their Line with ſome loſs of Men, and many hurt, but with a far greater of the Enemy; for there were not ſo few as two hundred kill'd upon the place, and above one thouſand taken Priſoners, whereof *Warneford*, and *Fettyplace* (two Gentlemen of good Quality and Fortune near that town, and very active in the ſervice) Mr *George*, a Member of Parliament who ſerv'd for that Burrough, and two or three *Scotiſh* Officers of the Field, whereof *Carr* the Governour was one, were the chief. The Town yielded much Plunder; from which the undiſtinguiſhing Soldier could not be kept, but was equally injurious to Friend and Foe; ſo that many honeſt Men, who were impriſon'd by the Rebels for not concurring with them, found themſelves at Liberty and Undone together: amongſt whom *John Plot*, a Lawyer of very good reputation, was one; who being freed from the hard, and barbarous impriſonment in which he had been kept, when he return'd to his own Houſe, found it full of Soldiers, and twelve hundred pounds in Money taken from thence, which could never be recover'd. The Prince left a ſtrong Garriſon there, that brought almoſt all that whole County into contribution, and was a great enlargement to the King's Quarters, which now without interruption extended from *Oxford* to *Worceſter*; that important City, with the other of *Hertford*, and thoſe Counties, having, ſome time before, been quitted by the Rebels; the Earl of *Stamford*, who was left in thoſe parts by the Earl of *Eſſex*, being call'd from thence, by the growth of the King's Party in *Cornwal*, to the ſecuring the Weſt.

Sr Ralph Hopton *and* Sr Bevil Greenvil's *progreſs in* Cornwal *together with other Gentlemen there.*

WE remember'd before, when the Marquis of *Hertford* tranſported himſelf and his few Foot into *Wales* from *Minhead*, that Sr *Ralph Hopton*, and the other Gentlemen, mention'd before, with their ſmall Force, conſiſting of about one hundred Horſe, and fifty Dragoons, retired into *Cornwal*, neglected by the Earl of *Bedford*, as fit and eaſy to be ſuppreſs'd by the Committees. And in truth, the Committees were entirely poſſeſs'd of *Devon-ſhire*; and thought themſelves equally ſure of *Cornwal*, ſave that the Caſtle of *Pendennis* was in the Cuſtody of one they had no hope of. They were welcomed into *Cornwal* by Sr *Bevil Greenvil*, who march'd with them towards the Weſt of the County, as being beſt affected, where they might have leiſure to refreſh their wearied and almoſt tired Horſe and Men, and to call the well diſpoſed Gentry together; for which they choſe *Truro* as the fitteſt place, the Eaſt part of the County being poſſeſs'd by Sr *Alexander Carew*, and Sr *Richard Buller*, two Members of the Houſe of Commons, and active Men for the ſettling of the Militia. There was in this County, as throughout the whole Kingdom, a wonderful and ſuperſtitious reverence to-

wards the name of a Parliament, and a prejudice to the power of the Court; yet a full ſubmiſſion, and Love of the eſtabliſh'd Government of Church and State, eſpecially to that part of the Church as concern'd the Liturgy or Book of Common Prayer, which was a moſt general object of Veneration with the People. And the jealouſy, and apprehenſion that the other Party intended to alter it, was a principal advancement of the King's Service. Though the Major, and moſt conſiderable part of the Gentry, and Men of Eſtates, were heartily for the King, many of them being of the Houſe of Commons, and ſo having ſeen, and obſerv'd by what ſpirit the diſtemper was begot, and carried on; yet there were others of Name, Fortune, and Reputation with the People, very ſollicitous for the Parliament, and more active than the other. There was a Third ſort (for a Party they cannot be call'd) greater than either of the other, both of Fortune, and Number, who, though they were ſatisfied in their Conſciences of the juſtice of the King's cauſe, had yet ſo great a dread of the power of the Parliament, that they ſat ſtill as Neuters, aſſiſting neither. So that they who did boldly appear, and declare for the King, were compell'd to proceed with all warineſs, and circumſpection, by the known and well underſtood Rules of the Law, and Juſtice; and durſt not oppoſe the moſt extravagant Act of the other Side but with all the formality that was uſed in full Peace: Which muſt be an Anſwer to all thoſe overſights, and omiſſions, which Poſterity will be apt to impute to the King, in the morning of theſe Diſtractions.

THE Committee of the Parliament, who were entirely poſſeſs'd of *Devon-ſhire*, and believ'd themſelves Maſters of *Cornwal*, drew their Forces of the Country to *Launceſton*, to be ſure that Sr *Ralph Hopton* and his Adherents (whoſe power they thought contemptible) might not eſcape out of their hands. This was before the Battle of *Edge-hill*, when the King was at loweſt, and when the Authority of Parliament found little oppoſition in any place. The Quarter Seſſions came, where they cauſed a Preſentment to be drawn, in form of Law, "againſt divers "Men unknown, who were lately come arm'd into that County *contra* "*pacem* &c. Though none were named, all underſtood Who were meant; and therefore Sr *Ralph Hopton*, who very well underſtood thoſe proceedings, voluntarily appear'd; took notice of the preſentment, and produced the Commiſſion granted by the King, under the Great Seal of *England*, to the Marquis of *Hertford*, by which he was conſtituted General of the Weſt; and a Commiſſion, from his Lordſhip, to Sr *Ralph Hopton*, of Lieutenant General of the Horſe; and told them, "he was "ſent to aſſiſt them, in the defence of their Liberties, againſt all illegal "Taxes, and Impoſitions. Hereupon, after a full and ſolemn debate, the Jury, which conſiſted of Gentlemen of good Quality, and Fortunes in the County, not only acquitted Sr *Ralph Hopton*, and all the other Gentlemen his Companions, of any diſturbance of the Peace; but declared, "that it was a great favour, and juſtice of his Majeſty, to ſend "down aid to them who were already mark'd out to deſtruction; and "that they thought it the duty of every good Subject, as well in Loyal- "ty to the King, as in gratitude to thoſe Gentlemen, to joyn with them "with any hazard of Life and Fortune.

As this full vindication was thus gotten on the King's part, ſo an Indictment was prefer'd againſt Sr *Alexander Carew*, Sr *Richard Buller*, and the reſt of the Committee, "for a Rout and unlawful Aſſembly at "*Launceſton*; and for Riots and Miſdemeanours committed againſt many "of

"of the King's good Subjects, in taking their Liberties from them (for they had intercepted, and apprehended divers Meſſengers, and others of the King's Party, and employed by them) This Indictment and Information was found by the Grand Jury, and thereupon, according to a Statute in that caſe provided, an Order of Seſſions was granted to the High Sheriff, a Perſon well affected to the King's Service, "to raiſe the "*poſſe Comitatus*, for the diſperſing that unlawful Aſſembly at *Laun-*"*ceſton*, and for the apprehenſion of the Rioters. This was the Riſe and Foundation of all the great Service that was after perform'd in *Cornwal*, by which the whole Weſt was reduced to the King. For, by this means, there were immediately drawn together a Body of three thouſand Foot, well arm'd; which by no others means could have been done: with which Sr *Ralph Hopton*, whom they all willingly obeyed, advanced towards *Launceſton*, where the Committee had fortified, and from thence had ſent Meſſages of great contempt upon the proceedings of the Seſſions; for beſides their confidence in their own *Corniſh* ſtrength, they had a good Body of Horſe to ſecond them upon all occaſions, in the Confines of *Devon*.

SIR *George Chudliegh* a Gentleman of good Fortune, and Reputation in that County, and very active for the Militia, being then at *Taviſtock*, with five or ſix full Troops of Horſe, raiſed in that County to go to Their Army, but detain'd till *Cornwal* could be ſettled; upon the News of Sr *Ralph Hopton*'s advancing, theſe drew to *Litton*, a Village in *Devon-ſhire*, but within three Miles of *Launceſton*. Sr *Ralph Hopton* march'd within two Miles of the Town, where he refreſh'd his Men, intending, the next morning early, to fall on the Town: But Sr *Richard Buller*, and his confederates, not daring to abide the Storm, in great diſorder quitted the Town that night, and drew into *Devon-ſhire*, and ſo towards *Plimouth*; ſo that in the morning Sr *Ralph Hopton* found the Gates of *Launceſton* open, and enter'd without reſiſtance. As the ſubmiſſion to, and reverence of, the known practiced Laws had, by the Sheriffs Authority, raiſed this Army within very few days, ſo the extreme ſuperſtition to it, aſſoon diſſolv'd it. For when all the Perſons of Honour, and Quality, who well knew the deſperate form'd deſigns of the other Party, earneſtly preſs'd the purſuing the diſhearten'd, and diſmaied Rebels into *Devon*, by which they ſhould quickly encreaſe their Numbers, by joyning with the well affected in that large and populous County, who were yet aw'd into ſilence: It was powerfully objected, "that the "Sheriff, by whoſe legal Authority only that Force was drawn together, "might not lawfully march out of his own County, and that it was the "principal Privilege of the Train'd-bands, that they might not be com-"pell'd to march farther than the limits of their Sheriff.

How grievous and inconvenient ſoever this doctrine was diſcern'd to be, yet no Man durſt preſume ſo far upon the temper of that People, as to object Policy, or neceſſity to the notions of Law. And therefore, concealing, as much as was poſſible, the true reaſons, they pretended their not following the Enemy proceeded from apprehenſion of their ſtrength, by their joyning with Sr *George Chudliegh*, and of want of Ammunition (either of which were not unreaſonable) and ſo march'd to *Salt-aſh*, a Town in *Cornwal* upon an Arm of the Sea; which only divided it from *Plimouth* and *Devon*, where was a Garriſon of two hundred *Scots*; who, upon the approach of Sr *Ralph Hopton*, as kindly quit *Salt-aſh*, as the others had *Launceſton* before. So that being now entirely

Maſters of *Cornwal*, they fairly diſmiſs'd thoſe who could not be kept long together, and retired with their own handful of Horſe and Dragoons, till a new provocation from the Enemy ſhould put freſh Vigour into that County.

In the mean time, conſidering the caſualty of thoſe Train'd-bands, and that ſtrength, which on a ſuddain could be raiſed by the *poſſe Comitatus*, which though it made a Gallant ſhew in *Cornwal*, they eaſily ſaw would be of no uſe towards the quenching the General Rebellion over *England*, they enter'd upon thoughts of raiſing voluntary Regiments of Foot; which could be only done by the Gentlemen of that Country among their Neighbours, and Tenants, who depended on them. Sr *Bevil Greenvil* (the generally moſt belov'd Man of that Country) Sr *Nicholas Slanning*, the Gallant Governour of *Pendennis* Caſtle, *John Arundel*, and *John Trevannion*, two young Men of Excellent hopes, and Heirs to great Fortunes in that Country (all four of them Members of the Houſe of Commons, and ſo better inform'd, and acquainted with the deſperate humours of the adverſe Party) undertook the raiſing Regiments of Voluntiers: many young Gentlemen, of the moſt conſiderable Families of the County, aſſiſting them as inferior Officers. So that, within a ſhorter time than could be expected, from one ſingle County, there was a Body of Foot, of near fifteen hundred, raiſed, arm'd, and well diſciplin'd for Action. But there was then an Accident, that might have diſcompoſed a People which had not been very well prepared to perform their duties.

THE Lord *Mohun* (who had departed from *York* from the King with all profeſſions of Zeal, and Activity in his Service) had, from the time of the firſt motion in *Cornwal*, forborne to joyn himſelf to the King's Party; ſtaying at home at his own Houſe, and imparting himſelf equally to all Men of ſeveral conſtitutions, as if he had not been yet ſufficiently inform'd which Party to adhere to. But after all the adverſe Party was driven out of *Cornwal*, and the fame of the King's marching in the head of an Army, and having fought the Battle at *Edge-hill* (the effect whereof was variouſly reported) without acquainting any Body with his Intention, he took a Journey towards *London*, at the time when the King march'd that way, and preſented himſelf to his Majeſty at *Brentford*, as ſent from Sr *Ralph Hopton* and the reſt of thoſe Gentlemen engaged in *Cornwal*; though many Men believ'd that his purpoſe was, in truth, for *London*, if he had not then found the King's condition better than it was generally believ'd. Upon his Lordſhips information of the State of thoſe Weſtern parts, and upon a ſuppoſition that he ſpake the ſenſe, and deſires of thoſe from whom he pretended to come, the King granted a Commiſſion joyntly to his Lordſhip, Sr *Ralph Hopton*, Sr *John Berkley*, and Colonel *Aſhburnham*, to govern thoſe Forces, in the abſence of the Lord Marquis of *Hertford*; with which he return'd into *Cornwal*, and immediately raiſed a Regiment of Foot; behaving himſelf as actively, and being every way as forward in the advancing the great buſineſs, as any Man: ſo that Men imputed his former reſervedneſs, only to his not being ſatisfied in a condition of Command.

ON the other ſide, they who were concern'd in that alteration, were not at all well contented. For before, theſe Gentlemen of *Cornwal*, upon whoſe intereſt and activity the work depended, had, with great readineſs, complied with the other, both out of great value of their

Perſons, with whom they had good familiarity, and friendſhip, and in reſpect of their Authority, and Commiſſions, with which they came qualified in that County: for as was remember'd before, Sr *Ralph Hopton* had a Commiſſion from the Marquis of *Hertford*, to be Lieutenant General of the Horſe, Sr *John Berkley*, to be Commiſſary General, and Colonel *Aſhburnham* to be Major General of the Foot; ſo that there was no diſpute of Commands. But now, the Lord *Mohun*'s coming into an equal Command with any, and ſuperior to thoſe who thought Their reputation and intereſt to be ſuperior to His (for he had not the good fortune to be very gracious in his own Country) and this by his own ſollicitation, and interpoſition, gave them ſome indignation. However their publick-heartedneſs, and joynt concernment in the good Cauſe, ſo totally ſuppreſs'd all Animoſities, and indeed Indiſpoſitions, that a greater concurrence could not be deſired, in whatſoever could contribute to the work in hand: ſo that they not only preſerv'd *Cornwal* entire, but made bold incurſions into *Devon*, even to the Walls of *Plymouth*, and *Exeter*; though the Seaſon of the year, being the deep Winter, and the want of Ammunition, ſoon forced them to retire into *Cornwall*.

THE reputation of their being Maſters of that one County, and the apprehenſion of what they might be ſhortly able to do, made the Parliament think it time to take more care for their ſuppreſſion. And therefore they ſent their whole Forces out of *Dorſet*, and *Somerſet*, to joyn with thoſe of *Devon*, to make an entire conqueſt of *Cornwal*. With theſe, *Ruthen* (a *Scots*-man, the Governour of *Plymouth*) advanced into *Cornwal*, by a Bridge over the *Tamar*, ſix miles above *Salt-aſh* (where he had before endeavoured to force his paſſage by Water, but had been beaten off with loſs) having maſter'd the Guard there; the Earl of *Stamford* following him, two or three days march behind, with a new ſupply of Horſe, and Foot; albeit thoſe the *Scots*-man had with him were much ſuperior to thoſe of the King's: which, upon this ſuddain Invaſion, were forced to retire with their whole ſtrength to *Bodmin*; whither, foreſeeing this ſtorm ſome few days before it came, they had again ſummon'd the *poſſe Comitatus*, which appear'd in conſiderable Numbers.

THEY had ſcarce refreſh'd themſelves there, and put their Men in order, when *Ruthen*, with his Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, was advanced to *Liskard*, within ſeven miles of *Bodmin*; from whence they moved towards the Enemy with all alacrity, knowing how neceſſary it was for them to fight before the Earl of *Stamford*, who was at that time come to *Launceſton* with a ſtrong party of Horſe and Foot, ſhould be able to joyn with the Rebels. And as this conſideration was of importance to haſten the one, ſo it prevail'd with the other Party too; for *Ruthen*, apprehending that his Victory, of which he made no queſtion, would be clouded by the preſence of the Earl of *Stamford*, who had the chief Command, reſolv'd to diſpatch the buſineſs before He came. And ſo Sr *Ralph Hopton* (to whom the other Commiſſioners, who had a joynt Authority with him, willingly devolv'd the ſole Command for that day, leſt confuſion of Orders might beget diſtraction) was no ſooner known to be drawing towards him (to whom a preſent Battle was ſo neceſſary, that it was reſolv'd, upon all diſadvantages, to have fallen on the Enemy in the Town rather than not fight) but *Ruthen* likewiſe drew out his Forces, and chooſing his ground upon the Eaſt ſide of *Bradock*-Down

near *Liskard*, ſtood in Battalia to expect the Enemy; Sr *Ralph Hopton*, having likewiſe put His Men in order, cauſed publick Prayers to be ſaid, in the head of every Squadron (which the Rebels obſerving, told their fellows, "they were at Maſs to ſtir up their Courages in the cauſe of "Religion) and having winged his Foot with his Horſe and Dragoons, he advanced within Muſquet-ſhot of the Enemy, who ſtood without any motion. Then perceiving that their Cannon were not yet come up from the Town, he cauſed two ſmall iron Minion Drakes (all the Artillery they had) to be drawn, under the cover of little Parties of Horſe, to a convenient diſtance from the Body of the Enemies; and after two ſhots of thoſe Drakes (which being not diſcern'd, and doing ſome execution, ſtrook a greater terror into them) advanced with his Body upon them, and, with very eaſy contention, beat them off their ground; they having lined the Hedges behind them with their Reſerve, by which they thought ſecurely to make their retreat into the Town. But the *Corniſh* ſo briskly beſtirr'd themſelves, and preſs'd them ſo hard on every ſide, being indeed excellent at Hedge-work, and that kind of Fight, that they quickly wone That ground too, and put their whole Army in a rout, and had the full execution of them as far as they would purſue. But after that advantage, they were allways more ſparing than is uſually known in Civil Wars, ſhedding very little Blood after reſiſtance was given over, and having a very noble and Chriſtian ſenſe of the lives of their Brethren: inſomuch as the Common Men, when they have been preſs'd by ſome fiercer Officer, to follow the execution, have anſwer'd, "they could not find in their hearts to hurt Men who had nothing in "their hands.

Sr Ralph Hopton *beats the Parliaments Forces at* Bradock-*Down under* Ruthen.

In this Battle, without the loſs of an Officer of Name, and very few Common Men, they took twelve hundred and fifty Priſoners, moſt of their Colours, all their Cannon, being four Braſs Guns (whereof two were twelve Pounders) and one iron Saker, all their Ammunition, and moſt of their Armes. *Ruthen* himſelf, and thoſe who could keep pace with him, fled to *Salt-aſh*; which he thought to fortify, and by the Neighbourhood of *Plimouth*, and aſſiſtance of the Shipping, to defend; and thereby ſtill to have an influence upon a good part of *Cornwal*. The Earl of *Stamford*, receiving quick Advertiſement of this Defeat, in great diſorder retired to *Taviſtock*, to preſerve the utmoſt parts of *Devon* from incurſions. Hereupon, after a ſolemn Thankſgiving to God for this great Victory (which was about the middle of *January*) and a little refreſhing their Men at *Liskard*, the King's Forces divided themſelves; Sr *John Berkeley*, and Colonel *Aſhburnham*, with Sr *Bevil Greenvil*, Sr *Nicholas Slanning*'s, and Colonel *Trevannion*'s Voluntary Regiments, and ſuch a Party of Horſe and Dragoons as could be ſpared, advanced to *Taviſtock* to viſit the Earl of *Stamford*; the Lord *Mohun*, and Sr *Ralph Hopton*, with the Lord *Mohun*'s, and Colonel *Godolphin*'s Voluntary Regiments, and ſome of the Train'd-bands march'd towards *Salt-aſh*, to diſlodge *Ruthen*; who within three days (for there was no more between his defeat at *Bradock*-Down, and his viſitation at *Salt-aſh*) had caſt up ſuch works, and planted ſuch ſtore of Cannon upon the narrow Avenues, that he thought himſelf able, with the help of a goodly Ship of four hundred Tuns, in which were ſixteen pieces of Cannon, which he had brought up the River to the very ſide of the Town, to defend that place againſt any ſtrength was like to be brought againſt him. But he quickly found that the ſame ſpirit poſſeſs'd his Enemies that drove him

him from *Liskard*, and the ſame that poſſeſs'd his own Men when they fled from thence; for aſſoon as the *Corniſh* came up, they fell upon his works, and in a ſhort time beat him out of them; and then out of the Town, with a good execution upon them; many being kill'd in the Fight, and more drown'd: *Ruthen* himſelf hardly getting into a Boat, by which he got into *Plimouth*, leaving all his Ordnance behind him, which together with the Ship, and ſevenſcore Priſoners, and all their Colours, which had been ſaved at *Liskard*, were taken by the Conquerors, who were now again entire Maſters of *Cornwal*.

Salt-aſh *taken by the King's Forces.*

THE Earl of *Stamford* had not the ſame patience to abide the other Party at *Taviſtock*, but, before their approach, quitted the Town; ſome of his Forces making haſt into *Plimouth*, and the reſt retiring into *Exeter*. And ſo, though the old ſuperſtition, of not going out of the County, again disbanded the Train'd-bands, the *Corniſh*, with all their Voluntary Forces, drew into *Devon*, and fixed Quarters within leſs than a mile of *Plimouth*, and kept Guards even within Muſquet-ſhot of Their Line. Sr *John Berkley* in the mean time with a good Party Volant, of Horſe and Dragoons, with great diligence, and galantry, viſiting all places in *Devon*, where their People were gather'd together, and diſſolving them, took many Priſoners of name; and ſo kept *Chudliegh*, the Major General of the Parliament Forces, from raiſing a Body there; which he induſtriouſly intended.

IN thoſe neceſſary and brisk expeditions, in falling upon *Chagford* (a little Town in the South of *Devon*) before day, the King loſt *Sidney Godolphin*, a young Gentleman of incomparable parts; who, being of a conſtitution and education more delicate, and unacquainted with contentions, upon his obſervation of the wickedneſs of thoſe Men in the Houſe of Commons, of which he was a Member, out of the pure indignation of his Soul againſt them, and conſcience to his Country, had, with the firſt, engaged himſelf with that Party in the Weſt: and though he thought not fit to take Command in a Profeſſion he had not willingly choſen, yet as his advice was of great Authority with all the Commanders, being always one in the Council of War, and whoſe notable abilities they had ſtill uſe of in their Civil Tranſactions, ſo he expoſed his Perſon to all Action, Travel, and Hazard: and by too forward engaging himſelf in this laſt, receiv'd a mortal ſhot by a Muſquet, a little above the knee, of which he died in the inſtant; leaving the misfortune of his death upon a place, which could never otherwiſe have had a mention to the world.

Mr Sidney Godolphin *ſlain.*

AFTER this, which happen'd about the end of *January*, in reſpect of the ſeaſon of the year, and the want of Ammunition, finding that they could make no impreſſion upon the ſtrong-holds of the Enemy, they retired, with their whole Forces, to *Taviſtock*; where they refreſhed, and reſted themſelves many days, being willing to eaſe their faſt Friends of *Cornwal* as much as was poſſible from the trouble, and charge of their little Army. The difficulties they were entangled with, were very prodigious; of which one was, that the other parts of the Weſt were ſo entirely poſſeſs'd by the Enemy, that they could have no correſpondence, or receive any intelligence from the King, not one Meſſenger in ten arriving at his Journeys end. Then though the Juſtice, and Piety of the cauſe, added much power to particular Perſons in raiſing an Army; yet the money that was raiſed for the maintenance, and payment of that Army, was entirely upon the Reputation, Credit, and

The King's Corniſh *Forces come to* Taviſtock.

and Intereſt of particular Men: and how long that ſpring would ſupply thoſe ſtreams, the moſt Sanguine among them could not preſume; but the want of Ammunition troubled them moſt of all: they had yet had none but what had been taken out of the low ſtore of *Pendennis* Caſtle, and what they had wone from the Enemy; the firſt wanted a ſupply for it's own proviſion, but which way to procure that ſupply they could not imagine; and the fear, and apprehenſion of ſuch ſtreights, againſt which no probable hopes occur, is more grievous and inſupportable, than any preſent want.

Captain Carteret *ſupplies them with Ammunition.*

IN this Inſtant, as if ſent by Providence, they met with an opportunity they had ſcarce Courage to hope for: Captain *Carteret*, the Controller of the King's Navy, having in the beginning of the Troubles, after he had refuſed to have Command in their Fleets, without noiſe withdrawn Himſelf and his Family out of *England* to *Jerſy*, and being there impatient of being quiet, whilſt his Maſter was in the Field, tranſported himſelf into *Cornwal* with a purpoſe to raiſe a Troop of Horſe, and to engage in that Service: when he came thither, he was unanimouſly importun'd by the Commanders, after they had acquainted him with their hopeleſs, and deſperate want of powder, to aſſiſt them in that manner, that the many good Ports in their power, might be made of ſome uſe to them in the ſupply of Powder: whereupon he ſhortly return'd into *France*; and firſt upon his own Credit, and then upon return of ſuch Commodities out of *Cornwal* as they could well ſpare, he ſupplied them with ſuch great proportions of all kinds of Ammunitions, that they never found want after.

IN the mean time, when they were clouded with that want, at *Taviſtock*; ſome Gentlemen of *Cornwal* who adhered to the Rebels, and were thereby diſpoſſeſs'd of their County, made ſome Overtures, "that "a Treaty might be enter'd into, whereby the Peace of thoſe two Coun- "ties of *Cornwal*, and *Devon*, might be ſettled, and the War be removed "into other parts. They who had moſt experience of the humours and diſpoſitions of the Factious Party, eaſily concluded the little hope of Peace by ſuch a Treaty; yet the Propoſition was ſo Specious and Popular, that there was no rejecting it; and therefore they agreed to a meeting between Perſons choſen of either ſide; and the Earl of *Stamford* himſelf ſeem'd ſo ingenuous, that, at the very firſt meeting, to ſhew their clear intentions, it was mutually agreed, that every Perſon employed and truſted in the Treaty, ſhould firſt make a Proteſtation in theſe words. "I do ſolemnly vow, and proteſt, in the preſence of Al- "mighty God, that I do not only come a Commiſſioner to this Treaty, "with an hearty and fervent deſire of concluding an honourable and "firm Peace between the two Counties of *Cornwal*, and *Devon*: but "alſo will, to the utmoſt of my power, proſecute, and really endeavour "to accompliſh and effect the ſame, by all lawful ways and means I poſ- "ſibly can; firſt by maintaining the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſh'd by "Law in the Church of *England*, the juſt Rights and Prerogative of our "Soveraign Lord the King, the juſt Privileges, and Freedom of Par- "liaments; together with the juſt Rights and Liberty of the Subjects; "and that I am without any intention (by fomenting this unnatural "War) to gain, or hope to advantage my ſelf with the real, or perſonal "Eſtate of any Perſon whatſoever, or obtaining any Office, Command, "Title of Honour, Benefit, or Reward, either from the King's Majeſty "or either, or both Houſes of Parliament now aſſembled. And this I take,

A Treaty between the two Parties in Devon, *and* Cornwal.

This Proteſtation being firſt taken by both.

"in the preſence of Almighty God, and as I ſhall anſwer the ſame at His "Tribunal, according to the literal ſenſe and meaning of the foregoing "Words, without any Equivocation, mental Reſervation, or other Eva-"ſion whatſoever: So help me God.

THE taking this Proteſtation with that ſolemnity, and the bleſſed Sacrament thereupon, made even thoſe who before expected little fruit from the Treaty, believe, that Men, being ſo engaged, would not be liable to thoſe Paſſions, and Affections, which uſually tranſported that Party; and ſo to hope that ſome Good might proceed from it: and therefore the King's Party were eaſily induced to retire with their Forces into *Cornwal*; and thereupon, a Truce, and Ceſſation, was agreed upon, that a Treaty might proceed without Interruption. In which Treaty, the ſame continuing beyond the expiration of the preſent year 1642, We ſhall for the preſent leave them; that We may take a ſhort ſurvey of the Northern Parts, and remember by what degrees They came to feel the Calamities, and to bear Their Burthen in the Civil War.

A Truce, and Ceſſation thereupon.

WHEN the King left *York-ſhire*, he appointed Sr *Thomas Glemham*, at the deſire of the Gentlemen of that County, as was before remember'd, to ſtay in *York*, to order and command thoſe Forces, which they ſhould find neceſſary to raiſe, to defend themſelves from the excurſions of *Hull*, whence young *Hotham* infeſted the Country more than his Father; who was willing enough to ſit ſtill in his Garriſon, where he believ'd he could make advantage upon the ſucceſs of either Party: and they who were moſt inclined to the Parliament (whereof the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son were the chief) from whom the King was ſo far from expecting any notable miſchief, that he left them all at their own Houſes, when he went from thence; and might, if he had thought it requiſite, have carried them away Priſoners with him) were rather deſirous to look on, than engage themſelves in the War; preſuming that one Battle would determine all diſputes, and the Party which prevail'd in that, would find a general ſubmiſſion throughout the Kingdom. And truly, I believe, there was ſcarce one Concluſion, that hath contributed more to the continuance and length of the War, than that generally receiv'd opinion in the beginning, that it would be quickly at an end. Hereupon, there being but one viſible difference like to beget diſtractions in the Country, which was about the Militia, the King appointing it to be govern'd, and diſpoſed by the Commiſſion of Array, and the Parliament by Their Ordinance; for the compoſing whereof, the Gentlemen of the ſeveral opinions, propoſed, between themſelves, "that "neither the One, nor the Other, ſhould be meddled with; but that "all ſhould be contented to ſit ſtill, without engagement to either Par-"ty: this ſeem'd very reaſonable to the Parliament Party there, who were rather carried away with an implicite reverence to the very name of a Parliament (the fatal diſeaſe of the whole Kingdom at that time) than really tranſported with the paſſion and deſign of the furious part of it; and who plainly diſcern'd, that, by much the greateſt part of the Perſons of Honour, Quality, and Intereſt in the County, would cordially oppoſe their Proceedings: For, beſides the Lord *Fairfax*, there were in truth few of good Reputation, and Fortune, who run that way. On the other hand, the King's Party thought Their work done by it; for They having already ſent two good Regiments of Foot, the one under Colonel *John Bellaſis*, younger Son to the Lord Viſcount *Falconbridge*, and the other under Sr *William Pennyman*; and two Regiments of

An account of the Northern Parts diſpoſition, at that time.

Dragoons, the one under Colonel *Duncomb*, the other, Colonel *Gowre*; beſides three or four good Troops of Horſe; and the King being at that diſtance, that they could not ſend Him farther ſupply; they thought they had nothing to do, but to keep the Country in ſuch a Peace, that it might do the King no harm by ſending Men to the Earl of *Eſſex*, or adhering to the Garriſon of *Hull*; and concluding, as the other did, that the deciſion between the King and Parliament would be at the firſt Encounter. Upon theſe deliberations, Articles were ſolemnly drawn up, conſented to and ſubſcribed by the Lord *Fairfax*, and *Harry Bellaſis*, the Heir Apparent of the Lord *Falconbridge*, who were the two Knights who ſerv'd in Parliament for *York-ſhire*, nearly allyed together, and of great kindneſs till their ſeveral opinions, and affections had divided them in this Quarrel: the former adhering to the Parliament, the latter, with great Courage and Sobriety, to the King.

Articles of Neutrality agreed in York-ſhire *between both parties:*

WITH them, the Principal Perſons of either Party ſubſcribed the Articles, and gave their mutual Faiths to each other, that they would obſerve them; being indeed no other than an Engagement of Neutrality, and to aſſiſt neither Party. Of all the Gentry of *York-ſhire*, there were only two Diſſenters on the Parliament ſide, young *Hotham*, and Sr *Edward Rhodes*; who, though of the better Quality, was not ſo much known, or conſider'd, as the other. But they quickly found Seconds enough; for the Parliament no ſooner was inform'd of this tranſaction, than they expreſs'd their deteſtation of it, and gently in words (though ſcornfully in matter) reprehending the Lord *Fairfax*, and his Party, "for being couſen'd, and over-reach'd by the other: They declared, "that none of the Parties to that Agreement had any Authority "to bind that Country to any ſuch Neutrality, as was mention'd in that "Agreement; it being a peculiar and proper Power, and Privilege of "Parliament, where the whole Body of the Kingdom is repreſented, to "bind all, or any part thereof: That it was very prejudicial and dan-"gerous to the whole Kingdom, that one County ſhould withdraw "themſelves from the Aſſiſtance of the reſt, to which they were bound "by Law, and by ſeveral Orders and Declarations of Parliament: That "it was very derogatory to the Power and Authority of Parliament, "that any private Men ſhould take upon them to ſuſpend the execution "of the Ordinance of the Militia, declared by both Houſes to be ac-"cording to Law, and very neceſſary, at that time, for the preſerva-"tion of the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom. And therefore, they ſaid, "they thought themſelves bound in Conſcience, to hinder all farther "proceedings upon that Agreement; and order'd, "that no ſuch Neu-"trality ſhould be obſerv'd in that County. For if they ſhould ſuffer "particular Counties to divide themſelves from the reſt of the King-"dom, it would be a means of bringing all to ruin, and deſtruction. And therefore they farther declared, that "neither the Lord *Fairfax*, nor "the Gentlemen of *York-ſhire*, who were Parties to thoſe Articles, nor "any other Inhabitants of that County, were bound by any ſuch Agree-"ment; but required them to purſue their former Reſolutions, of "Maintaining and Aſſiſting the Parliament, in Defence of the Common "Cauſe, according to the General Proteſtation wherein they were bound "with the reſt of the Kingdom, and againſt the Particular Proteſtation "by themſelves lately made; and according to ſuch Orders and Com-"miſſions as they ſhould receive from both Houſes of Parliament, from "the Committee of the Lords and Commons appointed for the ſafety

But diſown'd by the Parliament, upon which they enter'd into Acts of Hoſtility there.

"of the Kingdom, or from the Earl of *Eſſex* Lord General. And leſt this their Declaration ſhould not be of power enough to diſſolve this Agreement, they publiſh'd their Reſolution, and directed that "M^r "*Hotham*, and Sr *Edward Rhodes* ſhould proceed upon their former "Inſtructions; and that they ſhould have power to ſeiſe, and appre- "hend all Delinquents that were ſo voted by the Parliament, and all ſuch "others, as Delinquents, as had, or did ſhew themſelves oppoſite and "diſobedient to the Orders and Proceedings of Parliament.

UPON this Declaration, and Vote, not only young *Hotham* fell to the practice of Acts of Hoſtility, with all Licence, out of the Garriſon at *Hull*, but the Lord *Fairfax* himſelf, and all the Gentlemen of that Party, who had, with that Proteſtation, ſign'd the Articles, inſtead of reſenting the reproach to themſelves, tamely ſubmitted to thoſe unreaſonable concluſions: and, contrary to their ſolemn Promiſe and Engagement, prepared themſelves to bear a part in the War, and made all haſt to levy Men.

Upon ſo great a diſadvantage were the King's Party in all places; who were ſo preciſe in promiſes, and their perſonal undertakings, that they believ'd they could not ſerve the King, and his Cauſe, if Their reputation and integrity were once blemiſh'd, though ſome particular Contract proved to his diſadvantage: whilſt the Others expoſed their Honours for any preſent temporary conveniencies, and thought themſelves Abſolv'd by any new Reſolution of the Houſes, to whoſe Cuſtody their Honour, and Ingenuity was committed. The preſent diſadvantage of this Rupture was greater to the King's Party there, than to the other. For (beſides that many who concurr'd with them very frankly and ſollicitouſly in the Neutrality, ſeparated themſelves from them now there was a neceſſity of Action) they had neither Money to raiſe Men, nor Armes to arme them; ſo that the ſtrength conſiſted in the Gentlemen themſelves, and their Retinue; who by the good Affections of the Inhabitants of *York*, were ſtrong enough to ſecure one another within the Walls of that City. Then the Earl of *Cumberland*, in whom the chief power of Command was to raiſe Men and Money in a caſe of Neceſſity, though he was a Perſon of entire devotion to the King, was in his nature Unactive, and utterly unexperienced in Affairs and Exigents of that Nature.

ON the other hand, the oppoſite Party was ſtrengthned and enabled by the ſtrong Garriſon of *Hull*, whence young *Hotham*, on all occaſions, was ready to ſecond them with his Troop of Horſe, and to take up any well affected Perſon who was ſuſpected to be Loyal; which drove all reſolv'd Men from their Houſes into *York*, where they only could be ſafe. The other could have what Men more they deſired from *London*, and both ready Money from thence to *Hull*, and Ordinances to raiſe what they would in the County to pay them. *Leeds*, *Halliſax*, and *Bradford*, three very populous, and rich Towns (which depending wholely upon Clothiers too much maligned the Gentry) were wholely at their diſpoſition. Their Neighbours in *Lincoln-ſhire* were in a Body to ſecond them, and Sr *John Gell* was on the ſame behalf poſſeſs'd of *Derby*, and all that County, there being none that had the hardineſs Yet, to declare there for the King. So that, if Sr *John Hotham*'s warineſs had not kept him from being active, and his pride, and contempt of the Lord *Fairfax*, upon whom the Country chiefly depended, hinder'd him from ſeconding, and aſſiſting his Lordſhip; or if any Man had had the entire

Command of thoſe parts, and Forces, to have united them, the Parliament had, with very little reſiſtance, been abſolute Maſters of all *York-ſhire*; and, as eaſily, of the City it ſelf. But their want of Union in Particulars, though they agreed too well in the Main, gave the King's Party time to breath, and to look about for their preſervation. Thereupon, they ſent to the Earl of *New-Caſtle* for Aſſiſtance; offering, "if "he would march into *York-ſhire*, they would joyn with him, and be "entirely Commanded by him; the Earl of *Cumberland* willingly offering to wave any Title to Command.

IT was before remember'd, that, when the King left *York*, he had ſent the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, as a Perſon of great Honour, and Intereſt in thoſe parts, to be Governour of *New-Caſtle*: and ſo to ſecure that Port, that the Parliament might neither ſeiſe it, nor the *Scots* be bribed by it to come to the Aſſiſtance of their Brethren. Which Commiſſion from the King, his Lordſhip no ſooner executed, without the leaſt hoſtility (for that Town receiv'd him with all poſſible acknowledgements of the King's goodneſs in ſending him) but he was impeach'd by the Houſe of Commons of High Treaſon. From his going thither (which was in *Auguſt*) till towards the end of *November*, the Earl ſpent his time in diſpoſing the People of *Northumberland*, and the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, to the King's Service, and to a right underſtanding of the matters in difference; in the fortifying *New-Caſtle*, and the River; whereby that Harbour might only be in the King's Obedience; in raiſing a Garriſon for that place, and providing Armes for a farther advance of the King's Service. Then he provided for the Aſſiſtance of his Friends in *York-ſhire*, whoſe condition grew every day more deſperate. For the Parliament, finding the inconveniencies of having no Commander in Chief in thoſe parts, had cauſed their Generaliſſimo, the Earl of *Eſſex*, to ſend a Commiſſion to the Lord *Fairfax*, "to Command all the Forces of *York-ſhire*, "and the adjacent Counties, in Chief; by which, in leſs time than could be reaſonably imagined, he was able to draw together an Army of five or ſix thouſand Horſe and Foot; ſo that *York* muſt preſently have been ſwallow'd up.

The Lord Fairfax *made General of* York-ſhire. *for the Parliament.*

BUT, in the beginning of *December*, the Earl of *New-Caſtle* march'd to their relief; and having left a good Garriſon in *New-Caſtle*, and fixed ſuch ſmall Garriſons in his way, as might ſecure his communication with that Port, to which all his Ammunition was to be brought; with a Body of near three thouſand Foot, and ſix or ſeven hundred Horſe and Dragoons, without any Encounter with the Enemy (though they had threaten'd loud) he enter'd *York*; having leſſen'd the Enemies ſtrength, without Blood, both in Territories and Men. For, aſſoon as he enter'd *York-ſhire*, two Regiments raiſed in *Richmond-ſhire*, and *Cleveland*, diſſolv'd of themſelves; having it yet in their choice to dwell at home, or to leave their Houſes to new Comers. The Earl being now maſter of the North as far as *York*, thought rather of forming an Army, and providing money to pay it, than of making any farther progreſs in the Winter; and therefore ſuffer'd the Lord *Fairfax* to enjoy the Southern part of that large rich County, till the ſpring, and the improvement of his condition, ſhould enable him to advance: Yet few days paſs'd without blows, in which the Parliament Forces had uſually the worſt.

The Earl of New-Caſtle *comes from* New-Caſtle *to* York.

SHORTLY after the Earl's coming to *York*, General *King* repaired to him, whom he made Lieutenant General of his Army; who, notwithſtanding

withſtanding the unavoidable prejudice, in that Conjuncture, of his being a *Scots*-man, order'd the Foot with great wiſdom and dexterity: the charge of the Horſe being at the ſame time committed to General *Goring*; who, by the Queen's favour, notwithſtanding all former failings, was recommended to that Province, and quickly applied himſelf to Action: ſo that, though the Lord *Fairfax* kept *Selby*, and *Carwood*, both within a ſmall diſtance from *York*, the Earl was abſolute Maſter of the Field. And now the North yeilded ſecure footing for thoſe who had been unreaſonably perſecuted for their obedience to the King, the Queen her ſelf thought of returning into *England*.

HER Majeſty had, from her firſt going into *Holland*, dexterouſly endeavour'd to advance the King's Intereſt, and ſent very great quantities of Armes and Ammunition to *New-Caſtle* (though, by the vigilance of the Parliament Agents in thoſe parts, and the power of their Ships, too much of it was intercepted) with ſome conſiderable Sums of Money, and good ſtore of Officers; who, by the connivance of the Prince of *Orange*, came over to ſerve their own King. And from this extraordinary care of her Majeſty's, and her known grace and favour to the Perſon of the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, who ſhe well knew had contracted many Enemies by the eminency of his devotion to the King, that Army was by the Parliament ſtyled the *Queen's Army*, and the *Catholick Army*, thereby to expoſe her Majeſty the more to the rude malice of the People, and the Army to their prejudice; perſwading them, "that "it conſiſted of none but profeſs'd Papiſts, who intended nothing but "the extirpation of the Proteſtants, and eſtabliſhing their own Pro-"feſſion.

ABOUT the middle of *February*, the Queen took Shipping from *Holland*, in a States Man of War, aſſign'd by the Prince of *Orange* with others for her Convoy, and arrived ſafely in *Burlington* Bay, upon the Coaſt of *York-ſhire*; where ſhe had the patience to ſtay on Shipboard at Anchor, the ſpace of two days, till the Earl had notice, "to draw "ſuch a part of his Forces that way, as might ſecure her Landing, and "wait on her to *York*; which he no ſooner did (and he did it with all imaginable expedition) but her Majeſty came on Shore; and, for the preſent, was pleaſed to refreſh her ſelf in a convenient Houſe upon the very Key, where all accommodations were made for her reception; there being many things of Moment to be unſhipp'd before ſhe could reaſonably enter upon her Journey towards *York*.

The Queen arrives at Burlington from Holland.

THE ſecond day after the Queen's Landing, *Batten*, Vice-Admiral to the Earl of *Warwick* (who had waited to intercept her paſſage) with four of the King's Ships, arrived in *Burlington* Road; and, finding that her Majeſty was Landed, and that ſhe lodged upon the Key, bringing his Ships to the neareſt diſtance, being very early in the morning, diſcharged above a hundred Cannon (whereof many were laden with Croſſ-bar-ſhot) for the ſpace of two hours upon the Houſe where her Majeſty was lodged; whereupon ſhe was forced out of her Bed, ſome of the ſhot making way through her own Chamber; and to ſhelter her ſelf under a Bank in the open Fields; which Barbarous and Treaſonable Act, was ſo much the more odious, in that the Parliament never ſo far took notice of it, as to diſavow it. So that many believ'd it was very pleaſing to, if not Commanded by Them; and that if the Ships had encounter'd at Sea, they would have left no hazard unrun to have deſtroyed her Majeſty.

THE Queen ſhortly after remov'd to *York*, and the King's affairs proſper'd to that degree, that, as the Earl of *New-Caſtle* had before fixed a Garriſon at *Newark* in *Nottingham-ſhire*, which kept the Forces of *Lincoln* from joyning entirely with the Lord *Fairfax*, and had with great Courage beaten off a form'd Body of the Rebels who attempted it; ſo he now ſent *Charles Cavendiſh*, the younger Brother of the Earl of *Devon-ſhire*, with a Party Volant of Horſe and Dragoons, into *Lincoln-ſhire*; where, about the middle of *March*, he aſſaulted *Grantham*, a new Garriſon of the Rebels; which he took, and in it above three hundred Priſoners, with all their Officers, Armes, and Ammunition: and, about the ſame time, Sr *Hugh Cholmondley*, who had done very notable ſervice to the Parliament, and oftner defeated the Earl of *New-Caſtle*'s Troops (though he had been in truth hurried to that Party, rather by the engagement of Sr *John Hotham*, with whom he had long friendſhip, than by his own inclination) than any Officer of thoſe parts, very frankly revolted to his Allegiance; and waiting on her Majeſty for her Aſſurance of his Pardon, deliver'd up the Caſtle of *Scarborough* (a place of importance) to the King; the Command and Government whereof, was again by the Earl committed to him; which he diſcharged with Courage, and ſingular Fidelity. By this means, and thoſe ſucceſſes, the Lord *Fairfax* quitted *Selby*, *Cawood*, and *Tadcaſter*, and retired to *Pomfret*, and *Halliſax*; whereby the Earl was, upon the matter, poſſeſs'd of that whole large County, and ſo able to help his Neighbours. This was the State of that part of the North which was under the Earl of *New-Caſtle*'s Commiſſion: For *Lancashire*, *Cheshire* and *Shropshire*, were in a worſe condition; of which, and the Neighbour Counties, it will be neceſſary in the next place to ſay ſomewhat; and of thoſe firſt which lie fartheſt off.

The Earl of New-Caſtle fixt a Garriſon at Newark.

Sr Hugh Cholmondley *deliver'd up* Scarborough *Caſtle to the Queen.*

WE have ſaid before, that when the King left *Shrewsbury*, and march'd to meet the Earl of *Eſſex* (which he did at *Edge-hill*) all his deſigns being to come to a Battle; and the opinion of moſt, that a Battle would determine all; he was to apply all the ſtrength and forces he could poſſibly raiſe, to the encreaſing his Army; ſo that he left no Garriſon behind him, but relied upon the Intereſt and Authority of the Lord *Strange* (who was, by the death of his Father, now Earl of *Derby*) to ſuppreſs all commotions, and Inſurrections, which might happen in the Counties of *Lancashire*, and *Cheshire*; which his Lordſhip was confident he ſhould be able to do, and was then generally believ'd to have a greater Influence upon thoſe two Counties, and a more abſolute Command over the People in them, than any Subject in *England* had, in any other Quarter of the Kingdom. The Town of *Shrewsbury*, and that good County, where the King had been ſo proſperous (and by which the People were more engaged) he intruſted only to that good ſpirit that then poſſeſs'd it, and to the legal Authority of the Sheriffs, and Juſtices of the Peace. And it fared in thoſe Counties as in all other parts of the Kingdom, that the number of thoſe who deſired to ſit ſtill, was greater than of thoſe who defired to engage in either Party; ſo that they were generally inclined to Articles of Neutrality. And in *Cheshire*, the active people of Both ſides came to thoſe Capitulations, with as much ſolemnity as had been in *York-shire*, and by the ſame Declaration of the Parliament (ſo much the Same, that there was no other difference but alterations of Names and Places) were abſolv'd from the obſervation of them. And then Sr *William Bruerton*, a Gentleman of a Competent

The condition at that time of Lancaſhire Cheſhire, *and* Shropſhire.

Fortune in that County, and Knight for that Shire in Parliament, but moſt notorious for a known averſion to the Government of the Church, bringing with him from *London* a Troop of Horſe, and a Regiment of Dragoons, march'd thither to protect thoſe who were of that Party, and, under ſuch a ſhelter, to encourage them to appear.

THE City of *Cheſter* was firm to the King, by the virtue of the Inhabitants, and Intereſt of the Biſhop, and Cathedral Men; but eſpecially by the reputation, and dexterity of Mr *O. Bridgman*, Son to the Biſhop, and a Lawyer of very good eſtimation; who not only inform'd them of their duty, and encouraged them in it, but upon his Credit and Eſtate, both which were very good, ſupplied them with whatſoever was neceſſary for their defence; ſo that they were not put to be Honeſt and Expenſive together. But as they had no Garriſon of Soldiers, ſo they had no Officer of skill and experience to manage, and direct that Courage which, at leaſt, was willing to defend their own Walls; which they were now like to be put to. Therefore the King ſent thither Sr *Nicholas Byron*, a Soldier of very good Command, with a Commiſſion to be "Colonel-General of *Cheſhire*, and *Shropſhire*; and to be Governour "of *Cheſter*; who being a Perſon of great affability, and dexterity, as well as Martial knowledge, gave great life to the deſigns of the well-affected there; and, with the encouragement of ſome Gentlemen of North *Wales*, in a ſhort time raiſed ſuch a power of Horſe and Foot, as made often Skirmiſhes with the Enemy; ſometimes with notable advantage, never with any ſignal loſs. Sr *William Bruerton* fortified *Nantwitch*, as the King's Party did *Cheſter*; from which Garriſons, containing both their Forces, they contended which ſhould moſt prevail upon, that is moſt ſubdue, the Affections of the County, to declare for, and joyn with them. But the fair expectation of *Cheſhire* was clouded by the ſtorms that aroſe in *Lancaſhire*, where Men of no Name, and contemn'd Intereſt, by the meer credit of the Parliament, and frenzy of the People, on a ſuddain ſnatch'd that large and populous County from their Devotion to the Earl of *Derby*.

THE Town of *Mancheſter* had, from the beginning (out of that Factious humour which poſſeſs'd moſt Corporations, and the pride of their Wealth) oppoſed the King, and declared magiſterially for the Parliament. But as a great part of the County conſiſted of Papiſts, of whoſe Inſurrections they had made ſuch uſe in the beginning of the Parliament, when they had a mind to Alarm the People with dangers; ſo it was confidently believ'd, that there was not one Man of ten throughout that County, who meant not to be dutiful, and loyal to the King: yet the reſtleſs ſpirit of the ſeditious Party was ſo ſedulous, and induſtrious, and every one of the Party ſo ready to be engaged, and punctually to obey; and, on the other hand, the Earl of *Derby* ſo unactive, and ſo uncomplying with thoſe who were fuller of alacrity, and would have proceeded more vigorouſly againſt the Enemy; or, through want of experience ſo irreſolute, that inſtead of countenancing the King's Party in *Cheſhire*, which was expected from him, the Earl, inſenſibly, found *Lancaſhire* to be almoſt poſſeſs'd againſt him: the Rebels, every day, gaining, and fortifying all the ſtrong Towns, and ſurpriſing his Troops, without any conſiderable Encounter. And yet, ſo hard was the King's condition, that though he knew thoſe great misfortunes proceeded from want of Conduct, and of a vigorous and expert Commander, he thought it not ſafe to make any alteration, leſt that Earl might be provoked,

out

out of diſdain to have any Superior in *Lancaſhire*, to manifeſt how much he could do Againſt him, though it appear'd he could do little For him. Yet it was eaſily diſcern'd, that his Ancient power there depended more upon the Fear, than Love of the People; there being very many, now in this time of Liberty, engaging themſelves againſt the King, that they might not be ſubject to that Lord's Commands.

HOWEVER, the King committing *Lancaſhire* ſtill to his Lordſhips care (whoſe Fidelity, without doubt, was blameleſs, whatever his Skill was) he ſent the Lord *Capel* to *Shrewsbury*, with a Commiſſion of "Lieutenant General of *Shropshire*, *Cheſhire*, and North *Wales*; who, being a Perſon of great Fortune, and Honour, quickly engaged thoſe parts in a chearful Aſſociation; and raiſed a Body of Horſe and Foot, that gave Sr *William Bruerton* ſo much trouble at *Nantwitch*, that the Garriſon at *Cheſter* had breath to enlarge it's Quarters, and to provide for it's own ſecurity; though the Enemy omitted no opportunity of infeſting them, and gave them as much trouble as was poſſible. It cannot be denied but Sr *William Bruerton*, and the other Gentlemen of that Party, albeit their Educations, and courſe of life, had been very different from their preſent Engagements, and for the moſt part were very unpromiſing in matters of War, and therefore were too much contemn'd Enemies, executed their Commands with notable Sobriety, and indefatigable Induſtry (virtues not ſo well practiced in the King's Quarters) inſomuch as the beſt Soldiers who encounter'd with them, had no cauſe to deſpiſe them. It is true, they had no other ſtreights, and difficulties to ſtruggle with, than what proceeded from their Enemy; being always ſupplied with Money to pay their Soldiers, and with Armes to Arme them; whereby it was in their power not to grieve and oppreſs the People. And thereby (beſides the ſpirit of Faction that much govern'd) the Common People were more devoted to them, and gave them all Intelligence of what might concern them; whereas they who were intruſted to govern the King's Affairs, had intolerable difficulties to paſs through; being to raiſe Men without Money, to Arme them without Weapons (that is they had no Magazine to ſupply them) and to keep them together without Pay; ſo that the Country was both to Feed, and Cloath the Soldiers; which quickly inclined them to remember only the Burthen, and forget the Quarrel.

THE difference in the temper of the Common People of both ſides was ſo great, that they who inclined to the Parliament, left nothing unperform'd that might advance the Cauſe; and were incredibly vigilant and induſtrious to croſs, and hinder whatſoever might promote the King's: whereas they who Wiſh'd well to Him, thought they had perform'd their duty in doing So, and that they had done enough For him, in that they had done nothing Againſt him.

THOUGH, by this ſending the Lord *Capel*, thoſe Counties of *Shropſhire*, and *Cheſhire*, with the Aſſiſtance of North *Wales*, kept thoſe parts ſo near their Obedience, that their Diſobedience was not yet pernicious to the King, in ſending Aſſiſtance to the Earl of *Eſſex* againſt his Majeſty, or to the Lord *Fairfax* againſt the Earl of *New-Caſtle*; yet thoſe Counties which lay in the line between *Oxford* and *York*, were, upon the matter, entirely poſſeſs'd by the Enemy. The Garriſon of *Northampton* kept that whole County in obedience to the Parliament, ſave, that from *Banbury* the adjacent Parts were forced to bring ſome contribution thither. In *Warwick-ſhire* the King had no footing; the Caſtle

The condition, at that time, of the Counties between Oxford, *and* York.

Caſtle of *Warwick*, the City of *Coventry*, and his own Caſtle of *Killingworth*, being fortified againſt him. The Lord *Grey*, Son to the Earl of *Stamford*, had the Command of *Leiceſter-ſhire*; and had put a Garriſon into *Leiceſter*. *Derby-ſhire*, without any viſible Party in it for the King, was under the power of Sr *John Gell*, who had fortified *Derby*. And all theſe Counties, with *Stafford-ſhire*, were united in an Aſſociation againſt the King under the Command of the Lord *Brook*; who was, by the Earl of *Eſſex*, made General of that Aſſociation; a Man cordially Diſaffected to the Government of the Church, and upon whom that Party had a great dependence. This Aſſociation receiv'd no other interruption from, or for the King, than what Colonel *Haſtings* gave; who, being a younger Son to the Earl of *Huntington*, had appear'd eminently for the King from the beginning; having raiſed a good Troop of Horſe with the firſt, and, in the head thereof, charged at *Edge-hill*.

AFTER the King was ſettled at *Oxford*, Colonel *Haſtings*, with his own Troop of Horſe only, and ſome Officers which he eaſily gather'd together, went with a Commiſſion into *Leiceſter-ſhire* "of Colonel Ge-"neral of that County, and fixed himſelf at *Aſhby de la Zouch*, the Houſe of the Earl of *Huntington*, his Father, who was then living; which he preſently fortified; and, in a very ſhort time, by his Intereſt there, raiſed ſo good a Party of Horſe and Foot, that he maintain'd many Skirmiſhes with the Lord *Grey*: the King's Service being the more advanced there, by the notable Animoſities between the two Families of *Huntington* and *Stamford*; between whom the County was divided paſſionately enough, without any other Quarrel. And now the Sons fought the Publick Quarrel, with their Private Spirit and Indignation. But the King had the advantage in His Champion, the Lord *Grey* being a young Man of no eminent parts, and only back'd with the credit and Authority of the Parliament: whereas Colonel *Haſtings*, though a younger Brother, by his perſonal reputation, had ſupported his Family; and, by the intereſt of It, and the affection that People bore to him, brought, no doubt, an addition of power to the very Cauſe. Inſomuch as he not only defended himſelf againſt the Forces of the Parliament in *Leiceſter-ſhire*, but diſquieted Sr *John Gell* in *Derby-ſhire*, and fixed ſome convenient Garriſons in *Stafford-ſhire*.

ABOUT the ſame time, ſome Gentlemen of that County, rather well affected than experienced, before they were well enough provided to go through their work, ſeiſed on the Cloſe in *Lichfield* for the King; a place naturally ſtrong, and defended with a Mote, and a very high and thick Wall; which in the Infancy of the War was thought a good Fortification. To ſuppreſs this growing Force, within the limits of his Aſſociation, the Lord *Brook* advanced with a form'd Body of Horſe, Foot, and Cannon; part drawn from the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, and the reſt out of the Garriſons of *Coventry*, and *Warwick*; and, without any reſiſtance, enter'd the City of *Lichfield*; which, being unfortified, was open to all Comers. The Number in the Cloſe was not great, nor their Proviſions ſuch as ſhould have been, and very well might have been, made; ſo that he made no doubt of being ſpeedily Maſter of it: Sr *John Gell* having brought up a good addition of ſtrength to him from *Derby*. He was ſo far from apprehending any danger from the beſieged, that himſelf lodged in a Houſe within Muſquet-ſhot of the Cloſe; where, the very day he meant to aſſault it, ſitting in his Chamber, and the Window open, he was, from the Wall of the Cloſe, by a Common

The Lord Brook *ſhot in beſieging the Cathedral of* Lichfield, *which was ſoon after taken by Sr* John Gell.

Soldier, ſhot with a Muſquet in the Eye; of which he inſtantly died without ſpeaking a word.

THERE were many diſcourſes and obſervations upon his death, that it ſhould be upon St *Chad*'s day (being the ſecond day of *March*) by whoſe Name, he being a Biſhop ſhortly after the planting of Chriſtianity in this Iſland, that Church had been anciently called. And it was reported, that in his Prayer, that very morning (for he uſed to pray publickly though his Chaplain were in the preſence) he wiſh'd, "that "if the Cauſe he were in, were not right and juſt, he might be preſent-"ly cut off. They who were acquainted with him, believ'd him to be well natured, and juſt; and rather ſeduced, and corrupted in his underſtanding, than perverſe and malicious. Whether his Paſſions or Conſcience ſwayed him, he was undoubtedly one of thoſe who could have been with moſt difficulty reconciled to the Government of Church or State: And therefore his death was look'd upon as no ill Omen to Peace, and was exceedingly lamented by His Party; which had ſcarce a more abſolute confidence in any Man than in Him. However it brought not that relief to the beſieged in the Cloſe as was believ'd it would; for the ſame Forces, under Sr *John Gell*, proceeded ſo vigorouſly in the work, and they Within ſo faintly, and unskilfully, that without any of that diſtreſs which Men thought it might bear, and which it did, within a ſhort time after, bear againſt the King, the place was yielded without other conditions than of Quarter; by which many Perſons became Priſoners, of too good Quality to have their Names remember'd.

BY this prize, the ſpirits of that Party were much exalted, and the King's Party in thoſe parts as much caſt down. Yet ſome Gentlemen betook themſelves to the Town of *Stafford*, and having too much declared for the King, when they thought *Lichfield* would have been of ſtrength to ſecure them, to hope to live unhurt at their Houſes, reſolv'd to defend that place; againſt which Sr *John Gell* drew his late fleſh'd Troops. But the Earl of *Northampton* (who intended the relief of *Lichfield*, if they had had any patience to expect it) with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, and Dragoons, from his Garriſon of *Banbury*, came ſeaſonably to their Succour, and put himſelf into the Town; and, the ſame Night, beat up a Quarter of the Enemies, in which he kill'd and took above an hundred of their Horſe. Sr *John Gell* retired ſo far as to meet with Sr *William Bruerton*, who, from *Nantwitch*, was coming to joyn with him for the ſubduing of *Stafford*; and, having done that, reſolv'd to march in a Body for the clearing the other Counties. When they were joyn'd, being near three thouſand Foot, and Horſe, with a good Train of Artillery, they moved back towards *Stafford*; imagining the Earl of *Northampton* would meet them without the Walls: and it ſo fell out; for the Earl no ſooner heard that the Rebels were drawing towards the Town, but he drew out his Party to encounter them; imagining it could be only *Gell*, whoſe Numbers he underſtood, and whoſe Courage he much undervalued.

Stafford *Garriſon'd by ſome Gentlemen for the King.*

IT was on a *Sunday*, about the middle of *March*, when, in the afternoon, he march'd out of *Stafford*; his Party conſiſting of Horſe, and Dragoons, and ſome few Foot, the whole Number being under one thouſand, and found the Enemy, in very good Order, expecting them upon a place called *Hopton*-Heath, ſome two Miles from *Stafford*. Though the Number was more than double to the Earl's, yet the Heath ſeeming very fair, the breadth of it being more than Muſquet-ſhot from

Encloſure on each ſide, and the number of his Horſe being at leaſt equal to the other, he reſolv'd to charge them; and accordingly Did, with ſo good ſucceſs, that he totally routed that part of their Horſe; and, rallying again his Men, he charg'd the other part of their Horſe, which ſtood more in ſhelter of their Foot; and ſo totally routed, and diſperſed them, that the Enemy had ſcarce a Horſe left upon the Field; and took likewiſe from them eight pieces of Cannon.

IN this ſecond Charge, the Earl of *Northampton* being engaged on the execution, very near, or among their Foot, had his Horſe killed under him. So that his own Horſe (according to their unhappy practice) with too much fury purſuing the Chaſe, he was left encompaſs'd by his Enemies. What His behaviour was afterwards, and Their Carriage towards Him, can be known only by the Teſtimony of the Rebels; who confeſs'd, that after he was on his feet, he kill'd with his own hand the Colonel of Foot who made firſt haſt to him; and that after his head-piece was ſtricken off with the But-end of a Muſquet, they offer'd him quarter; which, they ſay, he refuſed; anſwering, "that he ſcorn'd to "take quarter from ſuch baſe Rogues, and Rebels, as They were. After which, he was ſlain by a blow with a Halbert on the hinder part of his head, receiving, at the ſame time, another deep wound in his face.

The Earl of Northampton *ſlain on* Hopton-*Heath near* Stafford, *having firſt vanquiſh'd the Enemy's Horſe that oppoſed him.*

ALL this time the Enemy's Foot ſtood, which (after their Horſe were diſperſed) Sr *Thomas Byron*, who Commanded the Prince of *Wales*'s Regiment, a Gentleman of great Courage, and of very good Conduct, charged with good execution. But the Night came on apace, and the Field, which they thought ſo fair, was found full of Coal-pits, and holes dangerous for their Horſe; ſo that they thought fit to forbear farther Action, till they might have the Morning light; and ſtood all that Night in the Field. When the Morning appear'd, there was no Enemy to be ſeen. For aſſoon as the Fight ended, and the Night drew on, that they were unperceiv'd, they had left the Field, in hope that their ſcatter'd Horſe would find them in quarters more remote from the danger. The Victorious Party was ſo haraſſed with duty, and tired with the fight, ſo caſt down with the loſs of their General, and ſo deſtitute of Officers to Direct and Command what was next to be done (For the Lord *Compton*, the Earl's eldeſt Son, had receiv'd a ſhot in the Leg; Sr *Thomas Byron* a ſhot in the Thigh, whereby they were not able to keep the field; and many other Officers hurt) that they retired to refreſh themſelves at *Stafford*, after they had taken the ſpoil of the field and buried their dead.

IN this Fight, which was ſharp, and ſhort, there were kill'd, and taken Priſoners, of the Parliament Party, above two hundred, and more than that number wounded. For, the Horſe charging among their Foot, more were hurt than kill'd. Eight pieces of their Cannon, and moſt of their Ammunition was likewiſe taken. Of the Earl's Party were ſlain but five and twenty, whereof there were two Captains, ſome inferior Officers, and the reſt Common Men: but there were as many hurt, and thoſe of the chief Officers. They who had all the Enſigns of Victory, but their General, thought themſelves undone; whilſt the other ſide, who had eſcaped in the Night, and made a hard ſhift to carry his dead Body with them, hardly believ'd they were loſers:

Et, velut æquali bellatum ſorte fuiſſet,
Componit cum claſſe virum ——

His Character. THE truth is, a greater Victory had been an unequal recompence for ſuch a loſs. He was a Perſon of great Courage, Honour, and Fidelity, and not well known till his Evening; having, in the eaſe, and plenty, and luxury of that too happy time, indulged to himſelf, with that licence which was then thought neceſſary to great fortunes: but from the beginning of theſe Diſtractions, as if he had been awaken'd out of a Lethargy, he never proceeded with a luke-warm temper. Before the Standard was ſet up, he appear'd in *Warwick-ſhire* againſt the Lord *Brook*, and as much upon his own Reputation as the Juſtice of the Cauſe (which was not ſo well then underſtood) diſcountenanced, and drove him out of that County. Afterwards he took the Ordnance from *Banbury*-Caſtle, and brought them to the King. Aſſoon as an Army was to be raiſed, he levied, with the firſt, upon his own charge, a Troop of Horſe, and a Regiment of Foot; and (not like ſome other Men, who warily diſtributed their Family to both ſides, one Son to ſerve the King, whilſt his Father, or another Son, engaged as far for the Parliament) entirely dedicated all his Children to the Quarrel, having four Sons Officers under him, whereof three charged that day in the Field: And, from the time he ſubmitted himſelf to the profeſſion of a Soldier, no Man more punctual upon Command, no Man more diligent and vigilant in duty. All diſtreſſes he bore like a Common Man, and all wants, and hardneſſes, as if he had never known plenty, or eaſe; moſt prodigal of his Perſon to danger; and would often ſay, "that if he out liv'd "theſe Wars, he was certain never to have ſo noble a death. So that it is not to be wonder'd, if, upon ſuch a ſtroke, the Body that felt it, thought it had loſt more than a Limb.

ASSOON as it was known where the Enemy reſted after their retreat, the young Earl of *Northampton* ſent a Trumpet to Sr *John Gell*, to deſire the Body of his Father, that he might give it ſuch decent burial, as became him. *Gell* and *Bruerton*, joyntly, by letter, demanded "in ex-"change for the dead Body, all their Ammunition, Priſoners, and Can-"non, they had loſt at the Battle; which demands being ſo unreaſonable, and againſt the Law of Armes, the Earl ſent again to them, to deſire, "that if they would not return the Corps, that his Chirurgeon might "have leave to embalm it, whereby it might be preſerv'd to receive "thoſe rights, when they ſhould be willing to gratify him, which, he "preſumed, upon more diſpaſſion'd thoughts, they would be. Their Anſwer to this was as unreaſonable as the other, "That they would "neither ſend the Body, nor permit his Chirurgeons to come to em-"balm it; preſuming, it is probable, that the Piety of the Son would have prevailed to have their unheard of propoſitions complied with.

The State of the Principality of Wales *at that time.* AND ſo We ſhall, for the preſent, leave theſe parts, and viſit the Principality of *Wales*; of which, hitherto very little hath been ſaid; and from the Affection whereof, the King had, from the beginning, a very great benefit: it having ſupplied him with three or four good Regiments of Foot, in which many of their Gentry were engaged, before the Battle of *Edge-hill*.

IT hath been before remember'd, that the Marquis of *Hertford* drew with him out of *Wales*, and brought to *Oxford*, about *Chriſtmas*, near two thouſand Men; leaving *Wales* guarded only with the Courage and Fidelity of the Gentry, and Inhabitants. After that, North *Wales* lying moſt convenient to back *Cheſter*, and *Shrewsbury*, which places, whilſt the Enemy was Maſter of the Field, receiv'd their chief ſupplies

of

of Men and Proviſions from thence; the King always put it under the Government of thoſe to whom he committed thoſe parts. South *Wales*, which is much the larger, and richer part of that Dominion, he committed to the charge of the Lord *Herbert*, eldeſt Son to the Marquis of *Worceſter*; whom he made his Lieutenant General, adding *Monmouth-ſhire* to his Commiſſion.

The Lord Herbert, *Son of the Earl of* Worceſter, *made General of South* Wales.

THERE were, in the opinion of many, great objections againſt committing that employment to that noble Lord, whoſe Perſon many Men lov'd, and very few hated. Firſt, he had no knowledge, or experience in the Martial Profeſſion; then his Religion, being of that ſort of Catholicks the People render'd odious, by accuſing it to be moſt Jeſuited, Men apprehended would not only produce a greater brand upon the King of favouring Papiſts and Popery, than he had been yet reproach'd with (for, though he had ſome Papiſts entertain'd in his Armies, yet all Men truſted by him in Superior Commands, were Men of unblemiſh'd integrity in the Proteſtant Religion: and in all his Armies, he had but one General Officer of the contrary Religion, Sr *Arthur Aſton*, whom the Papiſts notwithſtanding would not acknowledge for a Papiſt) This gave opportunity and excuſe to many Perſons of Quality, and great Intereſt in thoſe Counties (between whom and that Lord's Family there had been perpetual Feudes, and Animoſities) to leſſen their Zeal to the King's cauſe, out of jealouſy of the other's Religion: and thoſe conteſtations had been lately improv'd with ſome ſharpneſs, by the Lord *Herbert*'s Carriage towards the Lord Marquis of *Hertford*, during the time of his reſidence there; when, out of vanity to magnify his own power, he had not ſhew'd that due regard to that of the other, which he ſhould have had. And no doubt, if he had been of that mind, it would much more have advanced the King's Service, if he would have contributed his full Aſſiſtance to another, who more popularly might have borne the Title of ſuch a Command.

BUT on the other ſide, the neceſſity of diſpoſing thoſe parts, divided from the reſt of the Kingdom, under the Command of ſome Perſon of Honour and Intereſt, was very viſible; and the expedition in doing it was as neceſſary; the Parliament being poſſeſs'd of *Gloceſter*, and *Briſtol*, and ſo having ſuch an influence upon the Trade and Livelihood of that People, by their abſolute Command of the *Severn*, that except there were extraordinary care of keeping them, they would be quickly loſt. Beſides that, at the ſame time, there was diſcourſe, in the Houſes, "of ſending the Earl of *Pembroke* thither, whoſe Eſtate was very great in thoſe parts, and his Reputation equal. The Parliament had already ſuch footing in *Pembroke-ſhire*, that many of the principal Gentlemen had declared for Them; and the Harbour of *Milford*-Haven gave their Fleet opportunity to give them all ſupplies, and relief. This being the State of thoſe parts, the Lord *Herbert* not only offer'd, but deſired to receive that Command; and engaged himſelf, "not only to ſecure it "from the Oppoſition, and Malignity of the other Party, but, before "the ſpring, to raiſe ſuch a ſtrength of Horſe, and Foot, and to pro-"vide ſuch an equipage to march with, that might reduce *Gloceſter*, "and be then added to the King's Army, when he ſhould be ready to "take the Field; and all this ſo much at his own charge (for his Father, who was well able, would furniſh Money, as was pretended, upon the King's promiſe to repay him, when he ſhould be reſtored to his own) "that he would receive no part of the King's Revenue, or of ſuch Money,

"as his Majeſty could be able to draw for the ſupply of his own more "immediate occaſions.

THIS was a very great offer, and ſuch as no Man elſe could ſo reaſonably make. For the Marquis of *Worceſter* was generally reputed the greateſt monied Man of the Kingdom; and, probably, might not think it an unthrifty thing, rather to disburſe it for the King, who might be able to repay it, than to have it taken from him by the other Party; which would be hardly queſtionable if They prevail'd. The Lord *Herbert* himſelf was a Man of more than ordinary Affection and Reverence to the Perſon of the King, and one, who, he was ſure, would neither deceive nor betray him. For his Religion, it might work upon Himſelf, but could not diſquiet other Men. For though he were a Papiſt, he was never like to make others ſo; and his Reputation and Intereſt was very great with many Gentlemen of thoſe Counties, who were not at all friends to his Religion. It was not poſſible to employ any Perſon of Intereſt, and Power in thoſe parts (and there were many objections from the Nature and Manners of that People, againſt a meer Stranger) againſt whom there would not be ſome Faction, and Animoſity; for the Emulations, and diſſention between Families was general, and notorious: and therefore it would be beſt to chooſe ſuch a one, who was like to have a greater Faction for him, than againſt him. And it was to be hoped that the old Grudges, and Prejudices, which had been rather againſt the Houſe of *Worceſter*, and the Popiſh Religion profeſs'd there, than againſt the Perſon of this Lord, would have been compoſed, and declined by his fair and gentle Carriage towards all Men (as in truth he was of a civil, and obliging Nature) and by the publick-heartedneſs of thoſe, who, for the Cauſe, and Conſcience ſake, would, it was hoped, ſacrifice all trivial and private contentions to a Union that muſt vindicate the Religion, Honour, and Juſtice of the Kingdom.

UPON theſe Reaſons, and theſe preſumptions, the King granted ſuch a Commiſſion, as is before mention'd, to the Lord *Herbert*; who, with more expedition than was expected by many, or by others believ'd poſſible, raiſed a Body of above fifteen hundred Foot, and near five hundred Horſe, very well and ſufficiently Armed; which encreaſed the merit of the ſervice.

The Lord Herbert *raiſes a little Army.*

THE Horſe he put under the Command of his Brother, the Lord *John Somerſet*, a maiden Soldier too; and the Foot under Colonel *Lawly*, whom he made his Major General, a bold and a ſprightly Officer. About the middle of *February* he march'd towards *Gloceſter*, with an ill Omen at his ſetting out; for a Rabble of the Country People being got together, without Order, or Officer of Name, Barricadoed a little Village in the Forreſt of *Deane*, call'd *Cover* (through which he was to paſs) and refuſed to give him entrance; and out of a Window kill'd Colonel *Lawly*, and two Officers more, without hurting a Common Soldier; whereby that Body was deſtitute of any Perſon of experience to Command them. However the Lord *Herbert*, who was himſelf ſeldom with his Forces, ſhortly after placed Colonel *Brett* in that Command; who, without any skirmiſh of importance, march'd through the Forreſt of *Deane*, and fixed a Quarter, which contain'd his whole Body, at the *Vineyard*, the Biſhop of *Gloceſter*'s Palace, within leſs than half a Mile of *Gloceſter*. And by that means, there being only a long Bridge over the *Severn*, by which Men could come out or go in to *Gloceſter*, he fully Block'd up the Town on that ſide, expecting that Prince *Maurice*

from *Cirenceſter*, ſhould take equal care to diſtreſs it on the other; which he did to a good degree.

BUT Sr *William Waller*, with a light Party of Horſe, and Dragoons, near two thouſand, from the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, had made a quick March through *Wilt-ſhire* (after his taking of *Chicheſter*) and taking, with little loſs and trouble, a ſmall Garriſon of the King's, conſiſting of about ſix or ſevenſcore at *Malmsbury*, before it was fortified, or provided, made a face of looking towards *Cirenceſter*; where when he found he was expected, by a ſuddain Night march, in which he was very dexterous and ſucceſsful, he poſted to the River of *Severn*, ſix Miles Weſt of *Gloceſter*, from whence he had appointed many flat Boates to meet him; and in them, in the light day, the Guard of the River being either Treacherouſly, or Sottiſhly neglected by the Lord *Herbert*'s Forces, tranſported his whole Body, which, upon the advantage of that Paſs, might have been reſiſted by a few Men. Hereupon the conſternation was ſo great among the new *Welſh* Soldiers, very few of their Officers having ever ſeen an Enemy, that though their Works were too good to be enter'd by Horſe, and Dragoons; though the Avenues were but narrow, in all which they had Cannon planted, and their Numbers very near, if not fully, equal to the Enemy; upon the advance of Sr *William Waller* upon them, without giving, or receiving blow, they fairly ſent out to Treat; and as kindly deliver'd up Themſelves, and their Armes, upon the ſingle grant of Quarter: A Submiſſion ſo like a Stratagem, that the Enemy could hardly truſt it. Yet, in the end, they made a ſhift to put near thirteen hundred Foot, and three Troops of Horſe, Priſoners into *Gloceſter*, the Lord *Herbert* himſelf being at that time at *Oxford*, and the Lord *John Somerſet* with three or four Troops at a ſafe diſtance from the reſt.

Is ſurpriſed by Sr William Waller, *and Routed.*

THIS was the end of that Muſhroom-Army, which grew up and periſh'd ſo ſoon, that the loſs of it was ſcarce apprehended at *Oxford*, becauſe the Strength, or rather the Number, was not underſtood. But if the Money, which was laid out in Raiſing, Arming, and Paying that Body of Men, which never advanced the King's Service in the leaſt degree, had been brought into the King's receipt at *Oxford*, to have been imployed to the moſt advantage, I am perſwaded the War might have been ended the next Summer. For I have heard the Lord *Herbert* ſay, "that thoſe preparations, and the other, which by that Defeat were "render'd uſeleſs, coſt above threeſcore thouſand pounds; whereof, though much came from the Marquis's Coffers, yet, no doubt, the general Contributions from the Catholicks made a good part: and very conſiderable Sums were receiv'd by him of the King's Revenue upon Wardſhips, and other ways: for it was a common practice in thoſe times, for Men to get into employments upon promiſes, that they would not do this or that, without which no body elſe would undertake that ſervice; and being, upon thoſe terms, receiv'd into it, they immediately did the other, becauſe no other Man would do the ſervice without it.

THE fame of this prodigious Victory ſo ſubdued all thoſe parts, that Sr *William Waller*, with the ſame ſpirit of celerity, and attended with the ſame Succeſs, flew to *Hereford*; and though a walled Town, and repleniſh'd with a Garriſon, had That likewiſe deliver'd to him upon the ſame terms as the other was; and from thence (being with more confidence refuſed to be admitted into *Worceſter*, than he thought reaſonable to require it) paſs'd to *Tewkesbury*; which he likewiſe ſurpriſed, being newly

Sr W. Waller *takes* Hereford, *and* Tewkesbury: *both which he preſently left.*

newly Garriſon'd; his motion being ſo quick, that though Prince *Maurice* attended him with all poſſible diligence, he could never farther engage him than in light Skirmiſhes; and, having taken this progreſs, return'd ſafe to *Gloceſter*; and from thence to the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army; having made no other uſe of his Conqueſts, than the diſhonouring ſo many places, which had ſo quietly yielded to him; into which (for he fixed no one Garriſon) the King's Forces immediately enter'd again. So that his Majeſty's Quarters continued the ſame they were, haraſſed only, and diſcountenanced, nothing ſtreighten'd by this Incurſion; and the Lord *Herbert* again intended new Levies.

The State of Ireland at that time with reference to the difference between the King and the two Houſes Here.

HAVING now, with as much clearneſs as I could, remember'd the true State of the King's Affairs, and the condition of the Kingdom, at the end of this year 1642, with which I intend to conclude this ſixth Book; I ſhall, before I return to *Oxford*, to conclude the year, briefly call to remembrance the diſconſolate State of *Ireland*; of which, advantage was always taken againſt the King, to render him odious to the People, as if he countenanced, at leaſt not ſufficiently abhorr'd, that wicked, and unnatural Rebellion. And this Imputation was with ſo great Art inſinuated, that it got credit with many; inſomuch as I have heard ſome, who could make no other Excuſe for adhering to the Parliament, ſay, "they were perſwaded that the King favour'd thoſe Re-"bels; which, they ſaid, "could not be without ſome deſign upon the "Religion, Liberty, and Proſperity of *England*. Whereas I can aver truly, upon as good grounds, as ever any Man ſpoke the heart of another, that the King always look'd upon it, as the moſt groundleſs, bloody, and wicked Rebellion, that ever poſſeſs'd the Spirits of that People; and was not more griev'd at any one circumſtance of the Domeſtick diſtractions, than, as it hinder'd him from chaſtiſing, and taking Vengeance upon the Other: which from his Soul he deſired.

BUT in this diſcourſe of *Ireland*, it cannot be expected, that I ſhould, neither do I intend to mention all the memorable Actions (in which were great Inſtances of God's own deteſtation of thoſe inhuman Rebels, by the ſignal Victories he gave againſt them) or the other Tranſactions within that Kingdom; but ſhall remember no more of that buſineſs, than had immediate reference to, and dependence on, the difference between the King and the two Houſes of Parliament.

IT is ſaid before, that when the firſt viſible rupture was declared between them, which was in the buſineſs of *Hull* (which the King underſtood to be a direct levying of War againſt him) in the Proteſtation made by his Majeſty, "that he would no farther treat, or concur with them, "in any Acts propoſed by them; till he firſt receiv'd reparation, or ſa-"tisfaction in that particular; he always excepted what ſhould any way concern *Ireland*: in which he offer'd to conſent to whatſoever might reaſonably conduce to the reducing thoſe Rebels; and did, after that, concur in ſome Propoſitions of that Nature. Yet it is certain that, from that time, the two Houſes were ſo buſy in preparing the War for *England*, that they did very little prepare for the War of *Ireland*; ſave only by ſome ſmall ſupplies of Money and Proviſions. The King objected to them, "the employing the Monies, raiſed, by Act of Parliament, for the "preſervation and reduction of *Ireland*, with a ſpecial clauſe that the "ſame ſhould not be diverted to any other uſe whatſoever, in the ſup-"porting the unnatural War, and Rebellion againſt his Majeſty; par-"ticularly one hundred thouſand pounds at one time; and that many

"Soldiers,

"Soldiers, raiſed under pretence of being ſent into *Ireland*, were, con-
"trary to their expectation and engagement, forced to ſerve under the
"Earl of *Eſſex* againſt the King; of which, he named, Sr *Faithful For-*
teſcue's Regiment of Horſe, and the Lord *Wharton*'s, and the Lord
Kerry's Regiment of Foot.

To this they anſwer'd, "that albeit they had, upon the urgent occa-
"ſions of this Kingdom, ſometimes made uſe of Monies raiſed, and col-
"lected for *Ireland*; yet that they had in due time repaid it, and that
"the other Affairs had never ſuffer'd by the Loan: And for the Men,
"that it proceeded from his Majeſty's own default; for after they had
"raiſed them, with a ſerious intention to ſend them into *Ireland*, under
"the Command of the Lord *Wharton*, the King refuſed to grant a Com-
"miſſion to him to tranſport them, and ſo they had been compell'd to
"uſe them in their own Service here.

THE King replied, "that it appear'd, they had diverted that Money
"to other Uſes than thoſe for which it was provided; which was mani-
"feſtly unlawful; and that it did not appear they had again reimburſed
"it, becauſe very little ſupply was ſent thither, and very much wanted:
"and for the Soldiers, that They firſt levied them, without his Majeſty's
"leave; which they had always before asked, for their other Levies;
"and being levied, they deſired a Commiſſion for the Lord *Wharton* to
"Command them abſolutely, without any dependence upon the Lord
"Lieutenant of *Ireland*; which had been never heard of, and which
"his Majeſty refuſed; but offer'd ſuch a Commiſſion as was granted to
"other Men.

ON the other hand, they objected to the King, "the ſeiſing ſome
"Cart-Horſes at *Cheſter*, provided for the Train of Artillery for *Ireland*;
"that his Forces had taken many Cloaths, and Proviſions, on the Road,
"which were going to *Cheſter* to be tranſported thither for the relief
"of the Soldiers; and that he entertain'd, and countenanced Men in his
"Court, which were Favourers or Actors in that Rebellion: naming
the Lord Viſcount *Coſteloe*, and the Lord *Taffe*, which gave great um-
brage to thoſe who were well affected, and as great encouragement to
the Rebels there.

To the firſt, the King confeſs'd, "he found about ſixſcore Horſes at
"*Cheſter*, which had long lain there; and, at his remove from *Not-*
"*tingham*, knowing, the other Horſe and Men, raiſed for *Ireland*, were
"then marching with the Earl of *Eſſex* againſt him, he knew not, but
"theſe likewiſe might be ſo imployed, and therefore in his own neceſ-
"ſity took them for his own draughts. For the Cloaths, which had been
"taken by his Soldiers, that it proceeded by the default of the Parlia-
"ment; who, after the War was begun, had ſent thoſe Carriages through
"His Quarters, without ſending to his Majeſty for a Safe Conduct, or
"giving any notice to him of it, till after they were taken: that it was
"within two Miles of *Coventry* (which was then in Rebellion) that thoſe
"Cloaths were taken; and that, aſſoon as he knew they were deſign'd
"for *Ireland*, his Majeſty had uſed the beſt means he could to recover
"them; but that the Soldiers, who were almoſt naked, had divided
"them for their own Supplies; and his Majeſty offer'd to give a Safe
"Conduct at all times for whatſoever ſhould be deſign'd for *Ireland*.

THE occaſion of the other reproach, "for countenancing Perſons
"who adhered to the Rebels, was this. The Lords, *Dillon* [Viſcount
Coſteloe] and *Taffe*, had, four Months before, paſs'd out of *Ireland* into

England, having never been in conſort with the Rebels, but ſo much truſted by them, that they deſired, by Their hands, to addreſs a Petition to the King; humble enough, deſiring "only to be heard, and offering "to ſubmit to his Majeſty's ſingle Judgement. With this Petition, and all other Inſtructions, as they pretended, theſe Lords acquainted the Lords Juſtices, and Council of *Ireland*; who were ſo well ſatisfied with the Perſons employed, that they granted their Safe Paſs, and ſent Letters by them of Teſtimony. They were no ſooner Landed in *England*, but they were apprehended, and ſent Priſoners to the Parliament, and by them committed with all ſtrictneſs, "as Agents employed by the Re- "bels of *Ireland* to the King; and that Circumſtance inforced, and ſpread among the People, with all licentious gloſſes againſt the King; who, for that reaſon, took no notice of their reſtraint, though from his Miniſters he receiv'd advertiſement of the truth of the whole buſineſs. After ſome time was ſpent in cloſe Impriſonment, theſe Lords, by Petition, and all other Addreſſes they could make, preſs'd to be brought to any kind of Examination and Tryal; of which they found no other benefit, than that, upon this importunity, their Impriſonment was leſs cloſe; and, by degrees, under a formal reſtraint (which though more pleaſant, was not leſs coſtly) had the liberty of *London*, and from thence, after four months reſtraint, without being formally charged with any crime, or brought to any Tryal, which they often deſired, they eſcaped, and came to *York*; whither a Meſſenger from the Houſe of Commons follow'd them, and demanded them as Priſoners.

MANY were of opinion, that they ſhould have been deliver'd back; foreſeeing that the Parliament would preſs the ſcandal of ſheltering them much to the King's diſadvantage; and any imputations, "of coun- "tenancing the Rebels of *Ireland*, found more credit, and made deeper impreſſion with the People, than any other diſcourſes of "protecting "Malignants, and Delinquents. On the other ſide, it was thought unreaſonable, to remit Men to an Impriſonment, which appear'd to have been unjuſt, by their not being proceeded againſt in ſo long time; eſpecially when their coming to the King would be declared ſuch a crime, that it would be now in their Enemies power to cauſe them to be puniſh'd; which before they could not do; at beſt, it were to deliver them up to the Serjeant of the Houſe of Commons, from whence no Innocence could redeem them, without paying ſuch vaſt fees, as would amount to a greater Sum than they could probably be ſupplied with. So that the King, who wiſh'd that they had rather gone any whither than where He was, reſolv'd to take no notice of their eſcape. And ſo they continued in His Quarters, and put themſelves into the Troops; where they behaved themſelves with good Courage, and frankly engaged their Perſons in all dangerous Enterpriſes.

IN theſe Jealouſies, and Conteſts, the King being viſibly and confeſſedly unable to ſend Succours of any kind thither, and the Parliament having enough elſe to do, and, in truth, not taking ſo much pains to preſerve it, as to impute the loſs of it to the King, poor *Ireland* got very ſmall relief. The Earl of *Leiceſter*, Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, had receiv'd his diſpatch from the King, before he went to *Shrewsbury*. But when the King thought he would have gone directly to *Cheſter*, and ſo to *Ireland*, his Lordſhip return'd to *London*; which encreaſed the King's jealouſy, and prejudice to him; which his former Carriage, and a Letter writ lately by him from *Nottingham*, to the Earl

of

of *Northumberland*, and by Order of Parliament printed, had begot to a great degree. Shortly after his return to *London*, the House of Commons demanded "to see the Instructions he had receiv'd from the King; which, as it was unreasonable in Them, so he had receiv'd express Command from the King, "not to communicate them. However, after he had avoided it as long as he could, and They continued Peremptory in the demand, in the end, he produced them to be perused by the Committee of both Houses. The truth is, the Earl's condition was very slippery, and allmost impossible to be safely managed by the most dexterous Person.

He was design'd to that employment by the King, shortly upon the death of the Earl of *Strafford* (or rather before; not without some advice from that Earl) with as great circumstances of grace and favour, as could be; and as a Person, of whom entirely the King assured himself, being then so ungracious to the Parliament, that as there were some sharp glances at him in that time (which are before remember'd) so nothing preserv'd him from a publick exception, but the Intereſt of the Earl of *Northumberland*, whose Sisten he had married; whom that Party was not willing to irreconcile. After the Rebellion was broke out in *Ireland*, and the King had committed the carrying on the War to the Houses, he thought it absolutely necessary for his Province, to render himself as gracious to that People as was possible; and labour'd That with so good effect, and Industry, that he omitted that care which should have been observ'd in continuing his Intereſt at Court. For the King and Queen grew every day less satisfied with him; which sure he did not with wariness enough provide against, though, I believe, he had never unfaithful purposes towards either of them; but did sadly project, by his demeanour, and intereſt in the Houses, to provide so well for *Ireland*, and to go thither in so good a condition, that being once there, he might be able to serve as he should be required.

But one Man is rarely able to act both those parts: For his shewing his Instructions, he gave a reason, which, if he had been free from all other objections, might appear no ill excuse: "He knew his Instructions "were such, that, being perused by the Committee, could by no mis- "construction, or possible perversion, be wrested to the King's disadvan- "tage; as indeed they never were able, nor ever attempted, to fix any reproach from them upon the King. "Whereas, after they were so "peremptorily required, if he should have as peremptorily refused to "submit, they would have concluded that there had been somewhat "unjustifiable in them, and upon that jealousy made no scruple of publish- "ing the worst reproaches upon his Majesty. And it may be, he was not without an imagination, that if by this conteſt he had drawn the displeasure of the two Houses upon him, as could not be avoided, his misfortune at Court might have suffer'd that conteſt to have depress'd him. And when he left the King between *Nottingham* and *Shrewsbury*, his condition was so low at Court, that a Man might have imagined his intereſt would be best preserv'd by being within the Verge of the Parliaments Protection. As his return to *London* was besides the King's expectation, so his stay there was longer than seem'd to be intended by his own proposal; for he stayed there above two Months, till after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, and both Parties being fix'd in their Winter Quarters; and then, without waiting again on the King, though *Oxford* was very few Miles out of his way, about the end of *November*, he went

to *Cheſter*, with a purpoſe of tranſporting himſelf for *Ireland*, but without the leaſt appearance of addition of Strength, or proviſions from the Parliament; neither were their ſhips there ready to tranſport him.

ABOUT the end of *November*, four Officers of the Army in *Ireland*, Sr *James Montgomery*, Sr *Hardreſs Waller*, Colonel *Arthur Hill*, and Colonel *Audly Mervin* having been employed from *Ireland* to ſollicite the Parliament for Succours, came from *London* to *Oxford*, and deliver'd a Petition to the King; in which they told him, "that they "had addreſs'd themſelves to the Parliament for ſupplies, whoſe ſenſe "of their Miſeries, and Inclinations to redreſs them, appear'd very tender to them; but the preſent diſtempers of the Kingdom of *England* "were grown ſo great, that all future paſſages, by which comfort and "life ſhould be conveyed to that gaſping Kingdom, ſeem'd totally to "be obſtructed; ſo that, unleſs his Majeſty, out of his ſingular Wiſdom, "and fatherly Care, applied ſome ſpeedy remedy, his loyal, and diſtreſs'd "Subjects of that Kingdom muſt inevitably periſh. They acknowledg'd, "his Princely favour and goodneſs ſince this Rebellion, ſo abundantly "expreſs'd in a deep ſenſe, and lively reſentment of their bleeding con"dition: And therefore, they beſought him, among his other weighty "Cares, ſo to reflect upon the bleeding condition of that periſhing King"dom that timely relief might be afforded. Otherwiſe his Loyal Sub"jects there muſt yeild their Fortunes, as a Prey; their Lives, a ſacri"fice; and their Religion, a Scorn to the mercileſs Rebels, powerfully "aſſiſted from abroad.

AND indeed the condition of the Proteſtants, in that Kingdom, was very miſerable: for, whilſt the diſtractions of *England* kept them from receiving ſuccours from thence, the Rebels had Armes, Ammunition, Money, and Commanders, from *Rome*, *Spain*, and *France*; the Pope having ſent a formal avow'd Nuntio, to whoſe juriſdiction the *Iriſh* ſubmitted; and the Kings of *France*, and *Spain*, having ſent great Supplies, and their Agents, to countenance and foment the Rebellion; who gave notable Countenance to the Aſſembly and form'd Council for the Rebels, ſettled at *Kilkenny*.

THE King, who well knew this Petition was ſent by the permiſſion of thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, and that the Agents employed were Men of notorious diſaffection to him, who look'd for ſome ſuch Anſwer as might improve the envy of the People, uſed the Meſſengers with all poſſible grace, and return'd them as gracious an Anſwer: "That, from the be"ginning of that monſtrous Rebellion, he had had no greater ſorrow, "than for the bleeding condition of that his Kingdom. That he had, "by all means, labour'd, that timely relief might be afforded to it, and "conſented to all Propoſitions, how diſadvantageous ſoever to Himſelf, "that had been offer'd to him to that purpoſe; and, not only at firſt re"commended their condition to both his Houſes of Parliament, and "immediately, of his own meer motion, ſent over ſeveral Commiſſions, "and cauſed ſome proportion of Armes, and Ammunition (which the "Petitioners well knew to have been a great ſupport to the Northern "parts of that Kingdom) to be conveyed to them out of *Scotland*, and "offer'd ten thouſand Voluntiers to undertake that War; but had often "preſs'd, by many ſeveral Meſſages, that ſufficient ſuccours might be "haſten'd thither, and other matters of ſmaller importance laid by, "which did divert it; and offer'd, and moſt really intended, in his own

"Royal

"Royal Perſon, to have undergone the danger of that War, for the "defence of his good Subjects, and the chaſtiſement of thoſe perfidious, "and barbarous Rebels; and in his ſeveral expreſſions of his deſires of "Treaty and Peace, he had declared, the miſerable preſent condition "and certain future loſs of *Ireland*, to be one of the principal Motives "moſt earneſtly to deſire that the preſent diſtractions of This Kingdom "might be compoſed, and that others would concur with him to the "ſame end.

HE told them, "he was well pleaſed, that his Offers, Concurrence, "Actions, and Expreſſions, were ſo rightly underſtood by the Peti- "tioners, and thoſe who had employed them (notwithſtanding the "groundleſs, and horrid aſperſions which had been caſt upon him) but "he wiſh'd, that, inſtead of a meer general complaint, to which his Ma- "jeſty could make no return but of Compaſſion, they could have diſ- "geſted, and offer'd to him any ſuch deſires, by conſenting to which, "he might convey, at leaſt in ſome degree, comfort and life to that "gaſping Kingdom; preſerve his diſtreſſed, and loyal Subjects of the "ſame from inevitably periſhing, and the true Proteſtant Religion from "being ſcorn'd, and trampled on, by thoſe mercileſs Rebels. And, if "the Petitioners could yet think of any Such, and propoſe them to his "Majeſty, he aſſured them, that by his readineſs to conſent, and his "thanks to them for the propoſal, he would make it appear to them, "that their moſt preſſing, Perſonal Sufferings, could not make Them "more deſirous of relief, than His care of the true Religion, and of his "faithful Subjects, and of his Duty, which obliged him, to his power, "to protect both, render'd Him deſirous to afford it to them.

THE King being fully inform'd now, as well by this Committee, as from his Miniſters of State in that Kingdom, of the growing power of the Rebels in *Ireland*, and of the weak Reſiſtance his good Subjects were like to make, whoſe only hopes depended upon thoſe Succours which they preſumed the Lord Lieutenant would bring over with him, and that he was now going thither, without the leaſt addition of ſtrength, or probable aſſurance that any would be ſent after him; his Majeſty conſider'd likewiſe, that, beſides the damp this naked arrival of the Lord Lieutenant There muſt caſt upon the minds of all, it would make likewiſe a great alteration in the conduct of Affairs there. For upon His landing, the Commiſſion to the Earl of *Ormond*, of Lieutenant General of the Army, would be determined: and there had thoſe jealouſies, and diſreſpects, paſs'd between the Earl of *Leiceſter* and Him, that the Earl of *Ormond* was reſolv'd, no more to continue that Command, but immediately to tranſport himſelf out of that Kingdom; by which the King ſhould loſe the ſervice of a Perſon much the moſt powerful, moſt able, and moſt popular within that Kingdom; and who had, with wonderful Courage and Conduct, and allmoſt miraculous ſucceſs, hitherto reſtrain'd the rage and fury of the Rebels, and indeed a Man ſo accompliſh'd, that he had either No Enemies, or Such who were aſhamed to profeſs they were ſo.

UPON theſe conſiderations, the King thought fit, for ſome time, till he might farther weigh the whole buſineſs, to ſuſpend the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Journey: and therefore ſent to him to *Cheſter* (where he had lain, in ſome indiſpoſition of health, above a fortnight; and the Ships being not yet come for his Tranſportation) "to attend his Majeſty at "*Oxford*; which he did ſhortly after *Chriſtmas*, and continued there;

the King directing the Earl of *Ormond* (whom about this time he made a Marquis) "to carry on the War as he had done; and, during the abſence "of the Lord Lieutenant, to diſpoſe of all Places, and Offices in the "Army which became void. His Majeſty likewiſe at this time made an alteration in the Civil Power; for whereas Sr *William Parſons*, and Sr *John Burlacy*, had continued Lords Juſtices from, and before the death of the Earl of *Strafford*, the King finding that Sr *William Parſons* (who was a Man of long experience in that Kingdom, and confeſs'd abilities, but allways of ſuſpected reputation) did him all imaginable diſſervice, and combined with the Parliament in *England*, remov'd him from that Truſt; and, in his room, deputed Sr *Harry Tichborne*, a Man of ſo excellent a fame, that though the Parliament was heartily angry at the remove of the Other, and knew This would never be brought to ſerve Their turn, they could not faſten any reproach upon the King for this alteration.

ANOTHER circumſtance muſt not be forgotten. After the War broke out in *England*, the Parliament had ſent over two of their Members of the Commons (Mr *Raynolds*, and Mr *Goodwyn*) as a Committee into *Ireland*, to reſide at *Dublin*, and had given directions to the Lords Juſtices, "that they ſhould have leave to be preſent at their conſulta-"tions; which they had; and were no other than Spies upon thoſe, who ſhould preſume to deliver any opinions there not agreeable to the ſenſe of the Houſes. When the King made that alteration in the Government, he likewiſe took notice, that ſtrangers were admitted to be preſent at their debates, which had never been before practiced; and therefore required them, "that it might be ſo no more. Hereupon, the Committee, who had carried themſelves very inſolently, and ſeditiouſly there, and with notable contempt of the King, and His Authority, were, by the Lords Juſtices, and Council, inhibited from being preſent at the Council; and thereupon they quickly left the Kingdom, and return'd to *London*; the Parliament unreaſonably accuſing the King of a new breach of Privilege, for this diſreſpect to their Members. This was the State of *Ireland*, the War being that Spring proſperouſly carried on by the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Earl of *Leiceſter* ſtill ſtaying at *Oxford* with the Title of Lord Lieutenant. And ſo We will return to *Oxford*, and *London*.

MANY days being paſt ſince the return of the Committee of Lords and Commons from *Oxford*, with the King's Anſwer to their Propoſitions, and no Reply being made by the Houſes, or indeed any ſolemn Debate enter'd thereupon (for his Majeſty had every day Information of what paſs'd among them, even in their moſt ſecret Councils) and, on the contrary, preparations more vigorouſly intended for the War, than had been before, in ſending out ſtrong parties to infeſt the King's Quarters (for beſides the incurſions, and progreſs of Sr *William Waller*, which are before remember'd, Mr *Hambden* had made ſome Attempts upon the *Brill*, a Garriſon of the King's upon the Edge of *Buckinghamſhire*, but without effect, and with ſome conſiderable loſs) in levying great Numbers of Men, for the recruiting the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army; and deſigning new extraordinary ways for the raiſing of Money, and aſſociating ſeveral Counties of the Kingdom, towards the raiſing new Armies: the King, as well to have the conveniency of ſending to *London* (of which Journies he made good uſe) as to quicken, and neceſſitate them to ſome reply, ſent another Meſſage to them, putting them

in mind of "the Propoſition he had made for a Ceſſation of Armes, and deſired, "if they approv'd of a Ceſſation, that the day upon which "they thought fit it ſhould begin, and ſuch particulars, limits, and con- "ditions of it, as were neceſſary to be underſtood, and agreed on, be- "fore the Ceſſation it ſelf could actually begin, might be propoſed by "Them. Since, his Majeſty ſaid, "he ſuppoſed, by the preſent great "preparations of ſeveral Forces to march ſeveral ways, that till all that "ſhould be agreed upon, They did not conceive Themſelves obliged to "an actual Ceſſation; ſo neither, till then, did his Majeſty conceive "Himſelf obliged to it; however, he wiſh'd it might be clearly under- "ſtood between them, that no ſuch imputations as had been formerly, "might be laid upon Him, upon occaſion of any thing that might in- "tervene.

The King puts the two Houſes in mind of his Propoſition for a Ceſſation of Armes.

THIS Meſſage put a neceſſity upon them, of entring again upon the Argument, and gave them who deſired Peace and Accommodation, an opportunity to preſs for the Debate, which had been craftily laid aſide for the diſpatch of other matters; that Party, which was moſt deeply engaged in the War, and reſolv'd to carry it on, having a nota- ble dexterity in keeping thoſe things from being Debated, in which they found Their ſenſe would not prevail. And at this time, the Number of thoſe in both Houſes, who really deſired the ſame Peace the King did, was (if they had not been overwitted by them) ſuperior to the other. For, beſides that many Perſons, who from the beginning had always diſſented from them, for their eaſe and conveniency had ſtayed among them, very many were convinced in their underſtandings, that they had been miſled; and diſcerned, in what a bottomleſs Gulph of miſery the Kingdom would be plunged, if an immediate compoſure were not made; and ſome of thoſe who had been as fierce as any, and given as great countenance to the kindling the fire, either out of conſcience that they had done amiſs, or fear that the King would prevail by power, or anger that they found other Men valued above them; in their preſent Diſtraction, or their natural Inconſtancy even in Ill, were moſt ſollici- tous for a Treaty. So that within few days after the receipt of this Meſ- ſage, both Houſes agreed "that there ſhould be a Treaty, in which ſo "much of the King's Propoſitions as concern'd the Magazines, Forts, and "Ships, and the Propoſition of both Houſes for the disbanding the Ar- "mies, ſhould be firſt treated on, and concluded, before the proceeding "to treat upon any of the other Propoſitions; and that the Treaty ſhould "begin the fourth of *March*, or ſooner if it might be; and that, from "the beginning, the time ſhould not exceed twenty days.

Both Houſes agree there ſhould be a Treaty; and they ſend for a Safe Conduct.

THE Perſons they made choice of to Treat, were the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Say*, Mr *Pierrepoint*, Sr *William Armyn*, Sr *John Holland*, and Mr *Whitlock*, for whoſe Safe Conduct they diſpatch'd a Meſſen- ger to his Majeſty; this reſolution being taken but the laſt day of *Febru- ary*. Aſſoon as the requeſt was preſented, the King return'd a Safe Conduct for the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the four Commoners, but refuſed to admit the Lord *Say* to his preſence, upon the ſame ex- ception he had formerly refuſed Sr *John Evelin* at *Colebrook*; his Lord- ſhip being Perſonally excepted from Pardon by a former Proclamation; but ſignified, "that if they would employ any other Perſon not within "the ſame Rule, he ſhould as freely come as if he were in the Safe "Conduct.

The King grants it to all they name but the Lord Say.

WHETHER the Lord *Say* was nominated by thoſe who believ'd they ſhould

ſhould be able, upon the refuſal of Him (which they could not but foreſee) to break off all Overtures of farther Treaty; or whether they believ'd, they had ſo far prevail'd by underhand Negotiations at *Oxford*, that he ſhould be admitted, and that he would have been able to perſwade the King to yield to what they propoſed, or at leaſt to have engaged the King to thoſe who would have yielded to him, I know not; but as it was not So inſiſted on at *Weſtminſter* as to break the Treaty, ſo many were of opinion at *Oxford*, that the King ſhould have admitted him. They ſaid, "he was a wiſe Man, and could not but know, that "it would not be poſſible for him to make any impreſſion upon his Ma- "jeſty's Judgement in the Propoſitions in Debate; and therefore, that "he would never have ſuffer'd himſelf to be deſign'd to that Negotia- "tion (which, without doubt, by his Intereſt in both Houſes he might "have prevented) if he did not purpoſe to do ſome ſignal ſervice to his "Majeſty. And indeed many believ'd, "that if he had come, and found "the King's goodneſs inclined to pardon, and truſt him, that he would "have done the beſt he could, to redeem his former breaches. Others were of opinion, "that he was ſo far from being inclined to ſerve the "King, or advance the Treaty, that they would have ſent him as a Spy, "leſt others ſhould; and theſe were the thoughts both at *Oxford* and *London*. But the King, who knew the Lord *Say* as well as any of them, believ'd, that it was not in his Power to do any good, and if it had, that it was not in his Will; was reſolv'd not to break his Rule, leſt ſuch a remiſſion might give advantage againſt him in the future: and ſo ſent the Anſwer above remember'd. Together with this deſire of a Safe Conduct, they ſent his Majeſty word, "that they had likewiſe conſented, "that there ſhould be a Ceſſation of Armes on either ſide, under the "Reſtrictions, and Limitations, hereafter following.

The two Houſes ſend their Terms for a Ceſſation.

1. "THAT all manner of Armes, Ammunition, Victuals, Money, "Bullion, and all other Commodities, paſſing without ſuch a Safe Conduct as may Warrant their paſſage, may be ſtayed and ſeiſed on, as "if no Ceſſation was agreed on.

2. "THAT all manner of Perſons, paſſing without ſuch a Safe Conduct as is mention'd in the Article next going before, ſhall be appre- "hended, and detain'd, as if no ſuch Ceſſation were agreed on at all.

3. "THAT his Majeſty's Forces in *Oxford-ſhire* ſhould advance no "nearer to *Windſor* than *Wheatley*, and in *Buckingham-ſhire* no nearer "to *Aylesbury* than *Brill*; and that, in *Berk-ſhire*, the Forces reſpe- "ctively ſhall not advance nearer the one to the other, than Now they "are: And that the Parliament Forces in *Oxford-ſhire* ſhall advance no "nearer to *Oxford* than *Henly*, and thoſe in *Buckingham-ſhire* no nearer "to *Oxford* than *Aylesbury*: And that his Majeſty's Forces ſhall take "no new Quarters, above twelve miles from *Oxford*, any way; and "the Parliament Forces ſhall take no new Quarters, above twelve miles "from *Windſor*, any way.

4. "THAT no Siege ſhall be begun, or continued againſt *Gloceſter*; "and that his Majeſty's Forces, now employed in the Siege, ſhall re- "turn to *Cirenceſter* and *Malmsbury*, or to *Oxford*, as ſhall be moſt for "their convenience; and the Parliament Forces, which are in *Gloceſter-* "*ſhire*, ſhall remain in the Cities of *Gloceſter*, *Briſtol*, and the Caſtle, "and Town of *Berkley*, or retire nearer to *Windſor*, as they ſhall ſee "cauſe: And that thoſe of *Wales*, which are drawn to *Gloceſter*, ſhall

"return to their Quarters where they were before they drew down to "*Gloceſter-ſhire*.

5. "THAT, in caſe it be pretended on either ſide, that the Ceſſation "is violated, no Act of Hoſtility is immediately to follow, but firſt the "party complaining is to acquaint the Lord General on the other ſide, "and to allow three days, after notice, for ſatisfaction; and in caſe ſa- "tisfaction be not given, or accepted, then five days notice to be given, "before Hoſtility begin, and the like to be obſerv'd in the remoter Ar- "mies, by the Commanders in chief.

6. "LASTLY, that all other Forces, in the Kingdom of *England*, "and Dominion of *Wales*, not before mention'd, ſhall remain in the "ſame Quarters, and Places, as they are at the time of publiſhing this "Ceſſation, and under the ſame conditions as are mention'd in the Ar- "ticles before. And that this Ceſſation ſhall not extend, to reſtrain the "ſetting forth, or employing of any Ships, for the Defence of his Ma- "jeſty's Dominions.

ALL which they deſired "his Majeſty would be pleaſed to ratify, and "confirm: and that this Ceſſation might begin upon the fourth of "*March* next, or ſooner if it might be; and continue until the five and "twentieth of the ſame Month; and in the mean time to be publiſh'd "on either ſide; and that the Treaty might likewiſe commence upon "the ſame day; and the continuance thereof not to exceed twenty days.

THESE Propoſitions were deliver'd to his Majeſty on the firſt of *March*, which was almoſt a Month after the Ceſſation had been propoſed by him (for His Propoſitions were made on the third of *February*) which adminiſter'd cauſe of doubt, that the Overture was not ſincere; ſince it was hardly poſſible, that the Ceſſation could begin ſo ſoon as the fourth, by which time, though the King ſhould conſent to the terms propoſed, upon ſight, his Anſwer could very hardly be return'd to them. But the Articles themſelves were ſuch as occaſion'd much debate, and difference of opinion, among thoſe who deſired the ſame thing. The King, after the examination of them with his Privy Council, and at a Council of War, made a Committee out of each, to conſider the inconvenience, his conſent to them might produce to His Party, if that Ceſſation, and Treaty, did not produce a Peace; and the inequality in them, if the Overture paſs'd from an equal Enemy, according to the Rules of War. Some were of opinion, "that the Ceſſation ſhould be conſented "to by the King, upon the Articles propoſed, though they ſhould be "thought unequal, not only becauſe it would be an Act of great grace, "and compaſſion to the People, to give them ſome reſpit, and taſt of "Peace, and the not conſenting to it (the reaſon not being ſo eaſy to "be underſtood) would be as impopular, and ungracious; but that, "they believ'd, it would at leaſt caſt the People into ſuch a ſlumber, that "much of their fury and madneſs would be abated; and that they would "not be eaſily induced to part with the eaſe they felt, and would look "upon That Party as an Enemy, that robbed them of it; that it would "give an opportunity of charitable Intercourſe, and revive that free- "dom of Converſation, which, of it ſelf, upon ſo great advantage of rea- "ſon, as they believ'd the King's cauſe gave, would rectify the under- "ſtanding of many who were miſled; but eſpecially, that it would not "only hinder the recruit of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army (for that no Man "would be ſo mad to declare themſelves againſt the King, when they

"ſaw a Ceſſation, in order to reſtoring the King to his Rights) but "would leſſen the Forces he had already; in that the Army conſiſted "moſt of Men engaged by the Pay, not affection to the Cauſe; who, "upon ſuch a remiſſion of duty as would neceſſarily attend a Ceſſation, "would abandon a Party, which they foreſaw, upon a Peace, muſt be "condemn'd, though it might be ſecure: And whereas all Overtures "of a Treaty hitherto had advanced their Levies upon pretence of be-"ing in a poſture not to be contemn'd, they believ'd, a real Ceſſation "would render thoſe Levies impoſſible.

OTHERS thought "any Ceſſation diſadvantageous enough to the "King; and therefore, that the terms, upon which it was to be made, "were to be preciſely look'd to: that the Articles propoſed would only "produce a ſuſpenſion of preſent Acts of Hoſtility, and Blood, among "the Soldiers; but not give the leaſt taſt of Peace, or admit the leaſt "benefit to the People; for that all Intercourſe, and Converſation was "inhibited, in ſo much as no Perſon of the King's Party, though no "Soldier, had liberty to viſit his Wife, or Family, out of the King's "Quarters, during this Ceſſation; and the hindring Recruits could on-"ly prejudice the King, not at all the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had at preſent "a greater Army than ever before; and the City of *London* was ſuch a "Magazine of Men, as could ſupply him upon very ſmall warning. Be-"ſides, though the State of the King's Army and Quarters, about *Ox-"ford*, was ſuch as might receive ſome advantage by a Ceſſation; yet, "in the Weſt, it was hoped his Affairs were in the bud; and the Earl of "*New-Caſtle* was ſo much Maſter in the North, that if a Peace enſued "not (which wiſe Men did not believe was ſeriouſly intended on the Par-"liament's part, by reaſon the Propoſitions to be treated on, were ſo "unreaſonable, and impoſſible to be conſented to) ſuch a Ceſſation would "hinder the motion and progreſs of the Earl's good fortune, and give "time to the Lord *Fairfax*, who was at preſent very low, to put him-"ſelf into ſuch a poſture as might give new trouble. And 'tis certain the Northern Forces had then great dread of this Ceſſation.

To theſe conſiderations was added another of greater moment, and which could be leſs anſwer'd by any acceſs of benefit, and advantage on the King's Party. Hitherto the Parliament had raiſed their vaſt Sums of Money, for the ſupport of their Army (which could only be ſupported by conſtant great pay) and for the diſcharge of their other immenſe expences, incident to ſuch a Rebellion, from the City of *London*, and principally from their Friends, not daring ſo rigidly to execute their Ordinances generally, but contented themſelves with ſome ſevere judgements upon particular Men, whom they had branded with ſome extraordinary mark of Malignancy, out of *London*, ſave only that they gleaned among their own Zealots upon voluntary Collections, and plunder'd by their Army, which brought no ſupply to their Common Stock: And of what they impoſed upon Cities, and Towns, wherein they had Garriſons (in which they had been likewiſe very tender) they had receiv'd very little; not venturing yet, by any general Tax, and Impoſition upon the People, to inflame them, and inform them how they meant to invade their Liberty, and their Property, with the jealouſy whereof, they had blown them up to all thoſe ſwellings, and ſeditious humours againſt the King; and apprehending, that if they ſhould attempt That, any encouragement of ſtrength from any of the King's Armies, would make the whole Kingdom riſe againſt them.

BUT now, after they had agreed to a Treaty, and framed even Articles for a Ceſſation; they paſs'd an Ordinance for a Weekly Aſſeſſment throughout the Kingdom, towards the ſupport of the War; by which, was impoſed upon the City of *London* the weekly Sum of ten thouſand pounds, and upon the whole Kingdom no leſs than a weekly Payment of thirty three thouſand five hundred and eighteen pounds, amounting in the year to one Million ſeven hundred forty two thouſand nine hundred thirty ſix pounds; a prodigious Sum for a People to bear, who, before this War, thought the payment of two Subſidies in a year, which, in the beſt times, never amounted to above two hundred thouſand pounds, and never in our Age to above a hundred and fifty, an inſupportable burthen upon the Kingdom: Which indeed had ſcarce borne the ſame, under all the Kings that ever Reign'd.

The Houſes paſs an Ordinance for a Weekly Aſſeſſment on the whole Kingdom.

FOR the ſpeedy and exact collection whereof, they appointed, by the ſame Ordinance, Commiſſioners in each County, ſuch as were ſufficiently inclined to, and engaged in Their deſigns. To this they added other Ordinances, for exacting the twentieth part, and other payments, throughout the Kingdom: which had been only undergone (and that not generally) in *London*; and, above all, for the ſequeſtering, and ſeiſing of the Eſtates of all who adhered to the King. "Now if a Ceſſation "were conſented to by the King, on the Articles propoſed, and thereby "the King's Forces lock'd up within the ſeveral limits and narrow "bounds, in which they were contain'd, theſe Ordinances might be exe- "cuted throughout all their Quarters; and thereby vaſt Sums be raiſed. "Their great Aſſociation of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridge*, *Huntington*, "*Bedford*, and *Eſſex* (in neither of which the King had any viſible Par- "ty, or one fixed Quarter) upon which, the apprehenſion of the Earl of "*New-Caſtle*'s advance upon them, kept them from notable preſſures, "would by this means yield them a great ſupply of Men, and Money. "In *Somerſetſhire*, and *Devon-ſhire*, whilſt Sr *Ralph Hopton* might here- "by be kept from advancing, They might raiſe what they would, and "might diſpoſe of the Stocks, and perſonal Eſtates of thoſe, whom they "had, and would declare to be Malignant; and ſo this Ceſſation, beſides "the damage, and prejudice of the loyal Party, would probably fill the "Rebels Coffers, the emptineſs whereof was the moſt, if not Only, pro- "bable way and means to determine the War.

THESE conſiderations made a deep impreſſion upon thoſe who believ'd the Treaty was not like to produce a Peace; the Number of which was encreaſed by a new reſolution, at this time enter'd upon, and vigorouſly proſecuted, "to fortify the City of *London*, and to draw a line "about it; which was executed with marvellous expedition; which, many believ'd, would not have been then done, both for the charge and jealouſy of it, if it had not been reſolv'd it ſhould not Yet return to the King's obedience. And many Perſons of Honour, and Quality, about the King, who had given great life to his Affairs, were ſo ſtartled with the ſenſe of it, that they addreſs'd themſelves together to his Majeſty, "and beſought him, "that they might not loſe That now, by an unequal "Ceſſation, which had been preſerv'd for them, during the Licence of "Hoſtility; and that His, and Their Enemies, might not be That way "enabled to deſtroy them, which Yet they durſt not attempt to do by any "Other. The King hereupon, after ſolemn Debates in Council, the chief Officers of his Army being preſent, reſolv'd to make ſuch Alterations in the Articles, as might make the terms a little more equal, at leaſt prevent ſo intolerable diſadvantages.

The City of London *fortified.*

The King's propoſals of Alterations in the two Houſes Articles of Ceſſation.

1. "To the first Article as it was proposed by them, his Majesty "fully, and absolutely consented.

2. "To the second likewise fully, as far as it concern'd all Officers "and Soldiers of the Army; but He proposed, that all other his Sub- "jects, of what quality, or condition soever, might, during the Cessa- "tion, pass to and from the Cities of *Oxford*, or *London*, or any other "parts of his Majesty's Dominions, without any search, stay, or impri- "sonment of their Persons, or seisure, and detention of their Goods or "Estates: And that all manner of Trade, and Commerce, might be "open and free between all his Subjects, except between the Officers, "and Soldiers of either Army, or for Armes, Ammunition, Money, "Bullion, or Victuals for the use of either Army, without a Pass, or safe "conduct; which, his Majesty told them, "would be a good beginning "to renew the trade, and correspondence of the Kingdom, and where- "by his Subjects might be restored to that Liberty and freedom they "were born to, and had so happily enjoyed till these miserable distra- "ctions; and which, even during this War, his Majesty had, to his ut- "most, labour'd to preserve, opening the way, by most strict Proclama- "tions, to the passage of all Commodities, even to the City of *London* "it self.

3, 4. 5. 6. To these the King likewise consented, with two provisions: First, "that such Ships as were necessary to be set forth, should be com- "manded by such Persons as his Majesty should approve of. Secondly, "that during the Cessation, none of his Subjects should be imprison'd "otherwise than according to the known Laws of the Land, and that "there should be no plundering, or violence offer'd to any of his Sub- "jects. The first of these was inserted (without purpose of insisting on it) lest by the King's consent to the Article, in the terms it was pro- posed, he might be thought to consent in any degree to their usurpa- tion of the naval Authority. And the second was to prevent the exe- cution of the Ordinances before mention'd.

And his Majesty told them, "he hoped, these small Alterations "would sufficiently manifest, how sollicitous he was for the good of his "People, for whose Liberties he should insist, when in matters meerly "concerning Himself, he might descend to easier conditions; and how "desirous he was, that, in this unnatural Contention, no more blood of "his Subjects might be spilt, upon which he look'd with much Grief, "Compassion, and Tenderness of Heart, even on the blood of those "who had lifted up their hands against him. And therefore he doubted "not, but both Houses would consent to them. However if any scru- "ples should be made, he was willing that the Commissioners for the "Treaty might nevertheless immediately come to him, and so all mat- "ters concerning the Cessation might be there settled between them.

After this Answer return'd by the King, many days pass'd without any return to Him; and in the mean time another Address was made to his Majesty, upon which the great Managers at *London* had set their hearts, more than upon the Treaty; and for which indeed they deferr'd their Treaty. They had still a great dependence and confidence upon their Brethren of *Scotland*, and yet that People moved very slowly; and, since the Earl of *Essex* had been settled in his Winter Quarters, there had been high quarrels between the *English*, and *Scots* Officers, insomuch as, upon some reproachful words, which had been cast out,

many

many Swords were one day drawn in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, when the Houſes were ſitting, between them; and ſome blood drawn, which (though the Houſes induſtriouſly labour'd to compoſe it with Declarations "of "their joynt value and reſpect of that Nation with their own, and that "their deſerts could only diſtinguiſh them) gave ſo great umbrage, that many of the *Scots*, ſome of eminent Command, quitted the ſervice; and it was hoped it would have broke any farther National Combination in Miſchief.

BUT the general inclination to Rebellion maſter'd thoſe particular conſiderations, and diſobligations; and, about the end of *February*, to facilitate the King's conſent to the Grand Propoſition for the extirpation of Epiſcopacy (which the two Houſes had been, by the Arts before mention'd, wrought to make; when in truth, there were very few of themſelves deſired it; as, when it paſs'd the Houſe of Peers, there were but five Lords preſent) there arriv'd at *Oxford* the Earl of *Lowden*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, and Mr *Alexander Henderſon*, a Man of equal fame in the diſtractions that aroſe in that Kingdom: the former came as a Commiſſioner from the Lords of the ſecret Council of that Kingdom, or, as they then thought fit to call themſelves, "the Conſer-"vators of the Peace between the two Kingdoms; and deſired to paſs as a Mediator in the differences between the King and the two Houſes, and that the King would give them leave upon the matter to be Umpires between them. The other, Mr *Henderſon*, had a ſpecial employment from the Aſſembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, to preſent a Petition from that Body to the King; the which, becauſe it was then thought of a very ſtrange nature, and dialect, and becauſe I ſhall always report the Acts of that Nation (as far as I am obliged to mention them) in their own words, I think very convenient to inſert in this place.

BUT it will be firſt neceſſary, for the better underſtanding one angry clauſe in it, to remember, that, when the Earl of *New-Caſtle* march'd into *York-ſhire*, upon occaſion of ſome Aſperſions publiſh'd againſt him by the Lord *Fairfax*, "that his Army conſiſted only of Papiſts, and "that his deſign was to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, the Earl ſet forth a Declaration of the reaſons of his marching into that Country, which was, "upon the deſire of the principal Gentlemen, to reſcue, "and protect them from the Tyranny of the Parliament; and then, taking notice of "the ſcandalous imputations upon him in point of "Religion, after he had vindicated himſelf from the leaſt ſuſpicion of Inclination to Popery, he confeſs'd "he had granted Commiſſions to "many Papiſts, which, as He knew, was, in this caſe, agreeable to the "Laws of the Kingdom, ſo he believ'd it very agreeable to the pre-"ſent Policy; and that, the quarrel between the King and the two Houſes, "being not grounded upon any matter of Religion, the Rebels pro-"feſſing themſelves to be of the ſame of which his Majeſty was clear-"ly known to be, and the Papiſts generally at this time appearing "very Loyal to him, which too many Proteſtants were not, he thought "Their Aſſiſtance might very fitly be made uſe of, to ſuppreſs the "Rebellion of the other. And from thence theſe Zealous *Scots* concluded, that he preferr'd the Papiſts, in point of Loyalty, before the Proteſtants; which was a Calumny of ſo publick a concernment, that they could not be ſilent in. Their Petition follows in theſe words.

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty;

The humble Petition of the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly of the Kirk of Scotland *met at* Edenborough *Jan.* 4. 164$\frac{3}{4}$.

The Petition of the General Aſſembly of the Kirk *of* Scotland *preſented to the King by Mr.* Henderſon, *ſign'd* Jan. 4. 164$\frac{3}{4}$.

"OUR Silence, and ceaſing to preſent before your Majeſty our humble thoughts and deſires, at this time of Common danger to Religion, "to your Majeſty's ſacred Perſon, your Crown, and Poſterity, and to "all your Majeſty's Dominions, were impiety againſt God, unthankfulneſs, and diſloyalty againſt your Majeſty, and indirect approbation, "and hardening of the adverſaries of truth and peace in their wicked "ways, and cruelty againſt Our Brethren, lying in ſuch depths of Affliction, and Anguiſh of Spirit; any one of which crimes were, in Us "above all others, unexcuſable, and would prove Us moſt unworthy "of the truſt committed unto Us. The flame of this Common Combuſtion hath almoſt devour'd *Ireland*, is now waſting the Kingdom of "*England*, and We cannot tell how ſoon it ſhall enter upon Our ſelves, "and ſet this your Majeſty's moſt Ancient, and native Kingdom on fire. "If in this woful caſe, and lamentable condition of your Majeſty's Dominions, all others ſhould be ſilent, it behoveth Us to ſpeak; and if "Our Tongues and Pens ſhould ceaſe, Our Conſciences within us would "cry out, and the ſtones in the Streets would Anſwer Us.

"OUR great grief, and apprehenſion of danger, is not a little encreaſed, partly by the inſolence, and preſumption of Papiſts, and others "diſaffected to the Reformation of Religion, who, although for their "Number, and Power, they be not conſiderable among Us, yet, through "the ſucceſs of the Popiſh Party in *Ireland*, and the hopes they conceive of the prevailing power of the Popiſh Armies, and the Prelatical "faction in *England*, they have of late taken ſpirit, and begun to ſpeak "big words againſt the Reformation of Religion, and the work of God "in this Land; and partly, and more principally, that a chief praiſe of "the Proteſtant Religion (and thereby our not vain, but juſt gloriation) "is, by the publick Declaration of the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, General of "your Majeſty's Forces for the Northern parts, and neareſt unto us, "transferr'd unto Papiſts; who, although they be ſworn Enemies unto "Kings, and be as infamous for their Treaſons, and Conſpiracies againſt "Princes and Rulers, as for their known Idolatry, and ſpiritual Tyranny, yet are they openly declared to be not only good Subjects, or "better Subjects, but Far better Subjects than Proteſtants: which is "a new, and foul diſparagement of the Reform'd Religion, a notable "Injury to your Majeſty in your Honour, a ſenſible Reflection upon "the whole Body of this Kingdom, which is impatient, that any Subjects ſhould be more Loyal than They; but abhorreth, and extremely diſdaineth, that Papiſts, who refuſe to take the Oath of Allegiance, "ſhould be compared with them in Allegiance, and Fidelity; and which "being a ſtrange Doctrine from the Mouth, or Pen of profeſs'd Proteſtants, will ſuffer a hard conſtruction from all the Reform'd Kirks

"WE therefore, your Majeſty's moſt humble and loving Subjects, "upon theſe and the like conſiderations, do humbly entreat, that your "Majeſty may be pleaſed, in your princely Wiſdom, firſt to conſider, "that the Intentions of Papiſts, directed by the Principles of their profeſſion, are no other than they have been from the beginning, even to

"build their Babel, and to ſet up their execrable Idolatry, and Anti-
"Chriſtian Tyranny, in all your Majeſty's Dominions; to change the
"face of your two Kingdoms of *Scotland*, and *England*, into the ſimi-
"litude of miſerable *Ireland*; which is more bitter to the People of
"God, your Majeſty's good Subjects, to think upon, than death; and
"whatſoever their preſent pretences be, for the Defence of your Ma-
"jeſty's Perſon and Authority, yet, in the end, by their Armes, and
"Power, with a diſplayed Banner, to bring That to paſs againſt your
"Royal Perſon, and Poſterity, which the fifth of *November*, never to
"be forgotten, was not able by their ſubtile and undermining Treaſon
"to produce; or, which will be their greateſt Mercy, to reduce your
"Majeſty, and your Kingdoms, to the baſe and unnatural Slavery of
"their Monarch, the Pope: And next, that your Majeſty, upon this
"undeniable evidence, may timouſly and ſpeedily apply your Royal
"Authority, for disbanding their Forces, ſuppreſſing their Power, and
"diſappointing their bloody and mercileſs Projects.

"AND for this end, We are, with greater Earneſtneſs than before,
"conſtrain'd to fall down again before your Majeſty, and, in all humi-
"lity, to renew the ſupplication of the late general Aſſembly, and Our
"own former Petition in Their name, for Unity of Religion, and Uni-
"formity of Church Government in all your Majeſty's Kingdoms, and,
"to this effect, for a meeting of ſome Divines to be holden in *England*,
"unto which, according to the deſire of your Majeſty's Parliament, ſome
"Commiſſioners may be ſent from this Kirk; that, in all points to be
"propoſed, and debated, there may be the greater Conſent, and Har-
"mony. We take the boldneſs to be the more inſtant in this our hum-
"ble deſire, becauſe it concerneth the Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſo much in His
"Glory, your Majeſty in your Honour, the Kirk of *England* (which
"We ought to tender as our own Bowels, and whoſe Reformation is
"more dear unto Us than Our lives) in Her happineſs, and the Kirk of
"*Scotland* in her purity, and peace; former experience, and daily ſenſe
"teaching Us, that, without the Reformation of the Kirk of *England*,
"there is no hope or poſſibility of the continuance of Reformation
"Here.

"THE Lord of Heaven and Earth, whoſe Vice-Gerent your Majeſty
"is, calleth for this great work of Reformation at your hands; and the
"preſent Commotions, and Troubles of your Majeſty's Dominions, are
"either a preparation, in the mercy of God, for this bleſſed Reforma-
"tion and Unity of Religion (which is the deſire, prayers, and expecta-
"tion of all your Majeſty's good Subjects in this Kingdom) or, which
"they tremble to think upon, and earneſtly deprecate, are (in the juſtice
"of God, for the abuſe of the Goſpel, the tolerating of Idolatry, and
"Superſtition, againſt ſo clear a light, and not acknowledging the day of
"Viſitation) the beginning of ſuch a doleful deſolation, as no policy or
"power of Man ſhall be able to prevent, and as ſhall make your Ma-
"jeſty's Kingdoms, within a ſhort time, as miſerable, as they may be
"happy by a Reformation of Religion. God forbid that, whilſt the
"Houſes of Parliament do profeſs their deſire of the Reformation of Re-
"ligion in a Peaceable, and Parliamentary way, and paſs their Bills for
"that end in the particulars; that your Majeſty, the Nurſe Father of
"the Kirk of Chriſt, to whoſe care the cuſtody and vindication of Re-
"ligion doth principally belong, ſhould, to the provoking of the An-
"ger of God, the ſtopping of the influence of ſo many bleſſings from
"Heaven,

"Heaven, and the grieving of the hearts of all the Godly, fruſtrate our "expectation, make our hopes aſhamed, and hazard the loſs of the hearts "of all your good Subjects; which, next unto the truth, and unity of "Religion, and the ſafety of your Kingdoms, are willing to hazard "their Lives, and ſpend their Blood, for your Majeſty's Honour, and "Happineſs.

"WE are not ignorant, that the work is great, the difficulties and "impediments many; and that there be both Mountains, and Lyons in "the way; the ſtrongeſt let, till it be taken out of the way, is the Moun- "tain of Prelacy: And no wonder, if your Majeſty conſider, how many "Papiſts, and Popiſhly-affected, have, for a long time, found peace, and "eaſe, under the ſhadow thereof; how many of the Prelatical Faction "have thereby their life and being; how many prophane, and worldly "Men, do fear the Yoke of Chriſt, and are unwilling to ſubmit them- "ſelves to the obedience of the Goſpel; how many there be, whoſe Eyes "are dazled with the external Glory and Pomp of the Kirk; whoſe "minds are miſcarried with a conceit of the Governing of the Kirk by "the Rules of human Policy; and whoſe hearts are affrighted with the "apprehenſions of the dangerous conſequences, which may enſue upon "alterations. But when your Majeſty, in your Princely and Religious "Wiſdom, ſhall remember, from the Records of former times, how "againſt the Gates of Hell, the force and fraud of wicked and worldly "Men, and all panick fears of danger, the Chriſtian Religion was firſt "planted; and the Chriſtian Kirk thereafter reform'd: And, from the "condition of the preſent times, how many, from the experience of the "Tyranny of the Prelates, are affraid to diſcover themſelves, leſt They "be revenged upon them hereafter (whereas Prelacy being remov'd, "they would openly profeſs what they are, and joyn with others in the "way of Reformation) all obſtacles, and difficulties ſhall be but matter "of the manifeſtation of the power of God, the Principal worker; and "means of the greater Glory to your Majeſty, the prime Inſtrument.

"THE Intermixture of the Government of Prelates with the Civil "State, mention'd in your Majeſty's Anſwer to Our former Petition, "being taken away, and the right Government by Aſſemblies, which is "to be ſeen in all the Reform'd Kirks, and wherein the Agreement will "be eaſy, being ſettled; the Kirk, and Religion, will be more pure, and "free from mixture, and the Civil Government more ſound and firm. "That Government of the Kirk muſt ſuit beſt with the Civil State, and "be moſt uſeful for Kings and Kingdoms, which is beſt warranted by "God, by whom Kings do Reign, and Kingdoms are eſtabliſh'd. Nor "can a Reformation be expected in the common and ordinary way, ex- "preſs'd alſo in your Majeſty's Anſwer. The Wiſeſt and moſt Religious "Princes have found it impoſſible, and implying a Repugnancy, ſince "the Perſons to be Reform'd, and Reformers, muſt be diverſe; and the "way of Reformation muſt be different from the corrupt way, by which "defection of Workmen, and corruption in Doctrine, Worſhip, and "Government, have enter'd into the Kirk. Suffer Us therefore, dread "Soveraign, to renew our Petitions for this Unity of Religion, and "Uniformity of Kirk Government, and for a meeting of ſome Divines "of both Kingdoms, who may prepare matters for your Majeſty's View, "and for the examination, and approbation of more full Aſſemblies. "The National Aſſembly of this Kirk, from which We have Our Com- "miſſion, did promiſe, in their thankſgiving for the many favours

"expreſs'd in your Majeſty's Letter, their beſt endeavour to keep the "People under their Charge in Unity, and Peace, and in Loyalty, and "Obedience to your Majeſty, and your Laws, which, We confeſs, is a "duty well beſeeming the Preachers of the Goſpel.

"BUT We cannot conceal how much both Paſtors and People are "griev'd, and diſquieted with the late reports of the ſucceſs, boldneſs, "and ſtrength of Popiſh Forces in *Ireland*, and *England*; and how much "danger, from the power of ſo malicious, and bloody Enemies, is ap- "prehended to the Religion, and Peace of this Kirk, and Kingdom, con- "ceiv'd by them to be the ſpring, whence have iſſued all their Calami- "ties, and Miſeries. Which We humbly remonſtrate to your Majeſty "as a neceſſity requiring a General Aſſembly, and do earneſtly ſuppli- "cate for the Preſence, and Aſſiſtance of your Majeſty's Commiſſioner, "and the day to be appointed; that, by univerſal conſent of the whole "Kirk, the beſt courſe may be taken for the preſervation of Religion, "and for the averting of the great Wrath, which they conceive to be "imminent to this Kingdom. If it ſhall pleaſe the Lord, in whoſe hand "is the heart of the King, as the Rivers of waters, to turn it whither- "ſoever he will, to incline your Majeſty's heart to this through Refor- "mation; no more to tolerate the Maſs, or any part of Romiſh Super- "ſtition, or Tyranny; and to Command that all good means be uſed for "the converſion of your Princely Conſort, the Queen's Majeſty (which "is alſo the humble deſire of this whole Kirk and Kingdom) your joynt "Comforts ſhall be multiplied above the days of your Affliction, to "your incredible joy; your Glory ſhall ſhine in brightneſs, above all "your Royal Progenitors, to the admiration of the world, and the ter- "ror of your Enemies: And your Kingdoms ſo far abound in righteouſ- "neſs, peace, and proſperity, above all that have been in former Ge- "nerations, that they ſhall ſay, *It is good for Us, that We have been* "*afflicted.*

THIS Petition was not ſtranger in it Self, than in the Circumſtances that attended it; for it was no ſooner preſented to the King (if not before) than it was ſent to *London*, and Printed, and communicated with extraordinary induſtry to the People; that they might ſee, how far the *Scotiſh* Nation would be engaged for the deſtruction of the Church; and the Meſſenger who preſented it, Mr *Henderſon*, confeſs'd to his Majeſty, that he had three or four Letters to the moſt active and ſeditious Preachers about *London*, from Men of the ſame ſpirit in *Scotland*. Upon this provocation, the King might have very reaſonably proceed- ed againſt Mr *Henderſon*, who was neither included in his ſafe conduct (as the Lord *Lowden*, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners were) nor had any Authority from the Lords of the Council of that Kingdom (who were qualified with large powers) to countenance his Employment; being ſent only from the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly (who were not authoriſed by their own conſtitutions, to make any ſuch De- claration) and there being then no Aſſembly ſitting: which it ſelf, with all their new Privileges, could not, with any colour of Reaſon, or Authority, have tranſacted ſuch an Inſtrument. However the King, who well knew the Intereſt, and Influence the Clergy had upon the People of that Kingdom; and that, whilſt they pretended to remove them from all ſecular Employment, they were the principal Inſtruments, and Engines, by which the whole Nation was wrought to Sedition;

Reſolv'd, not only to uſe the Perſon of Mr *Henderſon* very graciouſly, and to protect him from thoſe Affronts, which he might naturally expect in a Univerſity (eſpecially, He having uſed ſome grave, and learned Doctors with great inſolence, who went civilly to him to be inform'd, what Arguments had prevail'd with him, to be ſo profeſs'd an Enemy to the Church of *England*, and to give him ſome information in the Argument; with whom he ſuperciliouſly refuſed to hold any diſcourſe) but to return an Anſwer with all poſſible Candour to the Petition it ſelf; and ſo, before he enter'd upon the other Addreſs, made by the Lord *Lowden*, and the reſt, he return'd (after very ſolemn Debates in Council, where the Earl of *Lanerick* the Secretary for *Scotland*, and other Lords of *Scotland*, who were of the Privy Council, were preſent, and fully concurr'd, with many expreſſions of their deteſtation of the manners of their Country-men, yet with aſſured confidence that they would not be corrupted to any Act of Hoſtility) to Mr *Henderſon*, and, with all expedition, by other hands into *Scotland*, this Anſwer; which likewiſe I think fit to inſert in the very words, that Poſterity may know how tender and provident the King always was, to prevent any miſunderſtanding of Him, and his Actions with that People; and conſequently any Commotions in that Kingdom; which was the only thing, he fear'd, might contribute to, and continue, the diſtractions in This.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the late Petition preſented unto him by the hands of Mr Alexander Henderſon, *from the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly of the Church of* Scotland.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Petition Mar. 20. 1642.

"WE receiv'd lately a Petition from you, by the hands of Mr *Alexander Henderſon*, to the which we intended to have given an Anſwer, "aſſoon as We had tranſacted the buſineſs with the other Commiſ- "ſioners, addreſs'd to Us from the Conſervators of the Treaty of that "our Kingdom. But finding the ſame to be publiſh'd in print, and to "be diſperſed throughout our Kingdom, to the great danger of ſcan- "daling of our well affected Subjects; who may interpret the bitterneſs, "and ſharpneſs of ſome expreſſions, not to be ſo agreeable to that re- "gard, and reverence, which is due to our Perſon, and the matter of "the Petition it ſelf to be reproachful to the Honour and Conſtitution "of this Kingdom: We have been compell'd, the more ſtrictly to "examine, as well the Authority of the Petitioners, as the matter of "the Petition it ſelf, and to publiſh our opinion of both, that our Sub- "jects of both Kingdoms may ſee how equally juſt, and ſenſible, We are "of the Laws, and Honour of both our Kingdoms.

"AND firſt, upon peruſal of the Petition, We required to ſee the "Commiſſion, by which the Meſſenger who brought the Petition, or "the Perſons who ſent him, are qualified to intermeddle in Affairs ſo "forreign to their juriſdiction, and of ſo great concernment to this our "Kingdom of *England*. Upon examination whereof, and in defence of "the Laws, and Government of this our Kingdom, which We are truſt- "ed, and ſworn to defend, We muſt profeſs that the Petitioners, or the "general Aſſembly of Our Church of *Scotland*, have not the leaſt Au- "thority, or Power to intermeddle, or interpoſe in the Affairs of this "Kingdom, or Church; which are ſettled, and eſtabliſh'd by the pro- "per Laws of this Land, and, till they be alter'd by the ſame compe- "tent power, cannot be inveighed againſt without a due ſenſe of Us,

"and

"and This Nation; much leſs can they preſent any Advice or Declara-
"tion to Our Houſes of Parliament againſt the ſame; or, to that pur-
"poſe, ſend any Letters, as they have now done, to any Miniſters of
"our Church here; who, by the Laws of this Land, cannot correſpond
"Againſt the ſame.

"THEREFORE, We do believe that the Petitioners, when they ſhall
"conſider how unwarranted it is by the Laws of that Kingdom, and
"how contrary it is to the Laws of This, to the profeſſions they have
"made to each other, and how unbecoming in it ſelf, for Them to re-
"quire, the ancient, happy, and eſtabliſh'd Government of the Church
"of *England* to be alter'd, and conform'd to the Laws, and Conſtitutions
"of another Church, will find themſelves miſled by the information of
"ſome Perſons Here, who would willingly engage the Petitioners to
"foment a difference, and diviſion between the two Kingdoms, which
"We have, with ſo much care and induſtry, endeavour'd to prevent;
"not having labour'd more to quench the combuſtion in this Kingdom,
"than We have to hinder the like from either devouring *Ireland*, or
"entring into *Scotland*; which, if all others will equally labour, will
"undoubtedly be avoided. But We cannot ſo eaſily paſs over the men-
"tion of *Ireland*, being moved to it by the ſcandalous Aſperſions, that
"have been often caſt upon Us, upon that Subject, and the uſe that
"hath been made of the woful diſtractions of that Kingdom as of a Se-
"minary of fears, and jealouſies, to beget the like diſtractions in This;
"which leſt they may have farther influence, We are the more willing
"to make our Innocence appear in that particular.

"WHEN firſt that horrid Rebellion begun, We were in Our King-
"dom of *Scotland*; and the ſenſe We had then of it, the expreſſions We
"made concerning it, the Commiſſions, together with ſome other Aſ-
"ſiſtance, We ſent immediately into that Kingdom, and the inſtant re-
"commendation We made of it to both our Houſes of Parliament in
"*England*, are known to all Perſons of Quality there and then about
"Us. After our return into *England*, our ready concurring to all the
"deſire of both Houſes, that might moſt ſpeedily repreſs that Rebellion,
"by paſſing the Bill of preſſing, and in it a Clauſe, which quitted a
"Right challenged by all, and enjoyed by many of our Predeceſſors, by
"parting with our Rights in the Lands Eſcheated to Us by that Rebel-
"lion, for the Encouragement of Adventurers; by emptying our Ma-
"gazines of Armes and Ammunition for that ſervice (which We have
"ſince needed for our neceſſary defence, and preſervation) by conſent-
"ing to all Bills for the raiſing of Money for the ſame, though contain-
"ing unuſual Clauſes, which truſted both Houſes without Us with the
"manner of diſpoſing it: Our often preſſing both Houſes, not to neglect
"that Kingdom, by being diverted by conſiderations, and diſputes, leſs
"concerning both Kingdoms: Our offer of raiſing ten thouſand Volun-
"tiers to be ſent thither; and our ſeveral Offers to engage our own Royal
"Perſon, in the ſuppreſſion of that horrid Rebellion, are no leſs known
"to all this Nation, than Our perpetual earneſtneſs, by Our Forreign
"Miniſters, to keep all manner of ſupplies from being tranſported for
"the relief of the Rebels, is known to ſeveral Neighbouring Princes;
"which if all good Subjects will conſider, and withal how many of the
"Men, and how much of the Money raiſed for that end, and how much
"time, care, and induſtry, have been diverted from that employment,
"and employed in this unnatural War againſt Us (the true cauſe of the

"preſent miſeries, and want, which our *Britiſh* Armies there do now "endure) they will ſoon free Us from all thoſe Imputations, ſo ſcanda- "louſly and groundleſly laid upon Us; and impute the continuance of "the Combuſtion of that miſerable Kingdom, the danger it may bring "upon our Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and the beginning of "this doleful deſolation, to thoſe who are truly guilty of it.

"FOR Unity in Religion, which is deſired, We cannot but Anſwer, "that We much apprehend, leſt the Papiſts may make ſome advantage "of that expreſſion, by continuing that ſcandal with more Authority, "which they have ever heretofore uſed to caſt upon the Reformation, "by interpreting all the differences in Ceremony, Government, or in- "different opinions between ſeveral Proteſtant Churches, to be diffe- "rences in Religion; and leſt our good Subjects of *England*, who have "ever eſteem'd themſelves of the ſame Religion with you, ſhould ſuſpect "themſelves to be eſteem'd By You to be of a Contrary; and that the "Religion which They, and their Anceſtors have held, ever ſince the "bleſſed Reformation, and in, and for which, they are reſolv'd to die, "is taxed, and branded of falſehood, or inſufficiency, by ſuch a deſire.

"FOR Uniformity in Church Government, We conceiv'd the An- "ſwer formerly given by Us (at *Bridgenorth*, 13th of *October* 1642) to the "former Petition in this Argument, would have ſatisfied the Peti- "tioners; and is ſo full, that We can add little to it; *viz.* That the Go- "vernment here eſtabliſh'd by the Laws, hath ſo near a Relation, and "intermixture with the Civil State (which may be unknown to the Pe- "titioners) that till a compoſed, digeſted Form, be preſented to Us, "upon a free debate of both Houſes in a Parliamentary way, whereby "the conſent and approbation of this whole Kingdom may be had, and "We, and all our Subjects may diſcern, what is to be left in, or brought "in, as well as what is to be taken away; We know not how to conſent "to any Alteration, otherwiſe than to ſuch an Act for the eaſe of ten- "der Conſciences in the matter of Ceremonies, as We have often of- "fer'd; and that This, and any thing elſe that may concern the Peace "of the Church, and the advancement of God's true Religion, may be "ſoberly diſcuſſed, and happily effected, We have formerly offer'd, and "are ſtill willing, that debates of that nature may be enter'd into by a "Synod of Godly, and Learned Divines, to be regularly choſen accord- "ing to the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Kingdom: To which We ſhall "be willing that ſome Learned Divines of our Church of *Scotland* may "be likewiſe ſent, to be preſent, and offer, and debate their reaſons.

"With this Anſwer the Petitioners had great reaſon to acquieſce, with- "out enlarging the matter of their former Petition only with bitter ex- "preſſions againſt the eſtabliſh'd Government, and Laws of their Neigh- "bour Nation (as if it were contrary to the word of God) with whom "they have ſo lately enter'd into a ſtrict Amity, and Friendſhip.

"BUT We cannot enough wonder, that the Petitioners ſhould inter- "poſe themſelves, not only as fit Directors, and Judges, between Us "and our two Houſes of Parliament, in buſineſs ſo wholely concerning "the Peace, and Government of this our Kingdom; and in a matter ſo "abſolutely entruſted to Us, as what new Laws to conſent, or Not to "conſent to; but ſhould aſſume, and publiſh, that the deſire of Refor- "mation in this Kingdom is in a peaceable, and Parliamentary way; "when all the world may know, that the proceedings Here have been, "and are, not only contrary to all the Rules and Precedents of former

"Parliaments,

"Parliaments, but deſtructive to the Freedom, Privilege, and Dignity "of Parliaments themſelves: that We were firſt driven by Tumults, "for the ſafety of Our life, from our Cities of *London*, and *Weſtminſter*; "and have been ſince purſued, fought withal, and are now kept from "thence by an Army, raiſed and paid, as is pretended, by the two Houſes, "which conſiſt not of the fourth part of the Number they ought to do; "the reſt being either driven from thence by the ſame violence, or ex- "pell'd, or impriſon'd, for not conſenting to the Treaſons and unheard "of Inſolences practiced againſt Us. And if the Petitioners could be- "lieve theſe proceedings to be in a Peaceable, and Parliamentary way, "they were very unacquainted with the order, and conſtitution of this "Kingdom, and not ſo fit Inſtruments to promote the Reformation, "and Peace, they ſeem to deſire.

"WE cannot believe the intermixture of the preſent Eccleſiaſtical "Government with the Civil State, to be other than a very good rea- "ſon; and that the Government of the Church ſhould be by the Rules "of human Policy, to be other than a very good Rule, unleſs ſome other "Government were as well Proved, as Pretended, to be better war- "ranted by the word of God.

"OF any Bills offer'd to Us for Reformation, We ſhall not now ſpeak, "they being a part of thoſe Articles upon which We have offer'd, and "expect to treat: But cannot but wonder, by what Authority, you "prejudge our Judgement herein, by denouncing God's Anger upon Us, "and our hazard of the loſs of the hearts of all our good Subjects, if "We conſent not unto them. The influence of ſo many bleſſings from "Heaven, upon the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and our Father of bleſſed "Memory, and the acknowledgement of Them by all Proteſtant "Churches, to have been careful Nurſes of the Church of Chriſt, and "to have excellently diſcharged their duties, in the Cuſtody, and Vin- "dication of Religion; and the Affection of their Subjects to them, do "ſufficiently aſſure Us, that We ſhould neither ſtop the influence of "ſuch bleſſings, nor grieve the hearts of all the Godly, nor hazard the "loſs of the hearts of our Good Subjects, although We ſtill maintain, "in this Kingdom, the ſame eſtabliſh'd Eccleſiaſtical Government which "flouriſh'd in Their times, and under Their ſpecial Protection.

"WE doubt not, but our Subjects of *Scotland* will reſt abundantly "ſatisfied with ſuch Alterations in their own Church, as We have aſ- "ſented unto; and not be perſwaded by a meer Aſſertion, that there is "no hope of continuance of what is There ſettled by Law, unleſs that "be likewiſe alter'd which is ſettled Here. And our Subjects of *England* "will never depart from their dutiful Affection to Us, for not conſent- "ing to new Laws, which, by the Law of the Land, they know We "may as juſtly reject, if We approve not of them, as Either Houſe hath "power to prepare for, or Both, to propound to Us. Nor are you a "little miſtaken, if either you believe the generality of this Nation to "deſire a Change of Church Government, or that moſt of thoſe who "deſire it, deſire by it to introduce that which You only eſteem a Re- "formation; but are as unwilling to ſubmit to what You call the Yoke "of Chriſt, and obedience to the Goſpel, as thoſe whom You call pro- "phane, and worldly Men; and ſo equally averſe both to Epiſcopacy, "and Presbytery, that, if they ſhould prevail in this particular, the abo- "lition of the One, would be no inlet to the Other; nor would your "hearts be leſs griev'd, your expectations leſs fruſtrated, your hopes

"leſs aſhamed, or your Reformation more ſecured. And the Petitioners, "upon due conſideration, will not find themſelves leſs miſtaken in the "Government of all the Reformed Churches, which, they ſay, is by Aſ- "ſemblies, than they are in the beſt way of Reformation; which ſure "is beſt to be in a Common, and Ordinary way, where the Paſſion, or "intereſt of particular Men may not impoſe upon the publick; but al- "teration be then only made, when, upon calm debates, and evident, "and clear reaſon, and convenience, the ſame ſhall be generally con- "ſented to for the Peace, and Security of the People; and thoſe, who "are truſted by the Law, with ſuch debates, are not deveſted of that "truſt, upon a General charge of Corruptions, pretended to have en- "ter'd by that way; and of being the Perſons to be Reform'd, and ſo un- "fit to be Reformers. And certainly, the like Logick, with the like "Charges, and Pretences, might be uſed to make the Parliament it ſelf "an incapable Judge of any Reformation, either in Church, or State.

"FOR the general expreſſions in the Petition againſt Papiſts, in which "the Petitioners may be underſtood to charge us with compliance and "even Favour to their opinions; We have taken all occaſions to publiſh "to the world our practice and reſolution in the true Proteſtant Re- "form'd Religion: and We are verily perſwaded, there is no One Sub- "ject, in either of our Dominions, who at all knows us, and hath ob- "ſerv'd our life, but is, in his Soul, ſatisfied of our conſtant Zeal and "unmoveable Affection to that Religion, and of our true diſlike of, and "hearty Oppoſition to Popery. And as We willingly conſented, at our "being in *Scotland*, to all Acts propoſed to us, for the diſcountenancing, "and the reforming the Papiſts in that our Kingdom; ſo by our Pro- "clamations for the putting of all Laws ſeverely in execution againſt "Recuſants; and by not refuſing any one Bill, preſented to Us to that "purpoſe, in this Kingdom; and by our perpetual and publick profeſ- "ſions of readineſs, with the advice of our two Houſes, of Parliament, "prepared for Us in a deliberate and orderly way, to find ſome expe- "dient to perfect ſo good a work: We conceiv'd, We had not left it "poſſible, for any Man to believe Us guilty of tolerating any part of "the Romiſh Tyranny or Superſtition; or to ſuſpect, that the Conver- "ſion of our deareſt Conſort was not ſo much our deſire, that the Ac- "ceſſion of as many Crowns as God hath already beſtow'd on Us, would "not be more welcome to Us than that day: A bleſſing, which it is our "daily Prayer to the Almighty to beſtow upon Us.

"BUT We might well have expected from the Petitioners, who have "in their Solemn, National Covenant, literally ſworn ſo much care of "the ſafety of our Perſon, and cannot but know in how much danger "That hath been, and ſtill is, by the power and threats of Rebellious "Armies, that they would as well have remember'd the 23d of *October*, "as the 5th of *November*; and as well have taken notice of the Army "raiſed, and led againſt us by the Earl of *Eſſex*, which hath actually aſ- "ſaulted, and endeavour'd to murther Us; which We know to abound "in Browniſts, Anabaptiſts, and other Sectaries; and in which We have "reaſon (by Priſoners We have taken, and the evidence they have given) "to believe there are many more Papiſts (and many of thoſe Forreigners) "than in all our Army; as have adviſed Us, to disband out of the Army "of the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, which is raiſed for our defence, the Papiſts "in that Army; who are known to be no ſuch Number, as to endan- "ger their obtaining any power of building Their Babel, and ſetting up

"Their Idolatry; and whoſe Loyalty he hath reaſon to commend "(though he was never ſuſpected for favouring their Religion) not be- "fore that of Proteſtants, but of ſuch as Rebel under that Title; and "whoſe Aſſiſtance is as due to Us, by the Law of God and Man, to "reſcue Us from Domeſtick Rebellion, as to defend Us from Forreign "Invaſion; which We think no Man denies to be lawful for them to do. "But We do ſolemnly declare, and proteſt, that God ſhall no ſooner "free Us from the deſperate, and Rebellious Armes taken up againſt Us, "but We ſhall endeavour to free Our ſelves and Kingdom from any "fear of danger from the other, by diſarming them, according to the "Laws of this Land; as We ſhall not fail to ſend Our Commiſſioner to "the Aſſembly, at the time appointed for it by the Laws of *Scotland*.

"To conclude, We deſire, and require the Petitioners (as becomes "good, and pious Preachers of the Goſpel) to uſe their utmoſt endea- "vours, to compoſe any diſtraction in opinions, or miſunderſtandings, "which may, by the Faction of ſome turbulent Perſons, be raiſed in "the minds of our good Subjects of that our Kingdom; and to infuſe "into them a true ſenſe of Charity, Obedience, and Humility, the great "principles of the Chriſtian Religion; that they may not ſuffer them- "ſelves to be tranſported with things that they do not underſtand, or "think themſelves concern'd in the Government of another Kingdom, "becauſe it is not according to the Cuſtoms of that in which They live; "but that they diſpoſe themſelves, with modeſty, and devotion, to the "ſervice of Almighty God; with Duty, and Affection, to the obedience "of Us, and our Laws (remembering the ſingular grace, favour, and "benignity, We have always expreſs'd to that our Native Kingdom) "and with Brotherly, and Chriſtian Charity one towards another: And "We doubt not but God, in his mercy to Us and Them, will make us "inſtruments of his Bleſſings upon each other, and Both of us, in a "great meaſure, of happineſs, and proſperity, to the whole Nation.

The Tranſactions of the Earl of Lowden *and other* Scotiſh *Commiſſioners at* Oxford: *that they might be Mediators, and for a Parliament in* Scotland.

THE Lord *Lowden*, and the other lay Commiſſioners, who were Perſons entirely guided by him, and of inferior Quality, gave the precedence to this Petition, which they call'd matter of Religion; and preſs'd not their own Commiſſion, till the King had declared, and publiſh'd his Anſwer to the other; and though they pretended not to have any Authority, to ſay any thing in that engagement of the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly; yet the Lord *Lowden* uſed all importunity, and arguments, to perſwade the King in private, to conſent to the alteration of the Government of the Church; aſſuring him, "that it would be a "means, not only to hinder his Subjects of *Scotland* from adhering to "the Parliament; but that it would oblige them, to aſſiſt his Majeſty to "the utmoſt, in the vindication of all his Rights. But he quickly found the King too ſtrongly fixed to be ſwayed in a caſe of Conſcience, by a conſideration of Convenience; and his Lordſhip undertook to give no other Arguments.

HE betook himſelf then with his Companions, to their own proper, and avow'd Errand; which conſiſted of two parts: The One, "to offer "the mediation of the Conſervators of the Peace of that Kingdom, for "the compoſure of the differences between the King and the two Houſes; the Other, "to deſire his Majeſty, that he would ſend out his precepts "to Summon a Parliament in *Scotland*. Theſe deſires, and any Arguments to inforce them, they always deliver'd to the King himſelf in writing;

writing: declining any Addreſs to his Miniſters, or any debates with his Council, leſt it might ſeem to leſſen the Grandeur and Abſoluteneſs of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. But the King always brought thoſe papers, which he receiv'd from them, to his Council; and receiv'd Their advice, what Anſwers to return. For the firſt, of Mediation, they pretended a Title, and obligation to it; by a Clauſe in the Act of Pacification made at the beginning of this Parliament; which Clauſe was: "That the "Peace to be then eſtabliſh'd, might be inviolably obſerv'd, in all time "to come, it was agreed, that ſome ſhould be appointed by his Majeſty, "and the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, who, in the interim betwixt "the ſitting of the Parliaments, might be careful, that the Peace then "happily concluded might be continued; and who ſhould endeavour by "all means to prevent all troubles, and diviſions; and if any debate and "difference ſhould happen to ariſe, to the diſturbance of the Common "Peace, they ſhould labour to remove, or compoſe them, according to "their power; it being ſuppoſed, that for all their proceedings of this "kind, they ſhould be anſwerable to the King's Majeſty and the Parlia-"ment; and if any thing ſhould fall out that ſhould be above their "power, and could not be remedied by them, they ſhould inform them-"ſelves in the particulars, and repreſent the ſame to the King's Majeſty, "and the enſuing Parliament; that, by their Wiſdoms and Authority, "all occaſion and cauſes of troubles might be removed, and the Peace "of the Kingdom might be perpetual to all poſterity. And it was de-"clared, that the power of the Commiſſion ſhould be reſtrain'd to the "Articles of Peace in that Treaty.

THIS Clauſe, and the whole Statute, being carefully peruſed, and examined before his Majeſty in his Council, the King return'd an Anſwer to them in writing.

The King's Anſwer to them in both particulars.

"THAT He could not find any colour, or pretence of Authority, to "be granted by that Act of Parliament, by which the Commiſſioners "for *Scotland* could conceive themſelves intereſted in a faculty of Me-"diation; that the Clauſe mention'd by them (beſides that there was no "ſuch Commiſſion granted as was mention'd in that Clauſe, nor any "Commiſſioners named for thoſe purpoſes) related only to the diffe-"rences that might grow between the two Nations; and only upon the "Articles of that Treaty, which, his Majeſty ſaid, had been, and ſhould "be inviolably obſerv'd by Him. That the differences between his Ma-"jeſty and his two Houſes of Parliament, had not the leaſt Relation to "the Peace between the two Kingdoms, but to his unqueſtionable, and "long enjoyed Rights, which his Rebellious Subjects endeavour'd, by "Force, to wreſt from him; and concern'd the fundamental Laws of "this Kingdom; which, as they could not be ſuppoſed to be known to "the Conſervators of the Peace of *Scotland*, ſo They could not have "any poſſible Cogniſance of them. That it might give great Umbrage "to his Subjects of *England*, if he ſhould conſent to what they now "propoſed; and, inſtead of confirming, and continuing the Peace, breed "jealouſies between the Nations; and therefore he could not admit of "any ſuch Mediation as They propoſed; but that he hoped the Treaty, "which he now expected, would beget ſo good an underſtanding be-"tween Him and his two Houſes, that a Peace might enſue; towards "which he would expect nothing from his Subjects of *Scotland*, but "their Prayers.

THIS gave them no ſatisfaction, but they inſiſted ſtill on their right

by that Clauſe, which, without any Reaſon or Argument to perſwade others to be of their mind, they ſaid, "they conceiv'd, laid that obliga-"tion upon them of interpoſition; to which the King ſtill gave the ſame Anſwer.

FOR their Other demand of a Parliament in *Scotland*, the caſe ſtood thus: The King, at his laſt being in *Scotland*, had, according to the Precedent he had made Here, granted an Act for Triennial Parliaments in that Kingdom; and, at the cloſe of that preſent Parliament, had ratified another Act, by which, a certain day was appointed, for the Commencement of the next; which day was to be on the firſt *Tueſday* of *June*, in the year 1644, except the King ſhould call one ſooner; which he had power to do. So that the queſtion was only, whether the calling a Parliament ſooner in that Kingdom, was like to advance His ſervice, and to contribute to the Peace of This? In the diſquiſition whereof, there needed no Arguments, that ſuch a Convention could not then produce benefit to the King; the entire Government of that People being in thoſe Perſons, who had contrived thoſe diſmal alterations. On the other hand, all Men thought it very happy for the King, that, without His conſent, there could be no Parliament in *Scotland*, till *June* 1644; which was more than fourteen Months from this time: till when, how diſinclin'd ſoever the whole Nation ſhould be, there was as much Aſſurance, as could poſſibly be, from that People, that the Parliament would not be able to procure any avow'd ſupply from that Kingdom: It being the expreſs words in the late Act of Pacification, "that the Kingdom of *England* "ſhould not denounce, or make War againſt the Kingdom of *Scotland*, "without conſent of the Parliament of *England*; as on the other part, it was enacted, "that the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhould not denounce, or "make War againſt the Kingdom of *England*, without the conſent of the "Parliament of *Scotland*. And in caſe any of the Subjects of either of the "Kingdoms ſhould ariſe in Armes, or make War againſt the other King-"dom, or Subjects thereof, without conſent of the Parliament of that "Kingdom, whereof they are Subjects, or upon which they do depend, "that they ſhould be held, reputed, and demanded, as Traytors to the "Eſtates, whereof they are Subjects. And, that both the Kingdoms, in "that caſe, ſhould be bound to concur in the repreſſing of thoſe that "ſhould happen to ariſe in Armes, or make War, without conſent of "their own Parliament.

SO that whoever believ'd, that thoſe People could be contain'd by any obligations, Divine, or Humane, thought it impoſſible, by theſe clear Texts, that any Forces could be raiſed there to invade *England*, and diſturb his Majeſty, till *June* 1644; before which time, there was hope the King might ſo far prevail, that the ſpirit of the Rebellion might be broken, and Men return again to their Underſtanding, and Allegiance. Therefore to that demand, the King return'd Anſwer, "that againſt the "time by which they could legally demand a Parliament (naming the day) "he would iſſue out his Writs, and there being no emergent Cauſe "to do it ſooner, he would forbear to put his Subjects there to that "trouble, which thoſe meetings, how neceſſary ſoever, would naturally "carry with them.

WHEN they perceiv'd that they ſhould not receive ſatisfaction in either of their Propoſals, and (which it may be troubled them more) that the King was ſo wary in his Anſwers, and ſo clearly expreſs'd the Reaſons, and Juſtice of them, that they ſhould have no Arguments to apply

to the paſſion, or intereſt, of their Country-men; which they expected at leaſt (For in that, in which he was moſt ſtedfaſtly reſolv'd, the preſervation of the Government of the Church, he expreſs'd no more to them, than, "That being a matter of ſo great importance, and having ſo near "Relation to the Civil Government, and Laws of *England*, They could "not be competent conſiderers of it; but that He would do what ſhould "be moſt ſafe, and neceſſary for the peace and welfare of his Subjects, "who were moſt concern'd in it) At laſt rather curſorily, and as matter of Ceremony at parting, than of moment, they deſired "the King's leave, "and Paſs to go to *London*, having, as they ſaid, "ſome buſineſs there "before their return into their own Country.

THIS was, by many, thought a thing of ſo ſmall moment, that the King ſhould readily grant it; ſince it was evident, that it was in their own power to go thither without his leave; for they were neceſſarily to return through the Enemies Quarters; and being once there, they might chooſe whether they would go directly home, or viſit *London*. And therefore that requeſt was thought but an Inſtance of their modeſty, that they might not return without one thing granted to them, at their requeſt. But the King look'd upon it as no indifferent thing; and their asking a buſineſs that they needed not ask, was enough to demonſtrate, that there was more in it than appear'd. And he well knew, there was a great difference between their going to *London* with His Paſs, and Licence, and without it, which they might eaſily do. They had now publickly declar'd their Errand, and claim'd a Title, and Legal Capacity to undertake the buſineſs of Mediation; which would be ſo far from being rejected there, that they would be thankfully receiv'd, and admitted to a power of Umpirage. If upon, or after this claim, the King ſhould grant them His Paſs, it would, by their Logick, more reaſonably conclude his Aſſent, than many of thoſe inferences which they drew from more diſtant Propoſitions; and having that ground once, his Majeſty's not conſenting to what thoſe grave Mediators would propoſe, and afterwards, as Arbitrators, award, ſhould be quarrel ſufficient for the whole Nation to Engage. And therefore the King expreſsly denied his Paſs, and Safe Conduct; and told them plainly the reaſon why he did ſo; and required them, "ſince he had de-"nied to conſent to that, which could be the only ground of their go-"ing to *London*, that they ſhould firſt return to thoſe that ſent them, "before they attempted that Journey: if they did otherwiſe, they muſt "run the hazard of Perſons, whom his Majeſty would not countenance "with His Protection. And the truth is, though they might very well have gone to *London*, they could not have return'd thence to *Scotland* (except they would have ſubmitted to the inconvenience and hazard of a Voyage by Sea) without ſo much danger from the King's Quarters in the North (*York*, and *New-Caſtle* being at His devotion) that they could not reaſonably promiſe themſelves to eſcape.

The Parliaments Commiſſioners to Treat came to Oxford.

WHILST this was in agitation, the Committee from the Parliament for the Treaty, to wit, the Earl of *Northumberland*, Mr *Peirrepoint*, Sr *W. Armyn*, Sr *John Holland*, and Mr *Whitlock*, came to *Oxford*; who ſhortly took notice of the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners deſires, and alſo deſired on their behalf, "that they might have his Majeſty's leave to go to *Lon-"don*: but being quickly anſwer'd, "that that requeſt would not fall "within either of the Propoſitions agreed to be treated of, they modeſtly gave over the Interceſſion: and in the end, the Lord *Lowden*, and his Country-men, return'd directly to *Scotland*, ſtaying only ſo long in the Garriſons

Garriſons of the Enemy, through which they were reaſonably to paſs, as to receive ſuch Animadverſions, and to entertain ſuch Communication, as they thought moſt neceſſary.

The Treaty begins upon the Propoſals of Ceſſation, but that takes no effect.

ASSOON as the Committee arriv'd at *Oxford*, they were very graciouſly receiv'd by the King; his Majeſty allways giving them Audience in Council, and They withdrawing into a private Chamber prepared for them, whilſt their Propoſals, which they ſtill deliver'd in writing, were conſider'd, and debated before the King. They declared, "that they were "firſt to Treat of the Ceſſation, and till that was concluded, that they "were not to enter upon any of the other Propoſitions; with which his Majeſty was well pleaſed, preſuming that they had brought, or had power to give, conſent to the Articles propoſed by him; which he rather believ'd, when they read the preamble to the Articles; in which it was declared, "that the Lords and Commons being ſtill carried on with a vehe-"ment deſire of Peace, that ſo the Kingdom might be freed from the deſo-"lation, and deſtruction, wherewith it was like to be overwhelm'd, had "conſider'd of the Articles of Ceſſation with thoſe alterations, and addi-"tions, offer'd by his Majeſty; unto which they were ready to agree in ſuch "manner as was expreſs'd in the enſuing Articles. After which, were inſerted the very Articles had been firſt ſent to the King, without the leaſt condeſcenſion to any one Alteration, or Addition, made by him; neither had the Committee power to recede or conſent to any Alteration, but only to publiſh it, if the King conſented in Terms, and Then, and not till Then, to proceed to Treat upon the other Propoſitions.

THIS the King look'd upon as an ill Omen; other Men as a plain Contempt, and Stratagem, to make the People believe by their ſending their Committee, that they did deſire a Treaty and a Ceſſation, yet, by limiting them ſo ſtrictly, to fruſtrate Both, and to caſt the Envy of it upon the King. Hereupon, the next day, the King ſent a Meſſage to them, which he publiſh'd, to undeceive the People; farther preſſing "the weight and "conſequence of his former exceptions, and alterations; and the incon-"venience that proceeded from not granting their Committee power to "alter ſo much as verbal Expreſſions: ſo that, if the King ſhould conſent "to the Articles, as they were propoſed, he ſhould not only ſubmit to "great diſadvantages; but ſome ſuch, as Themſelves would not think rea-"ſonable to oblige him to. As by that Article wherein they reſerv'd a "power to ſend out a Fleet, or what Ships They thought good, to Sea; they "were not at all reſtrain'd, from ſending what Land Forces they pleaſed, "to any part of the Kingdom; ſo that, when the Ceſſation ended, they "might have new, and greater Armies throughout the Kingdom, than "they had when it begun; which, he preſumed, they did not intend; be-"ing a thing ſo unequal, and contrary to the Nature of a Ceſſation.

"THEN in the Articles they laſt ſent, they ſtyled their Forces, the Ar-"my raiſed by the Parliament, the which if his Majeſty ſhould conſent to "he muſt acknowledge, either that he conſented to the raiſing that Army, "or that He was no part of the Parliament: neither of which, he con-"ceiv'd, they would oblige him to do. And therefore, he deſired, "that "their Committee might have liberty to treat, debate, and agree upon "the Articles; upon which They, and all the world ſhould find, that he "was leſs ſollicitous for his own dignity, and greatneſs, than for his Sub-"jects Eaſe, and Liberty. But if that ſo reaſonable, equal, and juſt deſire "of His, ſhould not be yielded unto, but the ſame Articles ſtill inſiſted "upon, though his Majeſty, next to Peace, deſired a Ceſſation, yet, that

"the not agreeing upon the One, might not deſtroy the hopes of, nor ſo "much as delay the Other; He was willing to Treat, even without a Ceſ- "ſation, upon the Propoſitions themſelves, in that order that was agreed; "and deſired their Committee might be enabled to that effect. In which "Treaty he would give, he ſaid, "all his Subjects that ſatisfaction, that if "any ſecurity to enjoy all the Rights, Privileges, and Liberties, due to "them by the Law, or that happineſs in Church and State, which the beſt "times had ſeen, with ſuch farther Acts of Grace, as might agree with his "Honour, Juſtice, and Duty to his Crown, and which might not render "him leſs able to protect his Subjects, according to his Oath, would ſa- "tisfy them; his Majeſty was confident, in the Mercy of God, that no "more precious blood of this Nation would be thus miſerably ſpent.

THIS Meſſage produced Liberty to the Committee to enter upon the Treaty it ſelf, upon the Propoſitions, though the Ceſſation ſhould not be agreed to: and ſhortly after they ſent reaſons to the King, why they conſented not to the Ceſſation in ſuch manner, and with thoſe limitations, as He had propoſed. 1. They alledged, "that, if they ſhould grant ſuch a "free Trade, as the King deſired, to *Oxford*, and other places, where his "Forces lay, it would be very difficult, if not impoſſible, to keep Armes, "Ammunition, Money, and Bullion, from paſſing to his Army: How- "ever, it would be exceeding advantageous to his Majeſty, in ſupplying "his Army with many neceſſaries, and making their Quarters a Staple "for ſuch Commodities, as might be vented in the adjacent Counties; "and ſo draw Money thither; whereby the Inhabitants would be better "enabled by Loanes, and Contributions, to ſupport his Army. As this "advantage to Him was very Demonſtrable, ſo it was very Improbable, "that it would produce any ſupply to Them; and, in a Treaty for Ceſſa- "tion, thoſe demands could not be thought reaſonable that were not in- "different, that is, equally advantageous to both Parties. 2. That to de- "mand the approving the Commanders of the Ships, was, to deſire to add "the ſtrength of the one Party to the other, before the differences were "ended; againſt all Rules of Treaty. And to make a Ceſſation at Sea, was "to leave the Kingdom naked to Forreign Forces, and the Ports open for "His ſupplies of Armes, and Ammunition. But for conveying any Forces, "by thoſe means, from one part to the other, they would obſerve the Ar- "ticles, by which that was reſtrain'd. 3. For the expreſſion of the Army "raiſed by the Parliament, they were contented it ſhould be alter'd, and "the name of the two Houſes uſed. 4. For the Committing none, but ac- "cording to the known Laws of the Land, that is, by the ordinary Proceſs "of Law, it would follow, that no Man muſt be committed by Them for "ſupplying the King with Armes, Money, or Ammunition; for, by the "Law of the Land, the Subject might carry ſuch goods from *London* to "*Oxford*: The Soldiers muſt not be committed who do run from their "Colours, and refuſe any duty in the Army; no Man ſhould be com- "mitted, for not ſubmitting to neceſſary ſupplies of Money: ſo that if it "ſhould be yielded to, in his Majeſty's ſenſe, they ſhould be diſabled to "reſtrain ſupplies from their Enemies, and to govern, and maintain their "own Soldiers; and ſo, under a diſguiſe of a Ceſſation, ſhould admit that "which would neceſſarily produce the diſſolving of their Army, and de- "ſtruction of their Cauſe. And, they ſaid, "it was not probable, that his "Majeſty would ſuffer the ſame inconveniences by that Clauſe; for that "they believ'd he would interpret, that what his General did by Vertue "of His Commiſſion, was and would be done according to the known

"Laws

"Laws of the Land; whereas he had denied, that thoſe known Laws "gave any power to the two Houſes of Parliament, to raiſe Armes; and "ſo, conſequently, their General could not exerciſe any martial Laws. "So that under the ſpecious ſhew of Liberty, and Law, They ſhould be "alltogether diſabled to defend their Liberties and Laws; and his Majeſty "would enjoy an abſolute Victory, and Submiſſion, under pretence of a "Ceſſation, and Treaty. They ſaid, "being, by a neceſſity inevitable, en-"forced to a Defenſive War, and therein warranted both by the Laws of "God and Man, it muſt needs follow, that, by the ſame Law, they were "enabled to raiſe means to ſupport that War; and therefore they could "not relinquiſh that power of laying Taxes upon thoſe who ought to joyn "with them in that Defence, and the neceſſary way of levying thoſe "Taxes upon them, in caſe of refuſal; for otherwiſe their Army muſt "needs be diſſolv'd.

Though theſe Reaſons were capable, in a ſad, and compoſed debate, of full Anſwers, and many things would naturally have flow'd from them, to diſprove the Practice and Aſſertions of the framers of them; yet it was very evident, that they carried ſuch a kind of reaſon with them, as would prevail over the underſtandings of the People; and that the King, by not conſenting to the Ceſſation, as it was propoſed by them, would be generally thought to have rejected Any; which could not but have an ill influence upon his Affairs: and therefore his Majeſty ſent them, aſſoon as he had weighed this late Meſſage, which he well diſcern'd was not form'd to ſatisfy him, but to ſatisfy the People againſt him, an Anſwer; in which he explain'd the ill conſequence of many of their Aſſumſions, and inforced the importance of his former demands on the behalf of the People; however, he offer'd "to admit the Ceſſation upon the matter of their "own Articles; ſo that he might not be underſtood to conſent to any of "thoſe unjuſt, and illegal powers, which they exerciſed upon the Subjects. But from henceforward, the Houſes declin'd any farther Argument, and Debate concerning the Ceſſation; and directed their Committee, "to ex-"pedite the Treaty upon the Propoſitions: the Particulars whereof being tranſacted in the beginning of the year 1643. I ſhall refer the Narrative to the next Book; intending in This, only to comprehend the Tranſactions to the end of 1642.

I AM perſwaded if the King had, upon the receipt of the Articles for the Ceſſation, when they were firſt ſent to him, frankly conſented to it, it would have prov'd very much to his advantage; and that His Army would very much have encreaſed by it, and the Other been impaired; and that it would have been very difficult for the Parliament to have diſſolv'd it, if once begun, or to have determin'd the Treaty. But beſides the reaſons before mention'd, the conſideration of the Northern Forces, and the reſtraining them within their old Quarters, who ſeem'd to be in a condition of marching even to *London* it ſelf, prevail'd very far with the King; or rather (which indeed was the main reaſon, and render'd every other Suggeſtion of Weight) the jealouſy that they did not intend to conſent to, or admit any Peace, but ſuch a one as his Majeſty might Not admit, made all the preliminary debates the more inſiſted on.

I CANNOT but inſert one Particular, which may hereafter be thought of ſome ſignification. It was now the time of the year when, by the cuſtom of the Kingdom, the King's Judges *Itinerant* uſed to go the Circuits throughout *England*, and *Wales*, to adminiſter Juſtice to the People; and to enquire into all Treaſons, Felonies, Breaches of the Peace, and other

misdemeanours; which were any where committed contrary to the known Laws; and they were sworn to judge according to those known Laws, the study and knowledge whereof was their profession.

The advice and desires of the two Houses concerning Goal-delivery.

THE Lords and Commons now sent to the King a special Message, "to advise, and desire him, that, in regard of the present distractions, "which might hinder both the Judges, and the People, from resorting to "those places where such meetings might be appointed, the Assizes and "Goal-delivery might not be holden; but that it might be deferr'd, un-"till it should please God to restore Peace unto his People.

His Majesty's Answer.

THE King return'd them Answer; "that the present bloody distra-"ctions of the Kingdom, which he had used all possible means to prevent, "and would still to remove, did afflict his Majesty under no consideration "more, than of the great interruption, and stop it made in the Course "and Proceedings of Justice, and the Execution of the Laws; whereby "his good Subjects were robb'd of the Peace, and Security they were born "to. And therefore, as much as in Him lay, he would advance that only "means of their happiness; at least, they should see that their sufferings "that way, proceeded not from his Majesty; and since they might now "expect, by the Laws, Statutes, and Customs of the Kingdom, the Assizes "and general Goal-delivery in every County, his Majesty thought not fit "to command the contrary; but would take severe, and precise order, "that None of his Subjects should receive the least prejudice, as they re-"paired thither, by any of his Forces, which rule he should be glad to "see observ'd by others. And then he hoped, by the execution of the "Laws, even those publick Calamities might have some abatement, and "the Kingdom recover its former Peace, and Prosperity.

The two Houses make an Ordinance to forbid the next Assizes, and Goal-delivery.

BUT this Answer was not more satisfactory than others they had usually receiv'd from him; and therefore they betook themselves to their old, tryed Weapon, and made an *Ordinance*, "that all Judges, and Justices "of Assize, and *Nisi prius*, and Justices of *Oyer*, and *Terminer*, and Goal-"delivery, should forbear to execute any of their said Commissions, or to "hold or keep any Assizes, or Goal-delivery, at any time during that "Lent Vacation; as they would Answer the contempt, and neglect there-"of, before the Lords and Commons in Parliament. This was the first avow'd Interruption, and Suspension of the publick Justice, that happen'd, or that was known ever before in that kind; and gave the People occasion to believe, that what the Parliament did, what pretence soever there was of Fundamental Laws, was not so warrantable by that Rule, since they labour'd so much to suppress that inquisition. It was not in the King's power to help this; for besides that the example of Judge *Mallet*, who, the Circuit before, had been forcibly taken from the Bench by a Troop of Horse, as is before remember'd, terrified all the Judges (and there were very few Counties in *England*, in which they could have been secure from the like violence) the Records, upon which the Legal proceedings were to be, were at *London*; and so the exercise of the Law ceased throughout the Kingdom, save only in some few Counties, whither the King sent some Judges of Assize, and into others, his Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; by virtue whereof, the Earl of *Essex*, and many others, were as legally attainted of High Treason, as the wisdom of our Ancestors could direct.

THE Treaty, as is said, being managed at the Council Table, the Pride of the Parliament having refused to Treat with any but the King himself, and his Majesty resolving to transact all by the advice and opinion of his

Privy Council, it will be ſeaſonable in this place to ſet down the Names of all thoſe Privy Counſellors, who attended the King: there being at this time a new one added to the number; for in the time between the return of the Commiſſioners to *London*, and their coming back to the Treaty, Sr *John Colepepper* being preferr'd to be Maſter of the Rolls, Mr *Hyde* was made Chancellor of the Exchequer; who, till that time, though he was known to be truſted in matters of the greateſt importance, was not under any Character in the Court: And when We have named thoſe, who according to their duty did wait upon the King, We ſhall likewiſe name thoſe, who, being under the ſame obligation, ſtayed and acted with the Parliament againſt him.

An Account, and Character of the Privy Counſellors then attending the King, and thoſe who ſtayed with the two Houſes.

Mr Hyde made Chancellor of the Exchequer.

THE Lord *Littleton* was Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, of whom ſo much hath been ſaid before, that there is no need of Enlargement upon him in this place. His parts, which in the profeſſion of the Law were very great, were not very applicable to the buſineſs now in hand; and though, from the time of the King's coming to *Oxford*, the King had confidence enough in him, to leave the Seal in his Cuſtody, and he would have been glad to have done any ſervice; yet, by ill fortune, he had drawn ſo great a diſeſteem upon him from moſt Men, that he gave little Reputation to the Council, and had little Authority in it.

Of the Lord Littleton.

THE Duke of *Richmond*, as he was of the nobleſt extraction, being neareſt allied to the King's Perſon of any Man who was not deſcended from King *James*; ſo he was very worthy of all the grace and favour the King had ſhew'd him; who had taken great care of his Education, and ſent him into *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, where he was created a Grandee of that Kingdom; and aſſoon as he return'd, though he was ſcarce one and twenty years of Age, made him a Privy Counſellor; and ſhortly after, out of his abundant kindneſs to both Families, married him to the ſole Daughter of his dead Favourite, the Duke of *Buckingham*; with whom he receiv'd twenty thouſand pounds in Portion; and his Majeſty's bounty was likewiſe very great to him; ſo that, as he was very eminent in his Title, he was at great eaſe in his Fortune. He was a Man of very good parts, and an excellent underſtanding; yet, which is no common infirmity, ſo diffident of himſelf, that he was ſometimes led by Men who judged much worſe. He was of a great, and haughty Spirit, and ſo punctual in point of Honour, that he never ſwerv'd a tittle. He had ſo entire a Reſignation of himſelf to the King, that he abhorr'd all Artifices to ſhelter himſelf from the prejudice of thoſe, who, how powerful ſoever, fail'd in their duty to his Majeſty; and therefore he was purſued with all imaginable malice by them, as One that would have no quarter, upon ſo infamous Terms, as but looking on whilſt his Maſter was ill uſed. As he had receiv'd great bounties from the King, ſo he ſacrificed all he had to his Service, aſſoon as his occaſions ſtood in need of it; and lent his Majeſty, at one time, twenty thouſand pounds together; and, aſſoon as the War begun, engaged his three Brothers, all Gallant Gentlemen, in the ſervice; in which they all loſt their Lives. Himſelf liv'd, with unſpotted fidelity, ſome years after the Murther of his Maſter, and was ſuffer'd to put him into his grave; and dyed, without the comfort of ſeeing the Reſurrection of the Crown

Of the Duke of Richmond.

THE Marquis of *Hertford* was a Man of great Honour, and Fortune, and intereſt in the Affection of the People; and had always undergone hard meaſure from the Court, where he long receiv'd no Countenance,

Of the marquis of Hertford.

and

and had no deſign of making advantage from it. For, though he was a Man of very good parts, and converſant in Books, both in the Latin and Greek Languages, and of a clear Courage, of which he had given frequent Evidence; yet he was ſo wholely given up to a Country life, where he liv'd in ſplendour, that he had an averſion, and even an unaptneſs, for Buſineſs: Beſides his particular Friendſhip with the Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe Siſter he had married, his greateſt acquaintance and converſation had been with thoſe, who had the reputation of being beſt affected to the Liberty of the Kingdom, and leaſt in love with the humour of the Court; many of whom were the chief of thoſe, who engaged themſelves moſt factiouſly, and furiouſly againſt the King. But aſſoon as he diſcern'd their violent purpoſes againſt the Government eſtabliſh'd, before he ſuſpected their blacker deſigns, he ſevered himſelf from them; and, from the beginning of the Parliament, never concurr'd with them in any one Vote diſhonourable to the King, or in the proſecution of the Earl of *Strafford*. He did accept the Government of the Prince of *Wales*, as is mention'd before, purely out of obedience to the King; and, no doubt, it was a great ſervice; though for the performance of the Office of a Governour, he never thought himſelf fit, nor meddled with it. He left *York*, as is remember'd, to form an Army for the King in the Weſt, where his Intereſt was; but he found thoſe parts ſo corrupted, and an Army from the Parliament was poured down ſo ſoon upon him, that there was nothing for the preſent to be done worthy of his preſence; ſo that he ſent the ſmall Party, that was with him, farther Weſt to *Cornwal*; where, by degrees, they grew able to raiſe an Army, with which they joyn'd with him afterwards again; and himſelf return'd to the King at *Oxford*, about the time when the Treaty begun.

Of the Earl of Southampton. THE Earl of *Southampton* was indeed a great Man in all reſpects, and brought very much Reputation to the King's Cauſe. He was of a nature much inclined to Melancholy, and being born a younger Brother, and his Father, and his Elder Brother dying upon the point together, whilſt he was but a Boy, he was at firſt much troubled to be call'd *my Lord*; and with the noiſe of Attendance; ſo much he Then delighted to be alone. He had a great Spirit; he had never had any converſation in the Court, nor obligation to it. On the contrary, he had undergone ſome hardſhip from it; which made it believ'd, that he would have been ready to have taken all occaſions of being ſevere towards it. And therefore, in the beginning of the Parliament, no Man was more courted by the Managers of thoſe Deſigns. He had great diſlike of the High Courſes, which had been taken in the Government, and a particular prejudice to the Earl of *Strafford*, for ſome exorbitant proceedings. But, aſſoon as he ſaw the ways of reverence and duty towards the King declined, and the proſecution of the Earl of *Strafford* to exceed the limits of Juſtice, he oppoſed them vigorouſly in all their proceedings. He was a Man of great ſharpneſs of Judgement, a very quick Apprehenſion, and that readineſs of Expreſſion upon any ſuddain Debate, that no Man deliver'd himſelf more advantageouſly, and weightily, and more efficaciouſly with the hearers; ſo that no Man gave them more trouble in his oppoſition, or drew ſo many to a concurrence with him in opinion. He had no relation to, or dependence upon the Court, or purpoſe to have any; but wholely purſued the publick Intereſt. It was long before he could be prevail'd with to be a Counſellor, and longer before he would be admitted

mitted to be of the Bed-Chamber; and receiv'd both Honours the rather, becauſe, after he had refuſed to take a Proteſtation, which both Houſes had order'd to be taken by all their Members, They had likewiſe Voted, "that no Man ſhould be capable of any Preferment in "Church or State, who refuſed to take the ſame; and he would ſhew how much he contemn'd thoſe Votes. He went with the King to *York*; was moſt ſollicitous, as hath been ſaid, for the offer of Peace at *Nottingham*; and was with him at *Edge-hill*; and came and ſtayed with him at *Oxford* to the end of the War, taking all opportunities to advance all motions towards Peace, and, as no Man was more punctual in performing his own duty, ſo no Man had more Melancholy apprehenſions of the iſſue of the War, which is all ſhall be ſaid of him in this place, there being frequent occaſions to mention him, in the continuance of this diſcourſe.

Of the Earl of Leiceſter.

THE Earl of *Leiceſter* was a Man of great parts, very converſant in Books, and much addicted to the Mathematicks; and though he had been a Soldier, and Commanded a Regiment, in the Service of the States of the United Provinces, and was afterwards employed in ſeveral Embaſſies, as in *Denmark*, and in *France*, was in truth rather a Speculative, than a Practical Man; and expected a greater Certitude in the conſultation of buſineſs, than the buſineſs of this world is capable of: which temper prov'd very inconvenient to him through the courſe of his Life. He was, after the death of the Earl of *Straford*, by the concurrent kindneſs and eſteem both of King and Queen, call'd from his Embaſſy in *France*, to be Lieutenant of the Kingdom of *Ireland*; and, in a very ſhort time after, unhappily loſt that kindneſs and eſteem: And being, about the time of the King's coming to *Oxford*, ready to Embark at *Cheſter*, for the execution of his Charge, he was required to attend his Majeſty, for farther Inſtructions, at *Oxford*; where he remain'd; and though he was of the Council, and ſometimes preſent, he defired not to have any part in the buſineſs; and lay under many reproaches and jealouſies, which he deſerv'd not: For he was a Man of Honour, and Fidelity to the King, and his greateſt misfortunes proceeded from the ſtaggering, and irreſolution in his Nature.

Of the Earl of Briſtol.

THE Earl of *Briſtol* was a Man of a grave aſpect, of a preſence that drew reſpect, and of long experience in Affairs of great Importance. He had been, by the extraordinary favour of King *James* to his Perſon (for he was a very handſome Man) and his parts, which were naturally great, and had been improv'd by good Education at home and abroad, ſent Embaſſadour into *Spain*, before he was thirty years of Age; and afterwards in ſeveral other Embaſſies; and at laſt, again into *Spain*; where he Treated, and Concluded the Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and that Infanta; which was afterwards diſſolv'd. He was by King *James* made of the Privy Council, Vice-Chamberlain of the Houſehold, an Earl, and a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince, and was then cruſh'd by the power of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the prejudice the Prince himſelf had contracted againſt him, during his Highneſs's being in *Spain*; upon which he was impriſon'd upon his return; and after the Duke's death, the King retain'd ſo ſtrict a Memory of all that Duke's Friendſhips and Diſpleaſures, that the Earl of *Briſtol* could never recover any admiſſion to Court; but liv'd in the Country, in eaſe, and plenty in his Fortune, and in great Reputation with all who had not an implicit Reverence for the Court; and before, and in the beginning of the Parliament, appear'd in the head

of all the diſcontented Party; but quickly left them, when they enter'd upon their unwarantable Violences, and grew ſo much into their diſfavour, that after the King was gone to *York*, upon ſome expreſſions he uſed in the Houſe of Peers in Debate, they Committed him to the Tower; from whence being releaſed, in two or three days, he made haſt to *York* to the King; who had before reſtored him to his place in the Council, and the Bed-Chamber. He was with him at *Edgehill*, and came with him from thence to *Oxford*; and, at the end of the War, went into *France*; where he dyed; that Party having ſo great an Animoſity againſt him, that they would not ſuffer him to live in *England*, nor to compound for his Eſtate, as they ſuffer'd others to do, who had done them more hurt. Though he was a Man of great parts, and a Wiſe Man, yet he had been for the moſt part ſingle, and by himſelf, in buſineſs; which he managed with good ſufficiency; and had liv'd little in conſort, ſo that in Council he was paſſionate, and ſupercilious, and did not bear contradiction without much paſſion, and was too voluminous in diſcourſe; ſo that he was not conſider'd there with much reſpect; to the leſſening whereof no Man contributed more than his Son, the Lord *Digby*; who ſhortly after came to ſit there as Secretary of State, and had not that reverence for his Father's Wiſdom, which his great experience deſerv'd, though he failed not in his Piety towards him.

Of the Earl of New-Caſtle.

THE Earl of *New-Caſtle* was a Perſon well bred, and of a full and plentiful Fortune; and had been choſen by the King to be Governour to the Prince of *Wales*, and made of the Council, and reſign'd that Office of Governour to the Marquis of *Hertford*, for the reaſons which have been mention'd. He was not at *Oxford*, but remain'd at *New-Caſtle*, with the King's Commiſſion to be General of thoſe Parts; being a Man of great Courage, and ſignal Fidelity to the Crown, of whom there will be more occaſion hereafter to enlarge.

Of the Earl of Berk-ſhire *and others.*

THE Earl of *Berk-ſhire* was of the Council, but not yet at *Oxford*; having been, about, or before the ſetting up of the Standard, taken Priſoner in *Oxford-ſhire*, and committed to the Tower, upon an imagination that he had ſome purpoſe to have executed the Commiſſion of Array in that County; but they afterwards ſet him at Liberty, as a Man that could do them no harm any where; and then he came to *Oxford*, with the Title, and pretences of a Man, who had been impriſon'd for the King, and thereby merited more, than his Majeſty had to give. His Affection for the Crown was good, but his Intereſt little.

THE Lord *Dunſmore* had been made a Privy Counſellor, after ſo many, who had deſerv'd worſe, had been call'd thither: and was ready to do whatever he was directed; he was a Man of a rough, and tempeſtuous Nature, violent in purſuing what he wiſh'd, without judgement, or temper to know the way of bringing it to paſs; however, he had ſome kind of power with froward and diſcontented Men; at leaſt he had credit to make them more indiſpoſed. But his greateſt Reputation was, that the Earl of *Southampton* Married his Daughter, a beautiful, and a worthy Lady.

THE Lord *Seymour*, being Brother to the Marquis of *Hertford*, was a Man of Intereſt, and Reputation; he had been always very popular in the Country; where he had liv'd out of the grace of the Court; and his parts, and judgement, were beſt in thoſe things which concern'd the good husbandry, and the Common Adminiſtration of Juſtice to the People. In the beginning of the Parliament, he ſerv'd as Knight

of

of the Shire for *Wilt-ſhire*, where he reſided; and behaving himſelf with leſs violence in the Houſe of Commons, than many of his old Friends did, and having a great friendſhip for the Earl of *Strafford*, he was, by His interpoſition, call'd to the Houſe of Peers; where he carried himſelf very well in all things relating to the Crown; and when the King went to *York*, he left the Parliament, and follow'd his Majeſty, and remain'd firm in his fidelity.

THE Lord *Savil* was likewiſe of the Council, being firſt Controller, and then Treaſurer of the Houſehold, in recompence of his diſcovery of all the Treaſons, and Conſpiracies, after they had taken effect, and could not be puniſh'd. He was a Man of an Ambitious and reſtleſs Nature; of Parts and Wit enough; but, in his diſpoſition, and inclination, ſo Falſe, that he could never be believ'd, or depended upon. His particular Malice to the Earl of *Strafford*, which he had ſuck'd in with his Milk (there having always been an immortal Feud between the Families; and the Earl had ſhrewdly overborne his Father) had engaged him with all Perſons who were willing, and like to be able, to do Him miſchief. And ſo, having opportunity when the King was at the *Berks*, and made the firſt unhappy Pacification, to enter into converſation, and acquaintance, with thoſe who were then employed as Commiſſioners from the *Scots*, there was a ſecret Intelligence enter'd into between them from that time; and he was a principal Inſtrument to engage that Nation, to march into *England* with an Army; which they did the next year after. To which purpoſe, he ſent them a Letter, ſign'd with the Names of ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Nobility, inviting them to enter the Kingdom, and making great promiſes of Aſſiſtance; which Names were forged by himſelf, without the privity of thoſe who were named. And when all this miſchief was brought to paſs, and he found his credit in the Parliament not ſo great as other Mens, he inſinuated himſelf into credit with ſome body, who brought him to the King or Queen, to whom he confeſs'd all he had done to bring in the *Scots*, and Who had conſpired with him, and all the ſecrets he knew, with a thouſand Proteſtations "to repair all by future Loyalty, "and Service; for which he was promiſed a White Staff, which the King had then reſolv'd to take from Sr *Henry Vane*, who held it with the Secretary's Office; which he had accordingly; though all his diſcovery was of no other uſe, than that the King knew many had been Falſe, whom he could not puniſh; and ſome, whom he could not ſuſpect. When the King came to *York*, where this Lord's Fortune, and Intereſt lay, his Reputation was ſo low, that the Gentlemen of Intereſt, who wiſh'd well to the King's Service, would not communicate with him; and, after the King's remove from thence, the Earl of *New-Caſtle* found cauſe to have ſuch a jealouſy of him, that he thought it neceſſary to impriſon him; and afterwards ſent him to *Oxford*; where he ſo well purged himſelf, that he was again reſtored to his Office. But in the end he behaved himſelf ſo ill, that the King put him again out of his place, and committed him to Priſon, and never after admitted him to his preſence; nor would any Man of Quality ever after keep any correſpondence with him.

OF the Lord *Falkland*, and Sr *John Colepepper*, there hath been ſo much ſaid before, that there is no occaſion to add to it in this place. There will be reaſon too ſoon to lament the unhappy death of the former; and the latter, who never fail'd in his Fidelity, will be very often mention'd throughout the enſuing diſcourſe.

SECRETARY *Nicholas* was a very honeſt, and induſtrious Man, and always verſed in buſineſs; which few of the others were, or had been. After ſome time ſpent in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and then in the Middle Temple, he liv'd ſome years in *France*; and was afterwards Secretary to the Lord *Zouch*, who was a Privy Counſellor, and Warden of the Cinque Ports; and thereby he underſtood all that Juriſdiction, which is very great, and excluſive to the Admiral. And when that Lord, many years after, ſurrender'd that Office to the King, to the end that it might be conferr'd upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Secretary was likewiſe preferr'd with the Office; and ſo, in a ſhort time, became Secretary of the Admiralty, as well as of the Cinque Ports; and was entirely truſted, and eſteem'd by that great Favourite. After his death, he continued in the ſame place, whilſt the Office was in Commiſſion, and was then made Clerk of the Council, from whence the King call'd him to be Secretary of State, after Secretary *Windibank* fled the Kingdom; upon his Majeſty's own obſervation of his Virtue, and Fidelity, and without any other recommendation: and he was in truth, throughout his whole Life, a Perſon of very good Reputation, and of ſingular Integrity.

THERE remain only two of the Council then at *Oxford*, who are not yet named, Sr *John Banks*, who had been Atturney General, and was then Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, a Grave, and a Learned Man in the Profeſſion of the Law; and Sr *Peter Wych*, who had been Embaſſadour at *Conſtantinople*; from whence he return'd very little before the Troubles, and gratified Sr *Thomas Jermyn* very liberally for his White Staff, when the Court was very Low, and ſo was made a Privy Counſellor, and Controller of the Houſehold. He was a very honeſt, plain Man; and dyed very ſhortly after the Treaty, and was ſucceeded by Sr *Chriſtopher Hatton*, a Perſon of great Reputation at that time, which in few years he found a way to diminiſh.

Of thoſe of the Privy Counſellors who ſtayed with the Parliament.

Of the Earl of Northumberland.

OF thoſe who were of the King's Council, and who ſtayed and acted with the Parliament, the Earl of *Northumberland* may well be reckon'd the Chief, in reſpect of the Antiquity and Splendour of his Family, his great Fortune, and Eſtate, and the general Reputation he had among the greateſt Men, and his great Intereſt, by being High Admiral of *England*. Though he was of a Family, that had lain under frequent blemiſhes of want of Fidelity to the Crown, and his Father had been long a Priſoner in the Tower, under ſome ſuſpicion of having ſome knowledge of the Gunpowder Treaſon; and after he was ſet at Liberty, by the mediation and credit of the Earl of *Carliſle*, who had, without, and againſt his conſent, Married his Daughter, he continued, to his death, under ſuch a reſtraint, that he had not liberty to live and reſide upon his Northern Eſtate: Yet this Lord's Father was no ſooner dead, than the King poured out his Favours upon him, in a wonderful meaſure: he begun with conferring the Order of the Garter upon him, and ſhortly after made him of his Privy Council; when a great Fleet of Ships was prepared, by which the King meant that his Neighbour Princes ſhould diſcern, that he intended to maintain, and preſerve his Soveraignty at Sea, he ſent the Earl of *Northumberland* Admiral of that Fleet, a much greater than the Crown had put to Sea, ſince the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, that he might breed him for that Service, before he gave him a more abſolute Command. And after he had, in that Capacity, exerciſed himſelf a year or two, the King made him Lord

High Admiral of *England*; which was ſuch a quick ſucceſſion of Bounties and Favours, as had rarely befallen any Man, who had not been attended with the Envy of a Favourite. He was, in all his deportment, a very great Man, and that which look'd like Formality, was a Punctuality in preſerving his dignity, from the invaſion and intruſion of bold Men, which no Man of that Age ſo well preſerv'd himſelf from. Though his Notions were not large or deep, yet his temper, and reſervedneſs in diſcourſe, and his reſervedneſs in ſpeaking, got him the Reputation of an Able, and a Wiſe Man; which he made evident in the excellent Government of his Family, where no Man was more abſolutely obey'd; and no Man had ever fewer idle words to Anſwer for; and in debates of importance, he allways expreſs'd himſelf very pertinently. If he had thought the King as much above Him, as he thought Himſelf above other conſiderable Men, he would have been a good Subject; but the extreme undervaluing thoſe, and not enough valuing the King, made him liable to the impreſſions, which they who approach'd him by thoſe Addreſſes of Reverence, and Eſteem, that uſually inſinuate into ſuch Natures, made in him. So that after he was firſt prevail'd upon, not to do that which in honour and gratitude he was obliged to (which is a very peſtilent corruption) he was, with the more Facility, led to concur in what, in Duty and Fidelity, he ought not to have done, and which at firſt he never intended to have done. And ſo he concurr'd in all the Counſels which produced the Rebellion, and ſtayed with them to ſupport it; which is as much, as is neceſſary to ſay of him in this place, ſince there will be often occaſion hereafter to mention him, with ſome enlargement.

Of the Earl of Pembroke.

THE Earl of *Pembroke* hath been enough mention'd in a better conjuncture of time, when his Virtues were thought greater than they were, and his Vices very little diſcern'd. Yet, by what was then ſaid, his Nature, and his Parts might be well enough underſtood, and as neither the One, nor the Other were improvable, ſo they were liable to be corrupted by any Aſſaults; his Underſtanding being eaſy to be impoſed upon, and his Nature being made up of very ſtrong paſſions. Whilſt there was tranquility in the Kingdom, he enjoyed his full ſhare in Pomp and Greatneſs; the largeneſs and plentifulneſs of his Fortune being attended with reverence, and dependence from the People where his Eſtate, and Intereſt lay, and where indeed he was a great Man; getting an affection and eſteem from Perſons who had no dependence upon him, by his magnificent living, and diſcourſing highly of Juſtice, and of the Proteſtant Religion; inveighing bitterly againſt Popery, and telling what he uſed to ſay to the King; and ſpeaking frankly of the overſights of the Court, that he might not be thought a Slave to it. He had been bred, from his Cradle, in the Court; and had that perfection of a Courtier, that as he was not wary enough in offending Men, ſo he was forward in acknowledging it, even to his Inferiors, and to impute it to his paſſion, and ask pardon for it; which made him be thought a well natur'd Man. Beſides, he had an Office which, at that time, entitled him to the exerciſe of ſome rudeneſs, and the good Order of the Court had ſome dependence upon His Incivilities.

THERE were very few great Perſons in Authority, who were not frequently offended by him, by ſharp and ſcandalous diſcourſes, and invectives againſt them, behind their backs; for which they found it beſt to receive ſatisfaction by ſubmiſſions, and profeſſions, and proteſtations,

which was a Coin he was plentifully ſupplied with for the payment of all thoſe debts; whilſt the King retain'd only ſome kindneſs for him, without any great eſteem of him. But, from the beginning of the Parliament, when he ſaw, and heard a People ſtout enough to inveigh againſt the King's Authority, and to fall upon thoſe Perſons, whom he had always more fear'd than lov'd; and found that there were two Armies in the Kingdom, and that the King had not the entire command of either of them; when the Decrees of the Star-Chamber, and the Orders and Acts of the Council, in all which he had concurr'd, were call'd in queſtion, and like to be made penal to thoſe, who would not redeem their paſt errors by future ſervice; his Fear, which was the paſſion always predominant in him, above all his Choler and Rage, prevail'd ſo far over him, that he gave himſelf up into the hands of the Lord *Say*, to diſpoſe of him as He thought fit, till the King took the White Staff from him, and gave it to the Earl of *Eſſex*, as hath been related at large before.

FROM this time, he took himſelf to be abſolv'd from all obligations, and dependence upon the Court, which he had liv'd too long in, to be willing to quit; and therefore the more cloſely adhered to Them by whoſe power he thought he might get thither again; and, for ſome time, entertain'd the hope of obtaining the other Superior White Staff; which remain'd then in the King's hand by the departure of the Earl of *Arundel* into the parts beyond the Seas. But when he ſaw that Staff given to the Duke of *Richmond*, who was then made Lord Steward of the Houſehold, he gave over thoſe weak imaginations, and concurr'd roundly in all the Lord *Say* propoſed; and was ſo weak ſtill, as to believe They never meant to Rebel againſt the King; or that the King could long ſubſiſt, without putting himſelf into Their hands. When They had any thing to do in the Weſt, as the Exerciſe of the Militia, or executing any other Ordinance, they ſent him into the Country, and ſhew'd him to the People, under the conduct of two or three Members of the Houſe, in whom they could Confide; and he talk'd "of the "King's evil Counſellors, who carried him from his Parliament; and "of the Malignants; and againſt Scandalous Miniſters; whilſt none of his old Friends came near him. And when they were reſolv'd no longer to truſt the *Iſle* of *Wight* in the hands of the Earl of *Portland*, who had been long the King's Governour there, and had an abſolute power over the Affections of that People, they preferr'd the poor Earl of *Pembroke* to it, by an Ordinance of Parliament; who kindly accepted it, as a Teſtimony of their Favour; and ſo got into Actual Rebellion, which he never intended to do. It is pity to ſay more of him, and leſs could not be ſaid to make him known.

Of the Earl of Eſſex.

THE Earl of *Eſſex* hath been enough mention'd before; his Nature, and his Underſtanding have been deſcrib'd; his former diſobligations from the Court, and then his Introduction into it, and afterwards his being diſplaced from the Office he held in it, have been ſet forth: and there will be occaſion, hereafter, to renew the diſcourſe of him; and therefore it ſhall ſuffice, in this place, to ſay, that a weak Judgement, and ſome Vanity, and much Pride, will hurry a Man into as unwarrantable, and as violent attempts, as the greateſt, and moſt unlimited, and inſatiable Ambition will do. He had no Ambition of Title, or Office, or Preferment, but only to be kindly look'd upon, and kindly ſpoken to, and quietly to enjoy his own Fortune: and, without doubt, no Man in his Nature more abhorr'd Rebellion than He did, nor could

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He have been led into it by any open, or tranſparent temptation, but by a thouſand diſguiſes and couzenages. His Pride ſupplied his want of Ambition, and he was angry to ſee any other Man more reſpected than himſelf, becauſe he thought He deſerv'd it more, and did better requite it. For he was, in his Friendſhips, juſt, and conſtant; and would not have practiced fouly againſt thoſe he took to be Enemies. No Man had credit enough with him, to corrupt him in point of Loyalty to the King, whilſt he thought himſelf Wiſe enough to know, what Treaſon was. But the new Doctrine, and diſtinction of Allegiance, and of the King's power in and out of Parliament, and the new Notions of Ordinances, were too hard for him; and did really intoxicate his underſtanding, and made him quit his own, to follow Theirs, who, he thought, wiſh'd as well, and judg'd better than himſelf. His vanity diſpoſed him to be his Excellency; and his Weakneſs, to believe that he ſhould be the General in the Houſes, as well as in the Field; and be able to govern their Counſels, and reſtrain their Paſſions, as well as to Fight their Battles; and that, by this means, he ſhould become the Preſerver, and not the Deſtroyer of the King and Kingdom. With this ill grounded Confidence, he launch'd out into that Sea, where he met with nothing but Rocks and Shelves, and from whence, he could never diſcover any ſafe Port to Harbour in.

Of the Earle of Salisbury.

THE Earl of *Salisbury* had been born and bred in Court, and had the advantage of a deſcent from a Father, and a Grandfather, who had been very Wiſe Men, and great Miniſters of State in the Eyes of *Chriſtendom*; whoſe Wiſdom and Virtues died with them, and their Children only inherited their Titles. He had been admitted of the Council to King *James*; from which time he continued ſo obſequious to the Court, that he never fail'd in overacting all that he was required to do. No Act of power was ever propoſed, which He did not advance, and execute His part with the utmoſt rigour. No Man ſo great a Tyrant in his Country, or was leſs ſwayed by any motives of Juſtice or Honour. He was a Man of no words, except in Hunting, and Hawking. In matters of State, and Council, he always concurr'd in what was propoſed For the King, and cancell'd and repaired all thoſe tranſgreſſions, by concurring in all that was propoſed Againſt him, aſſoon as any ſuch Propoſitions were made. Yet when the King went to *York*, He likewiſe attended upon his Majeſty; and, at that diſtance, ſeem'd to have recover'd ſome Courage, and concurr'd in all Counſels which were taken to undeceive the People, and to make the proceedings of the Parliament odious to all the world. But, on a ſuddain, he cauſed his Horſes to attend him out of the Town, and having placed freſh ones at a diſtance, he fled back to *London*, with the expedition ſuch Men uſe, when they are moſt affraid; and never after denied to do any thing that was required of him; and when the War was ended, and *Cromwell* had put down the Houſe of Peers, he got himſelf to be choſen a Member of the Houſe of Commons; and ſate with them, as of their own Body; and was eſteem'd accordingly.

Of the Earl of Warwick.

THE Earl of *Warwick* was of the King's Council too, but was not wonder'd at for leaving the King, whom he had never well ſerv'd; nor did he look upon himſelf as obliged by that Honour, which, he knew, was conferr'd upon him in the croud of thoſe whom his Majeſty had no eſteem of, or ever propoſed to truſt; ſo His buſineſs was to joyn with thoſe to whom he owed his promotion. He was a Man of a pleaſant, and companionable Wit, and Converſation; of an univerſal Jollity; and

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ſuch a licence in his Words, and in his Actions, that a Man of leſs Virtue could not be found out: ſo that one might reaſonably have believ'd, that a Man ſo qualified, would not have been able to have contributed much to the overthrow of a Nation, and Kingdom. But with all theſe faults, he had great Authority and Credit with that People, who, in the beginning of the Troubles, did all the miſchief; and by opening his doors, and making his Houſe the Rendezvous of all the filenced Miniſters, in the time when there was Authority to filence them, and ſpending a good part of his Eſtate, of which he was very prodigal, upon them, and by being preſent with them at their Devotions, and making himſelf merry With them, and At them, which they diſpenſed with, he became the head of That Party; and got the Style of a Godly Man. When the King revok'd the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Commiſſion of Admiral, He preſently accepted the Office from the Parliament; and never quitted their Service; and when *Cromwell* disbanded that Parliament, he betook himſelf to the protection of the Protector; married his Heir to his Daughter; and liv'd in ſo entire a confidence, and friendſhip with him, that when the Protector dyed, he exceedingly lamented him. He left his Eſtate, which before was Subject to a vaſt debt, more improv'd and repair'd, than any Man who traffick'd in that deſperate Commodity of Rebellion.

Of the Earl of Holland.

THE Earl of *Holland* had grown up under the ſhadow of the Court, and had been too long a Counſellor before, and contributed too much to the Counſels which had moſt prejudiced the Crown, to have declined waiting upon it, when it needed Attendance. But he choſe to ſtay with the Parliament; and there hath been enough ſaid of him before, and more muſt be ſaid hereafter. And therefore it ſhall ſuffice Now, to ſay, that there was a very froward fate attended all, or moſt of the Poſterity of that bed, from whence He and his Brother of *Warwick* had their original; though He, and ſome others among them, had many very good Parts, and excellent Endowments.

Of the Earl of Mancheſter.

THE Earl of *Mancheſter*, of the whole Cabal, was, in a thouſand reſpects, moſt unfit for the Company he kept. He was of a gentle, and a generous Nature; civilly bred; had Reverence and Affection for the Perſon of the King, upon whom he had attended in *Spain*; lov'd his Country with too unskilful a tenderneſs; and was of ſo excellent a temper, and diſpoſition, that the barbarous times, and the rough parts he was forced to act in them, did not wipe out, or much deface thoſe Marks: inſomuch as he was never guilty of any rudeneſs towards thoſe he was obliged to oppreſs, but perform'd always as good Offices towards his old Friends, and all other Perſons, as the iniquity of the time, and the nature of the Employment he was in, would permit him to do; which kind of humanity could be imputed to very few.

HE was at laſt diſmiſs'd, and remov'd from any Truſt, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he was not Wicked enough. He Married firſt into the Family of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and, by His Favour, and Intereſt, was call'd to the Houſe of Peers in the life of his Father; and made Baron of *Kimbolton*, though he was commonly treated and known by the Name of the Lord *Mandevil*; and was as much addicted to the ſervice of the Court, as he ought to be. But the death of his Lady, and the Murther of that great Favourite, his ſecond Marriage with the Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick*, and the very narrow, and reſtrain'd maintenance, which he receiv'd from his Father, and which would in no

degree defray the expences of the Court, forced him too ſoon to retire to a Country Life; and totally to abandon both the Court, and *London*; whither he came very ſeldom in many years. And in this retirement, the diſcountenance which his Father underwent at Court, the converſation of that Family into which he was Married, the bewitching Popularity, which flow'd upon him with a wonderful torrent, and the want of thoſe Guards which a good Education ſhould have ſupplied him with, by the clear Notion of the Foundation of the Eccleſiaſtical, as well as the Civil Government, made a great impreſſion upon his Underſtanding (for his Nature was never corrupted, but remain'd ſtill in it's Integrity) and made him believe that the Court was inclined to hurt, and even to deſtroy the Country; and from particular Inſtances to make general, and dangerous concluſions. They who had been allways Enemies to the Church prevail'd with him to leſſen his reverence for it, and having not been well inſtructed to defend it, he yielded too eaſily to thoſe who confidently aſſaulted it; and thought it had great errors, which were neceſſary to be reform'd; and that all means are lawful to compaſs that which is neceſſary. Whereas the true Logick is, that the thing deſired is not neceſſary, if the ways are unlawful which are propoſed to bring it to paſs. No Man was courted with more application, by Perſons of all conditions, and qualities; and his Perſon was not leſs acceptable to thoſe of ſteddy and uncorrupted Principles, than to thoſe of deprav'd inclinations. And in the end, even his Piety adminiſter'd ſome excuſe to him; for his Father's infirmities, and tranſgreſſions, had ſo far expoſed him to the inquiſition of Juſtice, that the Son found it neceſſary to procure the Aſſiſtance, and Protection of thoſe who were ſtrong enough to violate Juſtice it ſelf; and ſo he adhered to thoſe who were beſt able to defend his Father's Honour, and thereby to ſecure his own Fortune; and concurr'd with them in their moſt violent deſigns, and gave reputation to them. And the Court as unskilfully took an occaſion too ſoon to make him deſperate, by accuſing him of High Treaſon, when (though he might be guilty enough) he was, without doubt, in his Intentions, at leaſt, as Innocent as any of the leading Men.

IT is ſome Evidence, that God Almighty ſaw his heart was not ſo malicious as the reſt, that he preſerv'd Him to the end of the confuſion; when he appear'd as glad of the King's Reſtoration, and had heartily wiſh'd it long before, and very few, who had a hand in the contrivance of the Rebellion, gave ſo manifeſt tokens of Repentance as He did; and having, for many years, undergone the jealouſy, and hatred of *Cromwell*, as one who abominated the Murther of the King, and all the Barbarous proceedings againſt the Lives of Men in cold Blood; the King upon his return receiv'd him into grace and favour, which he never after forfeited by any undutiful behaviour.

Of the Lord Say.

THE laſt of thoſe Counſellors which were made after the faction prevail'd in Parliament, who were all made to advance an Accommodation, and who adhered to the Parliament, was the Lord *Say*; a Man, who had the deepeſt hand in the original Contrivance of all the Calamities which befel this unhappy Kingdom, though he had not the leaſt thought of diſſolving the Monarchy, and leſs of levelling the Ranks, and Diſtinctions of Men. For no Man valued himſelf more upon his Title, or had more Ambition to make it greater, and to raiſe his Fortune, which was but moderate for his Title. He was of a proud, moroſe, and ſullen Nature; converſed much with Books, having been bred a

Scholar, and (though nobly born) a Fellow of New College in *Oxford*; to which he claim'd a right, by the Alliance he pretended to have from *William* of *Wickham*, the Founder; which he made good by a far fetch'd Pedigree, through ſo many hundred years, half the time whereof extinguiſhes all relation of kindred. However upon that pretence, that College hath been ſeldom without one of that Lord's Family. His parts were not quick, but ſo much above many of his own Rank, that he had allways great Credit, and Authority in Parliament; and the more, for taking all opportunities to oppoſe the Court; and He had, with his Milk, ſuck'd in an implacable Malice againſt the Government of the Church. When the Duke of *Buckingham* propoſed to himſelf, after his return with the Prince from *Spain*, to make himſelf Popular, by breaking that match, and to be gracious with the Parliament, as for a ſhort time he was, he reſolv'd to embrace the friendſhip of the Lord *Say*; who was as ſollicitous to climb by that Ladder. But the Duke quickly found him of too imperious, and pedantical a Spirit, and to affect too dangerous mutations; and ſo caſt him off; and from that time he gave over any purſuit in Court, and liv'd narrowly in the Country; having converſation with very few, but ſuch who had great Malignity againſt the Church and State, and fomented their inclinations, and gave them inſtructions how to behave themſelves with caution, and to do their buſineſs with moſt ſecurity; and was in truth the Pilot, that ſteer'd all thoſe Veſſels which were freighted with Sedition to deſtroy the Government.

HE found allways ſome way to make profeſſions of duty to the King, and made ſeveral undertakings to do great Services, which he could not, or would not, make good; and made haſt to poſſeſs himſelf of any preferment he could compaſs, whilſt his Friends were content to attend a more proper conjucture. So he got the Maſterſhip of the Wards ſhortly after the beginning of the Parliament, and was as ſollicitous to be Treaſurer after the death of the Earl of *Bedford*; and, if he could have ſatisfied his rancour in any degree againſt the Church, he would have been ready to have carried the Prerogative as high as ever it was. When he thought there was miſchief enough done, he would have ſtopp'd the current, and have diverted farther fury; but he then found he had only authority and credit to do hurt; none to heal the wounds he had given; and fell into as much contempt with thoſe whom he had led, as he was with thoſe whom he had undone.

Of Sr Henry Vane the elder.

THE laſt of the Counſellors who ſtayed with the Parliament, was Sr *Henry Vane*; who had ſo much excuſe for it, that, being thrown out of Court, he had no whither elſe to go; and promiſed himſelf to be much made of by Them, for whoſe ſakes only he had brought that infamy upon himſelf. He was of very ordinary parts by Nature, and had not cultivated them at all by Art; for he was Illiterate. But being of a ſtirring and boiſterous diſpoſition, very induſtrious, and very bold, he ſtill wrought himſelf into ſome employment. He had been acquainted with the viciſſitudes of Court, and had undergone ſome ſevere Mortification, by the diſfavour of the Duke of *Buckingham*, in the beginning of the King's Reign. But the Duke was no ſooner dead (which made it believ'd that he had made his Peace in his life time, for the King was not, in a long time after, reconciled to any Man who was eminently in the Duke's diſfavour) but he was again brought into the Court, and made a Counſellor, and Controller of the Houſehold; which place he became

well, and was fit for; and if he had never taken other preferment, he might probably have continued a good Subject. For he had not inclination to change, and in his judgement he had liked the Government both of Church, and State; and only desired to raise his Fortune, which was not great, and which he found many ways to improve. And he was wont to say, "that he never had desired other preferment; and believ'd, "that Marquis *Hamilton* (with whom he had never kept fair quarter) "when he first proposed to him to be Secretary of State, did it to affront "him; well knowing his want of Ability for the discharge of that Office. But, without doubt, as the fatal preferring him to that place was of unspeakable prejudice to the King, so his receiving it was to his own destruction. His malice to the Earl of *Strafford* (who had unwisely provoked him, wantonly, and out of contempt) transported him to all imaginable thoughts of Revenge; which is a Guest, that naturally disquiets, and tortures those who entertain it, with all the perplexities they contrive for others; and That disposed him to sacrifice his Honour and Faith, and his Master's Interest, that he might ruin the Earl, and was buried Himself in the same ruin; for which being justly chastised by the King, and turn'd out of his Service, he was left to his own despair; and, though he concurr'd in all the malicious designs against the King, and against the Church, he grew into the hatred, and contempt, of those who had made most use of him; and dyed in universal reproach, and not contemn'd more by any of his Enemies, than by his own Son; who had been his principal Conducter to Destruction.

We now pass to the Transactions in the Treaty it self, which was in the beginning of the year 1643.

THE END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.





THE HISTORY OF THE *REBELLION* AND CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Paſſages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Concluſion thereof by the KING's bleſſed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 1660.

THE SEVENTH BOOK.







THE

History of the Rebellion, &c.

BOOK VII.

Mic. III. 11.

The heads thereof judge for reward, and the Prieſts thereof teach for hire, and the Prophets thereof divine for money: yet will they lean upon the Lord, and ſay, is not the Lord among us? none evil can come upon us.

Mic. VII. 4.

The beſt of them is as a brier: the moſt upright is ſharper than a thorn-hedge: the day of thy watchmen, and thy viſitation cometh; now ſhall be their perplexity.



HEN the Treaty was firſt conſented to by the two Houſes, they order'd, that it ſhould be upon the firſt Propoſition made by his Majeſty, and the firſt Propoſition made by Themſelves, and that thoſe ſhould be firſt concluded on, before they proceeded to Treat upon any of the other Propoſitions. So that the Committee, in the firſt place, applied themſelves to his Majeſty, upon his own firſt Propoſition, which was, "That his own Revenue, Maga-
"zines, Towns, Forts, and Ships, which had been taken, or kept from
"him by Force, ſhould be forthwith reſtored to him. To which the Committee anſwer'd, "That the two Houſes had made uſe of his Ma-
"jeſty's own Revenue, but in a very ſmall proportion, which in a good
"part had been employed in the maintenance of his Children, accord-
"ing to the allowance eſtabliſh'd by himſelf. And the Houſes would
"ſatisfy what ſhould remain due to his Majeſty of thoſe Sums, which
"they had receiv'd; and would leave the ſame to him for the time to
"come. And they deſired likewiſe, that his Majeſty would reſtore, what
"hab been taken for his uſe, upon any of the Bills, aſſign'd to other pur-
"poſes by ſeveral Acts of Parliament, or out of the proviſion made for
"the

The Sum of the demands and conceſſions of both ſides upon the firſt Article of the Treaty.

"the War of *Ireland*: That all the Armes, and Ammunition taken out "of his Magazines ſhould be deliver'd into his Stores, and whatſoever "ſhould be wanting they would ſupply in kind, according to the Pro- "portions they had receiv'd: but they propoſed, the Perſons, to whoſe "charge thoſe publick Magazines ſhould be committed, being nomi- "nated by his Majeſty, might be ſuch, as the two Houſes of Parliament "might Confide in, and that his Majeſty would reſtore all ſuch Armes "and Ammunition, as had been taken for his uſe, from the ſeveral Coun- "ties, Cities, and Towns.

"THAT the two Houſes would remove the Garriſons out of all Towns, "and Forts in their hands, wherein there were no Garriſons before theſe "Troubles, and ſlight all Fortifications made ſince that time, and thoſe "Towns, and Forts, to continue in the ſame condition they were in "before; and that thoſe Garriſons ſhould not be renew'd, or the For- "tifications repaired, without conſent of his Majeſty, and both Houſes "of Parliament. That the Towns, and Forts, which were within the "juriſdiction of the Cinque Ports, ſhould be deliver'd into the hands of "ſuch a Noble Perſon, as the King ſhould appoint to be Warden of the "Cinque Ports, being ſuch a one as they ſhould Confide in. That *Portſ-* "*mouth* ſhould be reduced to the number of the Garriſon, as was at "that time when the Lords and Commons undertook the cuſtody of it; "and that all other Forts, Caſtles, and Towns, in which Garriſons had "been kept, and had been ſince the beginning of theſe Troubles taken "into Their care, and cuſtody, ſhould be reduced to the ſame eſtabliſh- "ment they had in the year 1636, and ſhould be ſo continued; and "that all thoſe Towns, Forts, and Caſtles, ſhould be deliver'd up into "the hands of ſuch Perſons of Quality, and Truſt, to be likewiſe nomi- "nated by his Majeſty, as the two Houſes ſhould Confide in. That the "Warden of the Cinque Ports, and all Governours, and Commanders "of Towns, Caſtles, and Forts, ſhould keep the ſame Towns, Caſtles, "and Forts, reſpectively, for the Service of his Majeſty, and the ſafety "of the Kingdom; and that they ſhould not admit into them any For- "reign Forces, or any other Forces raiſed without his Majeſty's Au- "thority, and conſent of the two Houſes of Parliament; and they ſhould "uſe their utmoſt endeavour, to ſuppreſs all Forces whatſoever raiſed "without ſuch Authority, and Conſent; and they ſhould ſeiſe all Arms, "and Ammunition, provided for any ſuch Forces.

"THEY likewiſe propoſed to the King that he would remove the "Garriſon out of *New-Caſtle*, and all other Towns, Caſtles, and Forts, "where any Garriſons had been placed by him ſince theſe Troubles; "and that the Fortifications might be likewiſe ſlighted, and the Towns "and Forts left in ſuch ſtate as they were in the year 1636; and that all "other Towns and Caſtles in his hands, wherein there had been former- "ly Garriſons, might be committed to ſuch Perſons nominated by him, "as the Houſes ſhould Confide in, and under ſuch Inſtructions as were "formerly mention'd; and that the new Garriſons ſhould not be re- "new'd, or the Fortifications repair'd, without the conſent of the King "and both Houſes of Parliament. That the Ships ſhould be deliver'd "into the charge of ſuch a Noble Perſon, as the King ſhould nominate "to be Lord High Admiral of *England*, and the two Houſes Confide in; "who ſhould receive that Office by Letters Patents, *quam diu ſe bene* "*geſſerit*, and ſhould have power to nominate, and appoint all Subordi- "nate Commanders and Officers, and have all other powers appertaining

"to

"to the Office of High Admiral; which Ships he ſhould employ for the "defence of the Kingdom, againſt all Forreign Forces whatſoever, and "for the ſafeguard of Merchants, ſecuring of Trade, and the guarding "of *Ireland*, and the intercepting of all ſupplies to be carried to the "Rebels; and ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs all Forces, "which ſhould be raiſed by any Perſon without his Majeſty's Authority, "and Conſent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and ſhould "ſeiſe all Armes, and Ammunition, provided for ſupply of any ſuch "Forces.

To this Anſwer, by which they required at leaſt to go whole Sharers with him in his Soveraignty, the King replied, "That he knew not "what proportion of his Revenue had been made uſe of by his two "Houſes, but he had reaſon to believe, if much of it had not been uſed, "very much remain'd ſtill in their hands; his whole Revenue being ſo "ſtopp'd, and ſeiſed on, by the orders of one or both Houſes, even to "the taking of his Money out of his Exchequer, and Mint, and Bonds "(forced from his Cofferers Clerk) for the Proviſions of his Houſehold; "that very little had come to his uſe for his own ſupport, but he would "be well contented to allow whatſoever had been employed in the main-"tenance of his Children, and to receive the Arrears due to himſelf, and "to be ſure of his own for the future. He was likewiſe willing to reſtore "all Monies taken for his uſe, by any Authority from him, upon any "Bills aſſign'd to other purpoſes, being aſſured he had receiv'd very lit-"tle or nothing that way: and he expected likewiſe, that ſatisfaction "ſhould be made by them for all thoſe ſeveral vaſt Sums, receiv'd, and "diverted to other purpoſes, by orders of one or both Houſes, which "ought to have been paid by the Act of Pacification to his Subjects of "*Scotland*, or employed for the diſcharge of the debts of the Kingdom; "or, by other Acts of Parliament, for the relief of his poor Proteſtant "Subjects in *Ireland*. For what concern'd his Magazines, he was con-"tent that all the Armes, and Ammunition, taken out of his Magazines, "which did remain in the hands of both Houſes, or of Perſons employed "by them, ſhould be, aſſoon as the Treaty was concluded, deliver'd into "the Tower of *London*; and that whatſoever ſhould be wanting of the "Proportions taken by them, ſhould be ſupplied by them, with all con-"venient ſpeed in kind; which, he ſaid, ſhould be committed to, and "continued in, the Cuſtody of the ſworn Officers, to whoſe places the "ſame belong'd: And if any of thoſe Officers had already forfeited, or "hereafter ſhould forfeit that Truſt, by any miſdemeanours, his Ma-"jeſty would by no means defend them from the Juſtice of the Law. "That he always intended to reſtore ſuch Armes, and Ammunition, "which he had been compell'd to take from any Perſons, and Places, "when his own had been taken from him; and would make them re-"compence aſſoon as his own Stores were reſtored to him.

"To whatſoever they propoſed for the ſlighting all Fortifications, "and reducing all Garriſons, which had been made ſince the beginning "of the Troubles, and leaving them in the State they were before, the "King fully, and abſolutely conſented; and that the old Caſtles, and "Garriſons, ſhould be reduced to their Ancient proportion, and eſta-"bliſhment; but for the Governours, and Commanders of them, he "ſaid, that the Cinque Ports were already in the Cuſtody of a Noble "Perſon, againſt whom he knew no juſt exception, and who had ſuch a "legal intereſt therein, that he could not, with Juſtice, remove him

"from it, until ſome ſufficient cauſe were made appear to him: But he "was very willing, if he ſhould at any time be found guilty of any thing "that might make him unworthy of that Truſt, that he might be pro- "ceeded againſt according to the Rules of Juſtice. That the Govern- "ment of the Town of *Portſmouth*, and all other Forts, Caſtles, and "Towns, as were formerly kept by Garriſons, ſhould be put into the "hands of ſuch Perſons, againſt whom no juſt exceptions could be made; "all of them being, before theſe Troubles, by Letters Patents granted "to ſeveral Perſons, againſt any of whom he knew not any exceptions, "who ſhould be removed if juſt cauſe ſhould be given for the ſame. "The Warden of the Cinque Ports, and all other Governours, and Com- "manders of the Towns, and Caſtles, ſhould keep their Charges, as by "the Law they ought to do, and for the King's ſervice, and ſafety of "the Kingdom; and they ſhould not admit into any of them Forreign "Forces, or other Forces raiſed, or brought into them contrary to the "Law; but ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs ſuch Forces, "and ſhould ſeiſe all Armes, and Ammunition, which by the Laws, and "Statutes of the Kingdom, they ought to ſeiſe.

To that part which concern'd the Ships, the King told them, "that "he expected his own Ships ſhould be deliver'd to him, as by the Law "they ought to be; and that when he ſhould think fit to nominate a "Lord High Admiral of *England*, it ſhould be ſuch a Perſon againſt "whom no juſt exception could be made; and if any ſhould be, he "would always leave him to his due Tryal, and Examination; and he "would grant his Office to him by ſuch Letters Patents, as had been "uſed. In the mean time he would govern the Admiralty by Commiſ- "ſion, as had been in all times accuſtom'd; and whatſoever Ships ſhould "be ſet out by Him, or His Authority, ſhould be employed for the de- "fence of the Kingdom againſt all Forreign Forces whatſoever, for the "ſafeguard of Merchants, ſecuring of Trade, guarding of *Ireland*, and "the intercepting of all ſupplies to be carried to the Rebels; and they "ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs all Forces, which "ſhould be raiſed, by any Perſon whatſoever, againſt the Laws and Sta- "tutes of the Kingdom, and to ſeiſe all Armes and Ammunition pro- "vided for the ſupply of any ſuch Forces.

It is evident to all Men Where the difference now lay between them, being whether the King would reſerve the diſpoſal of thoſe Offices and Places of Truſt to Himſelf, which all Kings had enjoyed, and was in- deed a part of his Regality, or whether he would be content with ſuch a Nomination, as, being to paſs, and depend upon Their approbation, no Man ſhould ever be admitted to them, who was nominated by Him. The Committee, upon his Majeſty's Anſwer, deſired to know, "whe- "ther he did intend, that both Houſes ſhould expreſs their confidence "of the Perſons, to whoſe truſt thoſe places were to be committed; for "that they were directed by their Inſtructions, that, if his Majeſty was "pleaſed to aſſent thereunto, and to nominate Perſons of Quality to re- "ceive the charge of them, that they ſhould certify it to both Houſes "of Parliament, that thereupon they might expreſs their confidence in "thoſe Perſons, or humbly deſire his Majeſty to name others, none of "which Perſons to be removed during three years next enſuing, without "juſt cauſe to be approv'd by both Houſes; and if any ſhould be ſo re- "mov'd, or die within that ſpace, the Perſons, to be put in their places, "to be ſuch, as the two Houſes ſhould Confide in. The King anſwer'd,

"that he did not intend, that the Houſes ſhould expreſs their confidence "of the Perſons, to whoſe truſts thoſe places ſhould be committed, but "only that they ſhould have liberty, upon any juſt exception, to pro- "ceed againſt any ſuch Perſons according to Law; his Majeſty being re- "ſolv'd not to protect them againſt the publick Juſtice. When any of "the places ſhould be void, he well knew the nomination, and free "election of thoſe, who ſhould ſucceed, to be a right belonging to, and "inherent in his Majeſty; and having been enjoyed by all his Royal "Progenitors, he could not believe his well affected Subjects deſired to "limit him in that Right; and deſired they would be ſatisfied with this "Anſwer, or give him any reaſons to alter his reſolution, and he would "comply with them.

THEY told him, "there could be no good and firm Peace hoped for, "if there were not a cure found out for the Fears and Jealouſies; and "they knew none ſure, but This which they had propoſed. The King replied, "that he rather expected reaſons grounded upon Law, to have "ſhew'd him, by the Law, that he had not that right he pretended, or "that they had a right Superior to His, in what was now in queſtion; "or that they would have ſhew'd him ſome legal reaſon, why the Per- "ſons truſted by him were incapable of ſuch a truſt, than that they "would only have inſiſted upon Fears, and Jealouſies, of which as he "knew no ground, ſo he muſt be ignorant of the cure. That the Ar- "gument they uſed might extend to the depriving him of, or at leaſt "ſharing with him in, all his juſt regal Power; ſince Power, as well as "Forces, might be the object of Fears and Jealouſies, and there would "be always a power left to hurt, whilſt there was any left to protect and "defend. He told them, if he had as much inclination, as he had more "right, to Fears and Jealouſies, he might with more reaſon have inſiſted "upon an addition of power, as a ſecurity to enable him to keep his "Forts, when he had them; ſince it appear'd it was not ſo great, but "that they had been able to take them from him, than they to make "any difficulty to reſtore them to him in the ſame caſe they were before. "But, he ſaid, as he was himſelf content with, ſo, he took God to Wit- "neſs, his greateſt deſire was, to obſerve always and maintain the Law "of the Land; and expected the ſame from his Subjects; and believ'd "the mutual obſervance of that Rule, and neither of them to fear what "the Law fear'd not, to be, on both parts, a better cure for that dan- "gerous diſeaſe of Fears and Jealouſies, and a better means to eſtabliſh "a happy and perpetual Peace, than for him to deveſt himſelf of thoſe "truſts, which the Law of the Land had ſettled in the Crown alone, to "preſerve the power, and dignity of the Prince, for the better protection "of the Subject, and of the Law, and to avoid thoſe dangerous diſtra- "ctions, which the Intereſt of any Sharers with him would have infal- "libly produced.

THE Committee neither offer'd to Anſwer his Majeſty's reaſons, nor to oppoſe other reaſons to weigh againſt them; but only ſaid, "That "they were commanded by their Inſtructions, to inſiſt upon the deſires "of both Houſes formerly expreſs'd. To which the King made no other Anſwer, "than that he conceiv'd it all the Juſtice in the world for him "to inſiſt, that what was by Law his own, and had been contrary to "Law taken from him, ſhould be fully reſtored to him, without con- "ditioning to impoſe any new limitations upon Him, or his Miniſters, "which were not formerly required from them by the Law; and he

"thought it moſt unreaſonable, to be preſs'd to diminiſh his own juſt "Rights Himſelf, becauſe Others had violated and uſurped them. This was the Sum of what paſs'd in the Treaty upon that Propoſition.

To the firſt Propoſition of the two Houſes, "That his Majeſty would "be pleaſed to disband his Armies, as They likewiſe would be ready to "disband all their Forces, which they had raiſed, and that he would be "pleaſed to return to his Parliament: The King Anſwer'd, "that he "was as ready and willing that all Armies ſhould be disbanded, as any "Perſon whatſoever; and conceiv'd the beſt way to it, would be a hap- "py and ſpeedy concluſion of the preſent Treaty; which, if both Houſes "would contribute as much as He would do to it, would be ſuddainly "effected. And as he defired nothing more than to be with his two "Houſes, ſo he would repair thither aſſoon as he could poſſibly do it "with his Honour, and Safety.

THE Committee asked him, "if by a happy and ſpeedy concluſion "of the preſent Treaty, he intended a concluſion upon the two firſt Pro- "poſitions, or a concluſion of the Treaty in all the Propoſitions of both "parts. The King, who well knew it would be very ungracious to deny the disbanding of the Armies, till all the Propoſitions were agreed, ſome whereof would require much time, anſwer'd, "that he intended ſuch "a concluſion of, or in the Treaty, as there might be a clear evidence "to Himſelf, and his Subjects, of a future Peace, and no ground left "for the continuance, or growth of thoſe bloody diſſenſions; which, he "doubted not, might be obtain'd, if both Houſes would conſent that "the Treaty ſhould proceed without farther interruption, or limitation "of days. They asked him, "What he intended ſhould be a clear evidence "to him, and his good Subjects, of a future Peace, and no ground left "for the continuance, and growth of thoſe bloody diſſenſions? His Ma- jeſty told them, "if the concluſion of the preſent Treaty upon his firſt "Propoſition, and the firſt Propoſition of both Houſes, ſhould be ſo full, "and perfectly made, that the Law of the Land might have a full, free, "and uninterrupted courſe, for the defence, and preſervation of the "Rights of his Majeſty, and of Themſelves, and the reſt of his Subjects, "there would be thence a clear evidence to Him, and all Men, of a fu- "ture Peace; and it would be ſuch a concluſion as he intended, never "meaning that both Armies ſhould remain undisbanded untill the Pro- "poſitions on both ſides were fully concluded. To the other clauſe of their own Propoſition concerning the King's return to the Parliament, they ſaid, "they had no Inſtructions to treat upon it; which the King much wonder'd at; and finding that they had no other Authority, to Treat, or Debate what was neceſſary to be done in order to disbanding, but only to preſs him to appoint a day for the actual disbanding; and that the Forces in the North, where He had a great Army, and They had none, might be firſt disbanded, he endeavour'd to draw them to ſome Propoſitions upon his return to the Parliament; from whence expe- dients would naturally reſult, if they purſued that heartily, which would conclude a general Peace. And it ſeem'd very ſtrange, that, after ſo many diſcourſes of the King's abſence from the Houſes, from whence they had taught the People to believe, that moſt of the preſent evils flow'd, and proceeded, when a Treaty was now enter'd upon, and that was a part of their own firſt Propoſition, that their Committee ſhould have no Inſtructions or Authority to Treat upon it. After this, they receiv'd new Inſtructions, "to declare to his Majeſty the defire of both

"Houſes, for his coming to his Parliament; which, they ſaid, they had "often expreſs'd with full offers of ſecurity to his Royal Perſon, agree- "able to their Duty and Allegiance, and they knew no cauſe why he "might not repair thither with Honour, and Safety. When the King found he could not engage them in that Argument to make any particular Overture, or Invitation to him; and that the Committee, who expreſs'd willingneſs enough, had not in truth the leaſt power to promote, or contribute to an accommodation, leſt they ſhould make the People believe, that he had a deſire to continue the War, becauſe he conſented not to their Propoſition of disbanding the Armies, he ſent this Meſſage, by an expreſs of his own, to the two Houſes, after he had firſt communicated it to their Committee.

Oxford April 12th 1643.

His Majeſty's Meſſage to the two Houſes of Apr. 12. 1643.

"To ſhew to the whole world, how earneſtly his Majeſty longs for "Peace, and that no ſucceſs ſhall make him deſire the continuance of "his Army to any other end, or for any longer time, than that, and "until, things may be ſo ſettled, as that the Law may have a full, free, "and uninterrupted courſe, for the Defence, and Preſervation of the "Rights of his Majeſty, both Houſes, and his good Subjects:

1. "Assoon as his Majeſty is ſatisfied in his firſt Propoſition, con- "cerning his own Revenue, Magazines, Ships, and Forts, in which he "deſires nothing, but that the juſt, known, legal Rights of his Majeſty "(devolv'd to him from his Progenitors) and of the Perſons truſted by "him, which have violently been taken from both, be reſtored unto "Him, and unto Them; unleſs any juſt and legal exception againſt any "of the Perſons truſted by him (which are yet unknown to his Majeſty) "can be made appear to him:

2. "Assoon as all the Members of both Houſes ſhall be reſtored to "the ſame capacity of Sitting, and Voting in Parliament, as they had "upon the firſt of *January* 1641; the ſame, of right, belonging unto "them by their birth-rights, and the free Election of thoſe that ſent "them; and having been Voted from them for adhering to his Majeſty "in theſe diſtractions; his Majeſty not intending that this ſhould ex- "tend either to the Biſhops, whoſe Votes have been taken away by "Bill, or to ſuch, in whoſe places, upon new Writs, new Elections have "been made:

3. "Assoon as his Majeſty, and both Houſes, may be ſecured from "ſuch tumultuous Aſſemblies, as to the great breach of the Privileges, "and the high diſhonour of Parliaments, have formerly Aſſembled about "both Houſes, and aw'd the Members of the ſame; and occaſion'd two "ſeveral Complaints from the Lords Houſe, and two ſeveral deſires of "that Houſe to the Houſe of Commons, to joyn in a Declaration againſt "them; the complying with which deſire might have prevented all "theſe miſerable diſtractions, which have enſued; which ſecurity, his "Majeſty conceives, can be only ſettled by adjourning the Parliament "to ſome other place, at the leaſt twenty Miles from *London*, the choice "of which his Majeſty leaves to both Houſes:

"His Majeſty will moſt chearfully and readily conſent, that both Ar- "mies be immediately disbanded, and give a preſent meeting to both "his Houſes of Parliament at the time, and place, at, and to which, the "Parliament ſhall be agreed to be Adjourn'd: His Majeſty being moſt "confident, that the Law will then recover due credit and eſtimation;

"and that upon a free Debate, in a full and peaceable Convention of "Parliament, ſuch proviſions will be made againſt ſeditious Preaching, "and Printing againſt his Majeſty, and the eſtabliſh'd Laws, which have "been one of the Chief cauſes of the preſent diſtractions, and ſuch care "will be taken concerning the Legal, and known Rights of his Majeſty, "and the Property, and Liberty of his Subjects, that whatſoever hath "been publiſh'd, or done, in or by colour of any illegal Declaration, "Ordinance, or Order of one or both Houſes, or any Committee of ei- "ther of them, and particularly the power to raiſe Armes without his "Majeſty's conſent, will be in ſuch manner recalled, diſclaimed, and "provided againſt, that no ſeed will remain for the like to ſpring out of "for the future, to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and to endanger "the very being of it. And in ſuch a Convention his Majeſty is reſolv'd, "by his readineſs to conſent to whatſoever ſhall be propoſed to him, by "Bill, for the real good of his Subjects (and particularly for the better "diſcovery, and ſpeedier conviction of Recuſants; for the Education "of the Children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Religion; "for the prevention of practices of Papiſts againſt the State; and the "due Execution of the Laws, and true levying of the Penalties againſt "them) to make known to all the world, how cauſeleſs thoſe Fears, and "Jealouſies have been, which have been raiſed againſt him; and by that "ſo diſtracted this miſerable Kingdom. And if this Offer of his Majeſty "be not conſented to (in which he Asks nothing for which there is not "apparent Juſtice on his ſide, and in which he defers many things highly "concerning both Himſelf, and People, till a full, and peaceable Con- "vention of Parliament, which in Juſtice he might now require) his Ma- "jeſty is confident, that it will Then appear to all the world, not only "Who is moſt deſirous of Peace, and Whoſe fault it is that both Ar- "mies are not now disbanded: but Who have been the true and firſt "cauſe, that this Peace was ever interrupted, or thoſe Armies raiſed; "and the beginning, or continuance of the War, and the deſtruction, "and deſolation of this poor Kingdom (which is too likely to enſue) will "not, by the moſt interreſted, paſſionate, or prejudicate Perſon, be im- "puted to his Majeſty.

To this Meſſage the two Houſes return'd no Anſwer to the King, but required the Committee to return to *Weſtminſter* (having been in *Oxford* with his Majeſty juſt twenty days) with ſuch poſitive circumſtances, that the Houſe of Commons enjoyn'd Their Members to begin their Journey the ſame day; which they obeyed; though it was ſo late, that they were forced to very inconvenient Accommodations; and at their return, ſome of them were look'd upon with great Jealouſy, as Perſons engaged by the King, and diſinclined to the Parliament; and this Jealouſy prevail'd ſo far, that Mr *Martin* open'd a Letter from the Earl of *Northumberland* to his own Lady, preſuming he ſhould therein have diſcover'd ſome combination; and this inſolence was not diſliked.

MANY were of opinion, that the King was too ſevere in this Treaty, and inſiſted too much upon what is his own by Right, and Law; and that if he would have diſtributed Offices and Places, liberally to particular Men, which had been a condeſcenſion in Policy to be ſubmitted to, he might have been repoſſeſs'd of his own Power. And I have heard this alledg'd by many, who at that time were extremely violent againſt all ſuch Artifices. The Committee themſelves (who at that time perfectly

fectly abhorr'd the proceedings of the Parliament, or rather the power, and ſuperiority of the Earl of *Eſſex*) ſeem'd exceedingly deſirous of ſuch an accommodation, as all good Men defired; and to believe, that if the King would have condeſcended ſo far, as to nominate the Earl of *Northumberland* to be Lord High Admiral, that it would have made ſo great a diviſion in the Houſes, that the Treaty would have been continued, and his Majeſty been ſatisfied in all the other Propoſitions. And the Earl of *Northumberland*, to private Friends, did make as full Profeſſions of future Service to his Majeſty, and as ample Recognitions of paſs'd Errors, and Miſtakes, as could reaſonably be expected from a wary Nature, before he could be ſure what reception ſuch Profeſſions, and Vows would find. But the King thought the Power and Intereſt of that Committee would be able to do little, if it could not prevail for the enlarging the time of the Treaty, in which they ſeem'd heartily to engage themſelves. And he was reſolv'd at leaſt to have a probable Aſſurance of the concluſion, before he would offer ſuch conceſſions, as taking no effect might prove prejudicial to him: as particularly, the nominating the Earl of *Northumberland* to be Admiral (though he would willingly have done it, as the price and pledge of an Honourable Peace) would have diſcontented all who had, how unreaſonably ſoever, promiſed themſelves that preferment; and many would have imputed it to an unſeaſonable eaſineſs (from which imputation it concern'd the King, at that time, as much to purge himſelf, as of unmercifulneſs and revenge) upon promiſes, and hopes, to have readmitted a Man to a charge, and truſt, he had ſo fatally betrayed, and broken, againſt as ſolemn promiſes, and obligations, at the leaſt, as he could now enter into; and therefore it concern'd the King to be ſure of ſome advantage, in lieu of this viſible hazard.

I AM one of thoſe, who do believe, that this obligation, at this time, laid upon the Earl of *Northumberland*, with ſuch other circumſtances of kindneſs, as would have been fit to accompany it, would have met real gratitude, and faithfulneſs in him (for as, originally, he had, I am perſwaded, no evil purpoſes againſt the King; ſo he had now ſufficient diſdain and indignation againſt thoſe who got him to tread their Ways, when he had not their Ends) and that it would have made ſome rent and diviſion in the two Houſes (which could not but have produced ſome benefit to the King) and that it might probably have procured ſome few days addition for the continuance of the Treaty; the avow'd ground of denying it, being, becauſe the King had not, in the leaſt degree, conſented to any one thing propoſed by them: but, I confeſs, I cannot entertain any imagination, that it would have produced a Peace, or given the King any advantage, or benefit in the War: what inconvenience it might have produced hath been touch'd before. For, beſides that the ſtirring and active Party, who carried on the War, were neither gracious to the Earl of *Northumberland*, nor He to them, their Favourite at Sea being then the Earl of *Warwick*, who had the poſſeſſion of the Fleet, and whom alone they believ'd fit to be truſted with the Navy; whoever calls to mind, what was done in the Houſes, during the time of the Treaty, and by Their directions; that by their own Authority they directed all the Lands of Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, to be ſequeſter'd, and inhibited their Tenants to pay any Rent to them; that under pretence of ſearching for Armes, and taking away ſuperſtitious Pictures, they cauſed the Queen's Chapel at *Somerſet* Houſe (where ſhe was to exerciſe

exerciſe her devotion, if they ever meant ſhe ſhould return again to *London*) to be moſt licenciouſly rifled; in which Licence with impunity, her Lodgings were plunder'd, and all her furniture, and goods of value, taken away and imbezell'd; that there was an Order made in the Houſe of Commons, when They ſent Their Meſſengers every day to *Oxford* without any Formality, or Controul, "that whatſoever Perſon "ſhould come from *Oxford*, or any part of the King's Army to *London*, "or the parts adjacent, without the Warrant of both Houſes of Parlia- "ment, or of the Lord General the Earl of *Eſſex*, he ſhould be appre- "hended as a Spy and Intelligencer, and be proceeded againſt according "to the rules and grounds of War; by Virtue of which Order of the Houſe of Commons only, and without any communication that notice might be taken of it, a Servant of the King's, for diſcharging the duty of his place, was executed; which ſhall be anon remember'd; all which, except the execution of that Man, was tranſacted during the time of the Treaty at *Oxford:*

WHOSOEVER remembers, the other Propoſition upon which the Treaty was founded, and the Bills then preſented to the King for his Royal Aſſent; that there was no unreaſonable thing demanded in the nineteen Propoſitions, which was not comprehended in theſe fourteen, and many additions made that were not in the former; that they demanded the total abolition and extirpation of Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, and the whole frame of the Government of the Church; and another Bill for the calling an Aſſembly of Divines, nominated by themſelves (which was a preſumption, as contrary to the Policy and Government of the Kingdom, as the moſt extravagant Act they had done) conſiſting of Perſons the moſt deeply engaged in the moſt unwarrantable Acts that had been done; and yet his Majeſty was required to promiſe to paſs ſuch other Bills for ſettling of Church Government, as, upon conſultation with that Aſſembly of Divines, ſhould be reſolv'd on by both Houſes of Parliament: That all the other Bills then preſented to the King for his Royal Aſſent, and inſiſted on by their fourth Propoſition, though they had ſpecious and popular Titles, contain'd many Clauſes in them contrary to common Equity, and the Right of the Subject, and introduced proceedings very different from the known Juſtice of the Kingdom; and therefore, beſides the time, and circumſtances of the paſſing thoſe Acts (when the Nation was in blood) not like to meet with his Majeſty's Approbation; I ſay, whoſoever remembers, and conſiders all this (to ſay nothing of the limitations by which their Committee were bound, without any power of debating, or other capacity than to deliver the Reſolutions of the two Houſes, and to receive the King's Anſwer, which might as effectually have been done, by any one ſingle ordinary Meſſenger) cannot, I conceive, believe, that the King's conſenting to make any one Perſon among them High Admiral of *England*, would have been a means to have reſtored the Kingdom to a preſent Peace, and the King to his juſt Rights and Authority. And if all theſe conſiderations be not ſufficient to render that ſuppoſition improbable, that, which follows next in order of Story, will abundantly confute it.

ON *Saturday* the 15th of *April*, which was the very day on which the Treaty expired at *Oxford*, being the laſt of the twenty days which were firſt aſſign'd, and to which no importunity of the King's could procure an Addition, the Earl of *Eſſex* march'd with his whole Army from

from *Windſor*; and ſate down before *Reading*; which preparation would not have been ſo exactly made, and the Reſolution ſo punctually taken, if they had meant any reaſonable conceſſions from the King ſhould have fruſtrated that vaſt charge, and determin'd all farther Contentions. The Earl had never before been in the head of ſo gallant an Army, which conſiſted of about ſixteen thouſand Foot, and above three thouſand Horſe, in as good an Equipage, and ſupplied with all things neceſſary for a Siege, as could be expected from an Enemy which knew no wants, and had the Command of the Tower of *London*, and all other Stores of the Kingdom. In the Town were above three thouſand Foot, and a Regiment of Horſe conſiſting of near three hundred; the Fortifications were very mean to endure a form'd Siege, being made only to ſecure a Winter Quarter, and never intended for a ſtanding Garriſon. And it is very true, that it was reſolv'd at a Council of War at *Oxford*, "that "before the end of *April* (before which time it was conceiv'd the Enemy would not adventure to take the Field) "Sr *Arthur Aſton* ſhould "ſlight thoſe Works, and draw off his Garriſon to the King; and that which made it leſs able to bear a Siege, than the weakneſs of their Works, was their want of Ammunition; for they had not forty Barrels of powder; which could have held a briſk and a daring Enemy but a ſhort time. And as this defect proceeded not from want of foreſight, ſo it was not capable of being ſupplied, at leaſt in that proportion as was worthy the name of a Supply. For the King had no Port to Friend, by which he could bring Ammunition to *Oxford*; neither had he been yet able to ſet up any Manufacture for any conſiderable ſupply. So that what he brought up with him after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, which was the remainder of the four hundred Barrels brought by the Ship call'd the *Providence*, before the ſetting up of his Standard, had ſerv'd for all his expeditions, being diſtributed into the ſeveral Garriſons; and was ſtill to furniſh all his growing occaſions; and that Magazine now at *Reading* (which was no greater than is before mention'd) was yet double to what was in any other place, *Oxford* only excepted; wherein, at this time, there was not above one hundred Barrels of Powder, and in no one place Match proportionable to that little Powder: And this defect is wholely to be imputed to the lowneſs, and ſtreightneſs of the King's condition; for there was no want of induſtry, but all imaginable care and pains taken to prevent, and ſupply it.

The Earl of Eſſex marches to Beſiege Reading Apr. 15. being the laſt day of the Treaty.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe difficulties, the Town look'd upon the Enemy with Courage and Contempt enough; and to ſay the truth, both Officers and Soldiers were as good, as in the infancy of a War could be expected; and they had no apprehenſion of want of Victual, with which they were abundantly ſtored. The Soldiers without, were, for the moſt part, newly levied, and few of their Officers acquainted with the way and order of Aſſaulting Towns; and this was the firſt Siege that happen'd in *England*. Upon the firſt ſitting down before it, after they had taken a full View of the ground, their General adviſed with his Council of War, in what manner he ſhould proceed, whether by Aſſault, or Approach; in which there was great diverſity of opinions. "The Works were weak; the Number of the Aſſailants ſufficient; all "materials in readineſs; they believ'd the Soldiers in the Town full of "Apprehenſions, and a very conſiderable Party of the Inhabitants diſ-"affected to the Garriſon, who in the time of a Storm would be able to "beget a great diſtraction. They might be able to Storm it in ſo many

"places at once, that the number of the Soldiers within would not be "able to defend all; and if they prevail'd in any One, their whole Body "of Horſe might enter, and be immediately Maſters of the Town. If "they prevail'd this way, their Army would have that Reputation, and "carry that terror with it, that no power of the King's would hereafter "be able to abide it; but they might march over the Kingdom, and "ſubdue every part of it; whereas if they delayed their work, and pro-"ceeded by way of Approach, thoſe in the Town would recover heart, "and after they had digeſted the preſent Fears, and Apprehenſions, "contemn their danger; and their own Soldiers, who were yet freſh "and vigorous, would every day abate in Courage, and their Numbers "in a few weeks leſſen as much by ſickneſs and duty, as they ſhould "probably do by an Aſſault. On the other hand it was objected, "that "the Army conſiſted moſt of new Levies (and in truth there were not, of all that gallant Army that was at *Edge-hill*, among the Foot, three thouſand Men) "who would be hardly brought to begin upon ſo de-"ſperate Service; that it was the only Army the Parliament had, upon "which all their hopes, and welfare depended; and if, in the Spring, it "ſhould receive an Eminent foil, they would not recover their Courage "again all the Summer: That they were not only to look upon the "taking of *Reading*, but, purſuing that in a reaſonable way, to keep "themſelves in a poſture and condition to end the War by a Battle with "all the King's Forces; which would no doubt apply themſelves to "their relief; and no place under Heaven could be ſo commodious for "them to try their Fortune in, as That. Whereas if they ſhould haſtily "engage themſelves upon an Aſſault, and receive a Repulſe, and ſhould "be afterwards forced to riſe to Fight with the King, they ſhould never "make their Men ſtand; and then their Cauſe was loſt. As for the danger of ſickneſs among the Soldiers, who were not acquainted with hard-ſhip, it was urged, "that though it were earlier in the year than the "Armies uſually march'd into the Field, yet they had much better ac-"commodation and proviſion than Armies uſe to have; their Horſe "(to whom that time of the year is commonly moſt hazardous, through "the want of Forrage) being plentifully provided for with Hay and "Oates by the benefit of the River, and all Supplies being ſent for the "Foot out of *London*.

AND in truth 'tis hardly credible what vaſt quantities (beſides the Proviſions made in a very regular way by the Commiſſioners) of excellent Victual ready dreſs'd, were every day ſent in Waggons and Carts from *London* to the Army, upon the voluntary contributions from private Families, according to their Affections to the good Work in hand: the Common People being perſwaded, that the taking of *Reading* would deſtroy all the King's hopes of an Army; and that it would be taken in very few days. Upon theſe Arguments and Debates (in which all theſe reaſons were conſider'd on both ſides) the Major part of the Council inclined, and with that the General complied, to purſue the buſineſs by Approach. It was reported, that the Officers of Horſe in the Council were all for a Storm, and the Foot Officers for Approaching. The chief Care and Overſight of the Approaches was committed to *Philip Skippon*, a Man often mention'd in the firſt part of this Hiſtory, who had been an old Officer, and of good experience in the low Countries, and was now made Serjeant-Major-General of the Army, by the abſolute power of the two Houſes, and without the chearful concurrence of the Earl of

Eſſex; though Sr *John Merrick*, who had executed that place by his Lordſhip's choice from the beginning, was preferr'd to be General of the Ordinance.

THE Approaches advanced very faſt, the ground being in all places as fit for that work as could be, and the Town lying ſo low, that they had eaſily raiſed many Batteries, from whence they ſhot their Cannon into the Town at a near diſtance, but without any conſiderable execution; there being fewer loſt by that Service, than will be believ'd, and but one Man of note, Lieutenant Colonel *D'Ewes* a young Man of notable Courage, and Vivacity, who had his Leg ſhot off by a Cannon Bullet, of which he ſpeedily and very chearfully dyed. From the Town there were frequent Sallies with good ſucceſs: and very many Soldiers, and ſome Officers, of the Enemy were kill'd; more, hurt; who were ſent to Hoſpitals near *London*; and thoſe that were ſent to *London*, as many Cart Loads were, were brought in the night and diſpoſed with great ſecrecy, that the Citizens might take no notice of it; the Stratagems of this kind are too ridiculous to be particularly ſet down, though purſued then with great induſtry, inſomuch as ſome were puniſh'd for reporting that there were many Soldiers kill'd, and hurt before *Reading*; and it was a mark of Malignity to believe thoſe reports, ſo unfit the People were to be truſted with all truths.

WITHIN a week after the beginning of the Siege, Sr *Arthur Aſton* the Governour, being in a Court of Guard near the Line which was neareſt to the Enemies Approaches, a Cannon ſhot accidently lighted upon the top of it, which was cover'd with Brick-tyle, a piece whereof, the ſhot going through, hit the Governour in the head, and made that impreſſion upon him, that his ſenſes ſhortly fail'd him; ſo that he was not only diſabled afterwards from executing in his own Perſon, but incompetent for Counſel or Direction; ſo that the chief Command was devolv'd to Colonel *Richard Fielding*, who was the eldeſt Colonel of the Garriſon. This accident was then thought of great misfortune to the King, for there was not in his Army an Officer of greater Reputation, and of whom the Enemy had a greater dread. The next night after this accident, but before it was known at *Oxford*, a Party from thence under the Command of Mr *Wilmot* the Lieutenant General of the Horſe, without any ſignal oppoſition, put in a ſupply of powder, and a Regiment of five hundred Foot into the Town, and receiv'd Advertiſement from thence of the Governour's hurt, and that they muſt expect to be reliev'd within a week, beyond which time they ſhould not be able to hold out. How ill the King was provided for ſuch an expedition, will beſt appear by remembering how his Forces were then ſcatter'd, and the preſent poſture he was then in at *Oxford*.

THE nimble and the Succeſsful marches of Sr *William Waller*, whom We left triumphing in *Wales*, after his ſtrange ſurprize of the Lord *Herbert*'s Forces near *Gloceſter*, cauſed the King to ſend Prince *Maurice* with a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons to attend him, who moved from place to place with as great ſucceſs as ſpeed, after his ſucceſs at *Hynam*; and to make the ſhame of thoſe Officers the leſs, with the ſpirit of Victory doubled upon him, he came before *Hereford*, a Town very well affected, and reaſonably well Fortified, having a ſtrong Stone Wall about it, and ſome Cannon, and there being in it ſome Soldiers of good Reputation, and many Gentlemen of Honour, and Quality; and three or four hundred Soldiers, beſides the Inhabitants well

Armed; yet, without the loſs of one Man on either ſide, to the admiration of all, who then heard it, or have ever ſince heard of it, he perſwaded them fairly to give up the Town, and yield themſelves Priſoners upon Quarter; which they did, and were preſently by him ſent for their better ſecurity to *Briſtol*.

Sr William Waller *takes* Hereford:

FROM thence he march'd to *Worceſter*, where his conqueſts met ſome ſtop; for though the Town was not ſo ſtrong, nor the Garriſon ſo great (I mean of Soldiers; for the Inhabitants were more) as *Hereford*, nor one Officer in it of more experience than he had gotten this unhappy War, the Inhabitants had the Courage to reſolve not to admit any Summons or Meſſenger from him; and when his Drum, againſt all ſigns made to him from the Walls not to Approach, did notwithſtanding refuſe to return without delivering his Meſſage, they ſhot at him, and kill'd him; and when Sr *William Waller* himſelf, to revenge that Affront, march'd with his whole Body towards them (there being only an old Gate without bridge, or work before it, to hinder his entrance into the Town) they entertain'd him ſo roughly, that he was forced to retire with the loſs of ſome Officers, and about twenty Common Men; after which, his Men having not been accuſtom'd to ſuch uſage, he got over the *Severn* again, and with quick night marches, ſo avoided Prince *Maurice* (who took no leſs pains to meet with him) that with ſome few light Skirmiſhes, in which he receiv'd ſmall loſs, he carried his Party ſafe, and full of Reputation through *Gloceſter* to the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army before *Reading*; himſelf being ſent for to *London*, upon a deſign that muſt be hereafter mention'd.

Comes before Worceſter; *is repulſed.*

THE great want at *Oxford* (if any one particular might deſerve that Style, where all neceſſary things were wanted) was Ammunition; and the only hope of ſupply was from the North; yet the paſſage from thence ſo dangerous, that a Party little Inferior in ſtrength to an Army was neceſſary to convey it: for, though the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, at that time, was Maſter of the Field in *York-ſhire*, yet the Enemy was much Superior in all the Counties between that County and *Oxford*; and had planted many Garriſons ſo near all the Roades, that the moſt private Meſſengers travell'd with great hazard, three being intercepted for one that eſcaped. To clear theſe obſtructions, and not without the deſign of guarding and waiting on the Queen to *Oxford*, if her Majeſty were ready for that Journey, at leaſt to ſecure a neceſſary ſupply of powder, Prince *Rupert* reſolv'd in Perſon to march towards the North, and about the beginning of *April* (the Treaty being then at *Oxford*, and there being hopes that it would have produced a good effect, at leaſt that the Earl of *Eſſex* would not have taken the Field till *May*) his Highneſs, with a Party of twelve hundred Horſe and Dragoons, and ſix or ſeven hundred Foot, march'd towards *Lichfield*; which if he could reduce, and ſettle there a Garriſon for the King, lay moſt convenient for that Northern Communication; and would with it diſſolve other little adjacent holds of the Enemies, which contributed much to their interruption. In his way thither, he was to march through *Bromicham*, a Town in *Warwick-ſhire* before mention'd, and of as great fame for hearty, wilful, affected Diſloyalty to the King, as any place in *England*. It is before remember'd, that the King in his march from *Shrewsbury*, notwithſtanding the eminent malignity of that People, had ſhew'd as eminent compaſſion to them; not giving way that they ſhould ſuffer by the undiſtinguiſhing licence of the Soldier, or by the ſeverity of his own

Prince Rupert *marches towards the North:*

Juſtice; which clemency of his, found ſo unequal a return, that, the next day after his remove thence, the Inhabitants of that place ſeiſed on his Carriages, wherein were his own Plate, and Furniture; and conveyed them to *Warwick* Caſtle; and had from that time, with unuſual induſtry and vigilance, apprehended all Meſſengers who were employed, or ſuſpected to be ſo, in the King's Service; and though it was never made a Garriſon by direction of the Parliament, being built in ſuch a form, as was indeed hardly capable of being Fortified, yet they had ſo great a deſire to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the King's good Subjects, that they caſt up little ſlight works at both ends of the Town, and Barricadoed the reſt, and voluntarily engaged themſelves not to admit any intercourſe with the King's Forces.

In this poſture Prince *Rupert* now found them, having in the Town with them at that time a Troop of Horſe, belonging to the Garriſon of *Lichfield*, which was grown to that ſtrength, that it infeſted thoſe parts exceedingly; and would in a ſhort time have extended it ſelf to a powerful juriſdiction. His Highneſs hardly believing it poſſible, that when they ſhould diſcover his Power, they would offer to make reſiſtance, and being unwilling to receive interruption in his more important deſign, ſent his Quarter Maſters thither to take up his Lodging; and to aſſure them, "that if they behaved themſelves peaceably, they ſhould not ſuf-"fer for what was paſt: But they had not conſciences good enough to believe him, and abſolutely refuſed to let him Quarter in the Town; and from their little works, with mettle equal to their malice, they diſcharged their ſhot upon him; but they were quickly over power'd, and ſome parts of the Town being fired, they were not able to contend with both Enemies; and, diſtracted between both, ſuffer'd the Aſſailant to enter without much loſs; who took not that vengeance upon them they deſerv'd, but made them expiate their tranſgreſſions with paying a leſs Mulct, than might have been expected from their Wealth, if their Wickedneſs had been leſs. *takes Bromicham,*

In the Entrance of this Town, and in the too eager purſuit of that looſe Troop of Horſe that was in it, the Earl of *Denbigh* (who from the beginning of the War, with unwearied pains, and exact ſubmiſſion to diſcipline and order, had been a Voluntier in Prince *Rupert*'s Troop, and been engaged with ſingular Courage in all enterprizes of danger) was unfortunately wounded with many hurts on the Head and Body with Swords, and Poll-Axes; of which, within two or three days, he dyed. Had it not been for this ill accident (and to remember the diſmal inequality of this contention, in which always ſome Earl, or Perſon of great Honour or Fortune fell, when after the moſt ſignal Victory over the other ſide, there was ſeldom loſt a Man of any known Family, or of other Reputation, than of Paſſion for the Cauſe in which he fell) I ſhould not have mention'd an Action of ſo little moment, as was this of *Bromicham*; which I ſhall yet enlarge with the remembrance of a Clergy Man, who was here kill'd at the entering of the Town, after he had not only refuſed quarter, but provoked the Soldier by the moſt odious revilings, and reproaches of the Perſon and Honour of the King, that can be imagin'd, and renouncing all Allegiance to him; in whoſe pockets were found ſeveral Papers of Memorials of his own obſcene, and ſcurrilous behaviour with ſeveral Women, in ſuch looſe expreſſions, as modeſt ears cannot endure. This Man was the principal Governour, and Incendiary of the rude People of that place againſt their Soveraign. So

full a qualification was a heightned meaſure of malice and diſloyalty for this Service, that it weighed down the infamy of any other leud and vicious behaviour.

FROM *Bromicham*, the Prince, without longer ſtay than to remove two or three ſlight Garriſons in the way, which made very little reſiſtance, march'd to *Lichfield*, and eaſily poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Town, which lay open to all Comers; but the Cloſe (containing the Cathedral Church, and all the Clergy Mens Houſes) was ſtrongely fortified, and reſolv'd againſt him. The Wall, about which there was a broad and deep Mote, was ſo thick, and ſtrong, that no Battery the Prince could raiſe, would make any impreſſion; the Governour, one Colonel *Rouſwell*, very reſolute, and the Garriſon of ſuch Men as were moſt tranſported with ſuperſtition to the cauſe in which they engaged, and in Number equal to the ground they were to keep, and their proviſions ample for a longer time than it was fit the Prince ſhould ſtay before it. So that it was believ'd, when his Highneſs had in vain endeavour'd to procure it by Treaty, he would not have engaged before it; for his ſtrength conſiſted, upon the Matter, wholely in Horſe; his Foot and Dragoons being an inconſiderable Force for ſuch an Attempt. But whether the difficulties were not throughly diſcern'd, and weighed at firſt, or whether the importance of the place was thought ſo great, that it was worth an equal hazard, and adventure, he reſolv'd not to move till he had tried the uttermoſt; and to that purpoſe, drew what addition of Force he could out of the Country, to ſtrengthen his handful of Foot; and perſwaded many Officers, and Voluntiers of the Horſe to alight, and bear their parts in the duty; with which they chearfully and gallantly complied; and in leſs than ten days, he had drawn the Mote dry, and prepared two Bridges for the graff. The Beſieged omitted nothing that could be perform'd by vigilant, and bold Men; and killed, and wounded many of the Beſiegers; and diſappointed, and ſpoiled one Mine they had prepared. In the end, early in the morning, the Prince having prepared all things in readineſs for the Aſſault, he ſprung another Mine; which ſucceeded according to wiſh, and made a breach of twenty foot in the Wall, in a place leaſt ſuſpected by thoſe within; yet they defended it with all poſſible courage and reſolution, and kill'd and hurt very many; ſome, Officers of prime quality; whereof the Lord *Digby*, Golonel *Gerrard*, Colonel *Wagſtaffe*, and Major *Leg* were the chief of the wounded; and when they had enter'd the breach, they continued the diſpute ſo fiercely within (the narrowneſs of the breach, and the aſcent not ſuffering many to enter together, and no Horſe being able to get over) that after they had kill'd Colonel *Uſher*, and ſome other good Officers, and taken others Priſoners (for both Colonel *Wagſtaffe*, and *William Leg* were in their hands) they compell'd the Prince to conſent to very Honourable conditions; which he readily yeilded to, as thinking himſelf a Gainer by the Bargain. And ſo the Garriſon march'd out with fair reſpect, and the Prince's teſtimony of their having made a couragious Defence; his Highneſs being very glad of his conqueſt, though the purchaſe had ſhrewdly ſhaken his Troops, and robb'd him of many Officers and Soldiers he much Valued. At this time, either the day before, or the day after this Action, Prince *Rupert* receiv'd a poſitive Order from the King, "to make all poſſible haſt, with all the ſtrength he "had, and all he could draw together from thoſe parts, to the relief of "*Reading*; which was in the danger We but now left it. Upon which his

and Lichfield, *and returns to the King.*

his Highneſs, committing the Government of *Lichfield* to Colonel *Baggot*, a Son of a good and powerful Family in that County, and appointing his Troops to make what haſt was poſſible after him, himſelf with a few Servants came to *Oxford* to attend the King, whom he found gone towards *Reading*.

THE importunity from that Garriſon for relief, was ſo peremptory, and the concernment ſo great in their preſervation, that the King found it would not bear the neceſſary delay of Prince *Rupert*'s returning with His Forces; and therefore his Majeſty in Perſon, with thoſe Horſe and Foot which he could ſpeedily draw together, leaving very few behind him in *Oxford*, or in any other Garriſon, advanced towards *Reading*; hoping, and that was the utmoſt of his hope, that he might with the Aſſiſtance of the Garriſon, be able to force one Quarter, and ſo draw out his Men; and by the advantage of thoſe Rivers which divided the Enemy, and by the Paſſes, be able to retire to *Oxford*; for being joyn'd, he could not have equalled one half of the Enemies Army. When the King drew near the Town, the day being paſs'd whereon they had been promiſed, or had promiſed themſelves relief, he was encounter'd by a Party of the Enemy, which defended their Poſt, who being quickly ſeconded by Supplies of Horſe and Foot from all their Quarters, after a very ſharp conflict, in which many fell on both ſides, the King's Party, commanded by the Earl of *Forth* himſelf [the General] conſiſting of near one thouſand Muſqueteers, were forced to retire to their Body; which they did the ſooner, becauſe thoſe of the Town made no ſemblance of endeavouring to joyn with them; which was what they principally relyed upon. The reaſon of that was, the Garriſon, not ſeeing their relief coming, had ſent for a Parley to the Enemy, which was agreed to, with a Truce for ſo many hours, upon which Hoſtages were deliver'd; and a Treaty begun, when the King came to relieve it. Upon the view of the Enemies ſtrength, and intrenchment, all were of opinion that the ſmall Forces of the King would not be able to raiſe the Siege, or to joyn with thoſe in the Town; and in this Melancholick concluſion his Majeſty retired for the preſent, reſolving to make any other reaſonable attempt the next day. In the mean time, ſome Soldiers found means to eſcape out of the Town, and Colonel *Fielding* himſelf in the Night came to the King, and told him the State they were in; and "that they were in Treaty, and believ'd he might have very good "conditions, and liberty to march away with all their Armes and Bag-"gage; which was ſo welcome News, that the King bid him, Prince *Rupert* being then preſent, "that if he could procure ſuch conditions, "he ſhould accept them: for indeed the Men and the Armes were all that the King deſired, the loſs of either of which was like to prove fatal to him. The King continued ſtill at *Nettlebeck*, a Village ſeven or eight Miles diſtant from *Reading*, to attend the ſucceſs of the Treaty; reſolving, if it ſucceeded not, to try the utmoſt again for their redemption; but all Men praying heartily for liberty to march off upon the Treaty, the next day theſe Articles were agreed on.

1. "THAT the Governour, Commanders, and Soldiers, both Horſe "and Foot, might march out with flying Colours, Armes, and four "Pieces of Ordnance, Ammunition, Bag and Baggage, light Match, "Bullet in Mouth, Drums beating, and Trumpets ſounding. Reading *ſurrender'd upon Articles* Apr. 27.

2. "THAT they might have free paſſage to his Majeſty's City of "*Oxford*,

"*Oxford*, without interruption of any of the Forces under the Com-
"mand of his Excellency the Earl of *Eſſex*; provided the ſaid Go-
"vernour, Commanders, and Soldiers, uſe no Hoſtility until they come
"to *Oxford*.

3. "THAT what Perſons were accidentally come to the Town, and
"ſhut up by the Siege, might have liberty to paſs without interruption;
"ſuch Perſons only excepted, as had run away from the Army under
"the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*.

4. "THAT they ſhall have fifty Carriages for Baggage, ſick, and hurt
"Men.

5. "THAT the Inhabitants of the Town of *Reading* ſhould not be
"prejudiced in their Eſtates, or Perſons, either by plundring or im-
"priſonment; and that they who would leave the Town, might have
"free leave, and paſſage, ſafely to go to what place they would, with
"their goods, within the ſpace of ſix Weeks after the Surrender of the
"Town.

6. "THAT the Garriſon ſhould quit the Town by twelve of the
"Clock the next morning; and that the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould provide
"a Guard for the ſecurity of the Garriſon Soldiers, when they begun
"to march.

UPON theſe Articles, ſign'd by the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Town was deliver'd on the 27th day of *April* (being within a fortnight after the Siege begun) and the Garriſon march'd to the King, who ſtaid for them, and with him to *Oxford*. But at their coming out of the Town, and paſſing through the Enemies Guards, the Soldiers were not only reviled, and reproachfully uſed, but many of them diſarm'd, and moſt of the Waggons plunder'd, in the preſence of the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf, and the Chief Officers; who ſeem'd to be offended at it, and not to be able to prevent it; the unrulineſs of the Common Men being ſo great. As this breach of the Articles was very notorious, and inexcuſable, ſo it was made the riſe, foundation, and excuſe for barbarous injuſtice of the ſame kind throughout the greateſt part of the War; inſomuch as the King's Soldiers afterward, when it was Their part to be preciſe in the obſervation of Agreements, mutinouſly remember'd the violation at *Reading*; and thereupon exerciſed the ſame Licence; from thence, either ſide having ſomewhat to object to the other, the requiſite honeſty and juſtice of obſerving conditions was mutually, as it were by agreement, for a long time after Violated.

THERE had been, in the ſecret Committee for the carrying on the War, forming thoſe deſigns, and adminiſtring to the expences thereof, a long debate with great difference of opinion, whether they ſhould not march directly with their Army to Beſiege *Oxford*, where the King and the Court was, rather than *Reading*; and if they had taken that reſolution, as Mr *Hambden*, and all they who deſired ſtill to ſtrike at the Root, very earneſtly inſiſted upon, without doubt they had put the King's Affairs into great confuſion. For, beſides that *Oxford* was not tolerably Fortified, nor the Garriſon well provided for, the Court, and Multitude of Nobility, and Ladies, and Gentry, with which it was inhabited, bore any kind of Alarm very ill. But others, who did not yet think their Army well enough compoſed to reſiſt all temptations, nor enough ſubdued in their inclinations to Loyalty, and Reverence towards the Perſon of the King, had no mind it ſhould Beſiege the very place where the

the King himſelf was; and the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf, who was yet the Soul of the Army, had no mind to that Enterpriſe: and ſo the Army march'd, as hath been ſaid, directly to *Reading*, with the ſucceſs that is mention'd.

THOUGH, at the inſtant, the Parliament was highly pleaſed with the getting the Town, and the King as well contented, when he ſaw his entire Garriſon ſafely joyn'd to the reſt of his Army (for it cannot be denied the joy was univerſal through the King's Quarters, upon the Aſſurance that they had recover'd near four thouſand good Men, whom they had given for loſt) yet, according to the Viciſſitudes in War, when the Accounts are caſt up, either party grew quickly diſſatisfied with it's ſucceſs. The King was no ſooner return'd to *Oxford*, but upon conference between the Officers and Soldiers, there grew a Whiſper, "that "there had not been fair carriage, and that *Reading* had been betrayed, and from thence made a noiſe through *Oxford*; and the very next day, and at the ſame time, Colonel *Fielding*, upon whom the diſcourſes reflected, came to the King to deſire, that an Account might be taken "of the whole buſineſs at a Council of War for his Vindication; and the Common Soldiers, in a diſorderly manner, "to require Juſtice againſt "Him for betraying, and delivering up the Town to the Rebels; which they avow'd with ſo much confidence, with the mention of ſome particulars, "as the having frequent intercourſe with the Earl of *Eſſex*, "and hindering and forbidding the Soldiers to iſſue out of the Town to "joyn with the King, when he came to relieve them, although their "Officers had drawn them up to that purpoſe, and were ready to lead "them; and the like; with ſome raſh, and paſſionate words diſreſpectful to his Majeſty; ſo that he gave preſent order for his commitment, and trial at a Court of War; the King himſelf being marvellouſly incenſed againſt him, for that Clauſe in the third Article, which gave liberty to all who were accidentally come to the Town, and ſhut up by the Siege, to paſs without interruption, wherein there was an exception of ſuch Perſons, who had run away from the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, and by virtue of that exception ſome Soldiers were taken after the rendering of the Town, and were executed. And though the Colonel excuſed himſelf, "as being no more concern'd to Anſwer for the Articles, "than every Member of the Council of War, by which they were agreed; "yet it was alledged, "that the Council of War had been induced to con- "ſent to thoſe Articles, upon the Colonel's averment, that the King "had ſeen them, and approv'd of them. Whereas his Majeſty had never ſeen any Articles in writing, but only conſented, that they ſhould march away with their Armes and Baggage, if the Enemy agreed to thoſe conditions. I have not known the King more afflicted, than he was with that Clauſe, which he call'd no leſs "than giving up thoſe poor Men, "who out of conſcience of their Rebellion, had betaken themſelves to "his Protection, to be Maſſacred and Murder'd by the Rebels, whom "they had deſerted; and for the vindication of himſelf therein, he immediately publiſh'd a Proclamation, in which he took notice of that Clauſe; and declared to all the world:

Colonel Fielding *order'd to be tried for the Surrender.*

"THAT he was not privy to, or, in the leaſt degree, conſenting to "that exception, but held the ſame moſt prejudicial to his Service, and "derogatory to his Honour; and that he would always chooſe to run "any hazard or danger, the Violence or Treaſon of his Enemies could "threaten, or bring upon him, rather than he would withdraw, or deny

"his Protection to any, who, being convinced in their conſcience of "their diſloyalty, ſhould return to their Duty, and betake themſelves "to his Service. And as he had referr'd to a Court of War, the full "examination of all the particular proceedings, in the delivery of that "Town, that Juſtice might be done accordingly; ſo he did declare, that "he would always proceed with all ſeverity againſt ſuch, as ſhould, by "the like diſhonourable conditions, expoſe his Subjects, and bereave "Them of his Protection that had return'd to their obedience to him.

AT the Trial, it was objected againſt the Colonel, "that the Town "might have been longer defended, there being want of no neceſſary "Proviſion, and as much Powder, at the giving it up, as there was when "the Enemy came firſt before it; for beſides the firſt ſupply, ſixteen "Barrels were put in during the Skirmiſh, when the King came to re-"lieve it: That ſeveral Colonels preſs'd very earneſtly to ſally, when "the King's Forces were engaged, and that they were expreſs'ly hinder'd, "and forbidden by Him: That he frequently gave his Paſs to a Woman "to go out of the Town, who went into the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, and "return'd again: That he perſwaded the Council of War to conſent to "the Articles, by proteſting that the King had well approv'd them, and "reproach'd thoſe Officers who were of another opinion; with ſome "other particulars of Licence and Paſſion, which reflected more upon his Diſcretion, than his Honeſty, or Conduct.

HE juſtified himſelf "to have done nothing towards the delivery of "the place, but upon full conſideration, advice, and approbation of the "Council of War: That he was in his own conſcience, and judgement "ſatisfied, that the Subſtance of the Articles was advantageous for his "Majeſty's Service; and though it was true, by that laſt ſupply of Am-"munition, their Store was near as much as when the Siege begun; yet "it was in all but thirty two Barrels, which would have laſted but few "hours, if the Enemy, who had approach'd within little more than "Piſtol ſhot of ſome parts of their works, ſhould attack them in that "manner as they had reaſon to expect; and if they had held out longer, "when it had appear'd that the King was not ſtrong enough to relieve "them, they ſhould not have been admitted to ſuch conditions; and "therefore, that he believ'd a hazard of ſo great a concernment, was "not to be run, when he well knew his Majeſty's former reſolution of "ſlighting the Garriſon; and that it would not be now done above a "fortnight ſooner than was intended: That he had no knowledge of his "Majeſty's approach, till the Forces were engaged, when a Truce was "concluded, and their Hoſtages in the Enemy's hands; and therefore, "that he conceiv'd it againſt the Law of Armes to make any attempt "from the Town; and before they could ſufficiently deliberate it in "Council, his Majeſty's Forces retired: That the Woman to whom he "gave a Paſs, was one, he often employ'd as a Spy, with very good "effect; and he did believe, the advantage he receiv'd by it, was greater "than ſhe could carry to the Enemy by any information ſhe could give: "That he did perſwade the Council of War to conſent to the conditions, "becauſe he believ'd them very profitable to his Majeſty, and he had "averr'd only his Majeſty's Approbation of the general Subſtance of the "Articles, never applied it to the Clauſe of the third Article, which he "much deſired to have alter'd, but could not obtain the conſent of the "Enemy. If he had been intemperate, or paſſionate to any, who were "of another opinion, or had uſed any paſſionate expreſſions in the Debate,

"it proceeded only from his Zeal to the Service, and his apprehenſion "of the loſs of ſo many good Men, upon whom he well knew the King "much depended: That he might have committed many Indiſcretions, "for which he deſired pardon, but had not fail'd in point of Fidelity: "That by the unfortunate hurt of the Governour, the Command was "devolv'd upon him by his right of Seniority, not any ambitious de- "ſign of his own: That he had, from time to time, acquainted Sr *Arthur* "*Aſton* with the State, and Condition they were in, and though his in- "diſpoſition of health was ſuch, that he would not give poſitive Orders, "he ſeem'd to approve of all that was done; and though, for the former "reaſon, he refuſed to ſign the Articles, yet they were read to him, and "he expreſs'd no diſlike of them. The truth of it is, Sr *Arthur Aſton* was believ'd by many, not to be in ſo incompetent a condition to Command as he pretended; and that albeit his head was ſo much ſwoln, that he might not in Perſon venture upon any execution, yet his underſtanding, or ſenſes, were not much diſtemper'd, or diſcompoſed; and that he only poſitively waved medling, out of diſlike of the condition they were in. And it is true, that, when he came to *Oxford*, he could ſpeak as reaſonably of any matter, as ever I knew him before, or after.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the defence the Colonel could make for himſelf, and that there was not indeed any colour of proof, that he had acted any thing treacherouſly, he was, upon an Article, "for not obey- "ing Orders (for in this agitation he had receiv'd ſome ſuch, which he had not preciſely obſerv'd) ſentenced to loſe his head; which judgement, after long and great interceſſion, was, in the end, remitted by the King; but his Regiment diſpoſed to another; and He never reſtored to that Command. And though he had been allways before of an unblemiſh'd Reputation for Honeſty, and Courage; and had heartily been engaged from the beginning of the Troubles, and been hurt in the Service, and he appear'd afterwards as a Voluntier, with the ſame Courage, in the moſt perilous Actions, and obtain'd a principal Command in another of the King's Armies, he never recover'd the misfortune and blemiſh of this Imputation. And yet I muſt profeſs for My part, being no ſtranger to what was then alledg'd, and prov'd on either Party, I do believe him to have been free from any baſe compliance with the Enemy, or any cowardly declenſion of what was reaſonable to be attempted. So fatal are all misfortunes, and ſo difficult a thing it is to play an After-Game of Reputation, in that nice and jealous profeſſion.

THE Inconveniences, and Miſchiefs, that reſulted to the King from this accident, were greater than were at that time taken notice of; for from this, the Factions in Court, Army, and City (which afterwards grew very troubleſom to the King) were dated, and took their original; great Animoſities grew between the Officers of the Army; ſome being thought to have been too paſſionate, and ſollicitous in the proſecution of the Colonel, and too much to have countenanced the rage and fury of Common Soldiers in demanding Juſtice on their Officer; for from ſuch a kind of Clamour it begun. Others again were as much condemn'd for a palpable avow'd protection of him, thereby to ſhew their power, that a Perſon They favour'd, ſhould not ſuffer; and of both theſe, ſome were more Violent than they ſhould have been; which ſeveral Inclinations equally poſſeſs'd the Court, ſome believing that he was really guilty of Treachery, though not ſo clearly proved; and therefore that, being within the Mercy of the Law, upon another Article, no mercy ought

to be ſhew'd to him; others as really ſuppoſing him Innocent, and therefore thinking it great pity, ſeverely to take the forfeiture, upon ſuch a point, as few Officers of the Army did not know Themſelves guilty in: theſe ſuppoſing the former too full of rigour, and uncharitableneſs; and They again accuſing the Other of too much lenity, and indulgence; whilſt many Gentlemen of Honour, and Quality, whoſe Fortunes were imbarked with the King, grew extremely jealous, that the Parliament had corrupted ſome of the King's Officers with rewards; and that others had power to protect them from puniſhment, and diſcovery; and the Soldiers again as much incenſed, that their lives muſt be ſacrificed, upon Caſual, and Accidental treſpaſſes, to the animoſity and jealouſy of thoſe who run not the ſame dangers with them.

BUT theſe Indiſpoſitions, and Diſtempers, were the effects of the exigents of that time (I wiſh the humours had been impaired when the times mended) and very many who ſaw the King's condition very low in an inſtant, and believ'd the Rebels to be moſt flouriſhing, would look no farther for a reaſon, than the loſs of *Reading*; though they had All ſtill, but the Town; which was never intended to be kept. It is moſt certain, that the King himſelf was ſo far from believing the condition he was in to be tolerable, that, upon the news of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s advance towards *Oxford*, within four or five days after the loſs of *Reading*, he once reſolv'd, and that by the advice of the Chief Officers of his Army, to march away towards the North, to joyn with the Earl of *New-Caſtle*. And if the Earl of *Eſſex* had, at that time, but made any ſhew of moving with his whole Body that way, I do verily perſwade my ſelf, *Oxford* it ſelf, and all the other Garriſons of thoſe parts, had been quitted to them; but thoſe fears were quickly compoſed, by an Aſſurance of the Earl's ſtay at *Reading*; and that he was not in a poſture for a preſent march, and that his Numbers had been ſhrewdly leſſen'd by the Siege; whereupon the King reſolv'd to abide him, and give him Battle about *Oxford*, if he advanced; and, in the mean time, encamped his Foot upon the Down, about a Mile from *Abingdon*; which was the head Quarter for his Horſe.

WHEN the Seaſon of the year grew ripe for taking the Field, the Earl of *Eſſex* found that his too early march had nothing advanced his Affairs; the Soldiers having perform'd ſo ſtrict duty, and lodging upon the ground, in froſt and rain, before *Reading*, had produced great ſickneſs and diſeaſes in his Army, which had waſted abundance of his Men; ſo that he wanted rather another Winter Quarter to recover, and recruit his Men, than an opportunity to engage them in Action; which he found would be too often adminiſter'd. He ſent daily importunities to the Parliament for ſupplies of all kinds, which they were not enough furniſhed with to ſatisfy him; new Diviſions, and Animoſities aroſe There, to perplex their Counſels. Their Triumph upon the taking of *Reading*, which they had celebrated with loud feſtivity, and made the City believe, that all thoſe benefits would attend it, which they knew would be moſt grateful to them, appear'd now without any fruit; the King had all his Forces and Army entire, and had only loſt a Town that he never meant to keep, and which They knew not what to do with; and was now ready to come into the Field, when Theirs was deſtitute of health, and all thoſe accommodations, which muſt enable them to march: and their General, every day reiterated his complaints, and reproach'd them with the unskilful Orders they had ſent him, by which,

againſt all the Advice and Arguments he had given them, he was reduced to that extremity.

THE diſreſpectful, and abſurd breaking off the Treaty with the King, was urged by their Commiſſioners; who thought themſelves diſobliged by it, and publiſh'd the King's gracious diſpoſition, and the temper of the Council in *Oxford*, to be different from what the Parliament deſired it ſhould be believ'd. They complain'd of jealouſies which had been entertain'd of their Integrity; and the Earl of *Northumberland* having diſcover'd, as is ſaid before, that *Harry Martin* had open'd a Letter, which he had writ from *Oxford* to his Lady, took him aſide, after a conference in the Painted Chamber between the two Houſes, and queſtion'd him upon it; and the other giving him ſome rude Anſwers in juſtification of what he had done, the Earl cudgell'd him in that preſence; upon which many Swords were drawn, to the great reproach and ſcandal of the Parliament.

THESE, and the like Inſtances of diſtraction, and confuſion, brought the Reputation of that Party low; and made it look'd upon, as like to deſtroy it ſelf without an Enemy; whilſt the King's Party, at that diſtance, ſeem'd to be more united, and to have recover'd their Spirits, of which they receiv'd frequent evidence by the News of ſome of their Quarters being beat up, and many of their Men loſt by the unexpected incurſions of the King's Horſe; whereof ſome Parties, by night marches, and unuſual Lanes, went often near *London*, and took many Priſoners, who thought themſelves ſecure in their Houſes, and in Journeys they made; who were put to ranſome themſelves with good Sums of Money; ſo that, after all thoſe Mountains of promiſes, and undertakings, the wants were greater, and the City more importuned for Money, and the Parliament viſibly more neceſſitated for want of it, than they had been before; and inſtead of diſperſing the King's Army, and bringing the King back to his Parliament, a ſuddain direction was given, and a vigorous execution of that direction was begun, to draw a Line about the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and to Fortify it; leſt the King's Forces might break in upon them; which made the People ſuſpect the State of their Affairs to be worſe than in truth it was; yet ſo far were they from any thoughts of Peace, and Accommodation, that the Houſe of Commons raged more furiouſly than ever; and every day engaged themſelves in concluſions more monſtrous, than they had yet enter'd upon. For the ſupply of the Charge of the War, they propoſed ſettling and impoſing an Exciſe upon ſuch Commodities as might beſt bear it; which was a burthen the People of *England* had hitherto reproach'd other Nations with, as a Mark of Slavery, and never fear'd by themſelves; and for the exerciſe of the Soveraign Power, they reſolv'd it fit to make a new great Seal, to be allways reſident with the Houſes. But the Lords were not yet arriv'd at that preſumption, but plainly refuſed to concur with them in either.

WHILST both Armies lay quiet, the One about *Reading*, the Other about *Abingdon*, or *Oxford*, without attempting one upon the other, or any Action, ſave ſome ſmall Enterpriſes by Parties (in which the King got advantage; as particularly the young Earl of *Northampton* fortunately encounter'd a Party of Horſe and Foot from *Northampton*, which thought themſelves ſtrong enough to attempt upon *Banbury*: But he having routed their Horſe, kill'd above two hundred of their Foot, and took as many more Priſoners, moſt whereof were ſhrewdly

hurt, the young Earl that day ſacrificing to the memory of his Father) the King receiv'd, from the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, by a ſtrong Party of Horſe, a good and ample ſupply of Ammunition; the want whereof all Men look'd upon with great horrour. Aſſoon as this was arriv'd, and the King had heard, that his Armies, both in the North, and Weſt, begun to flouriſh, and thought himſelf well provided to encounter the Earl of *Eſſex*, if he deſired it; his Majeſty reſolv'd once more to try, whether the two Houſes would incline to a reaſonable Peace; and to that purpoſe ſent a Meſſage to them by an expreſs Servant of his own, in theſe words:

The King ſends a Meſſage to the two Houſes May 20.

"SINCE his Majeſty's Meſſage of the 12th of *April* (in which he conceiv'd he had made ſuch an Overture for the immediate disbanding of "all Armies, and compoſure of thoſe miſerable, and preſent diſtractions, "by a full and free Convention of Parliament, that a perfect and ſettled "Peace would have enſued) hath in all this time, above a full month, "procured no Anſwer from both Houſes, his Majeſty might well believe "himſelf abſolv'd, both before God and Man from the leaſt poſſible "charge of not having uſed his utmoſt endeavours for Peace; yet, when "he conſiders, that the Scene of all this calamity is in the Bowels of his "own Kingdom; that all the blood, which is ſpilt, is of his own Sub-"jects; and that what Victory ſoever, it ſhall pleaſe God to give him, "muſt be over thoſe who ought not to have lifted up their hands againſt "him; when he conſiders, that theſe deſperate civil diſſenſions may en-"courage and invite a Forreign Enemy, to make a Prey of the whole "Nation; that *Ireland* is in preſent danger to be totally loſt; that the "heavy judgements of God, Plague, Peſtilence, and Famine, will be the "inevitable attendants of this unnatural contention: And that, in a "ſhort time, there will be ſo general a habit of uncharitableneſs, and "cruelty, contracted through the whole Kingdom, that even Peace it "ſelf will not reſtore his People to their old temper, and ſecurity; his "Majeſty cannot but again call for an Anſwer to that his gracious Meſ-"ſage, which gives ſo fair a riſe to end theſe unnatural diſtractions. "And his Majeſty doth this with the more earneſtneſs, becauſe he doubts "not the condition of his Armies in ſeveral parts; the ſtrength of Horſe, "Foot, Artillery, his plenty of Ammunition (when ſome Men lately "might conceive he wanted) is ſo well known, and underſtood, that it "muſt be confeſs'd, nothing but the tenderneſs, and love to his People, "and thoſe Chriſtian impreſſions, which allways live, and he hopes all-"ways ſhall dwell in his heart, could move him once more to hazard a "refuſal. And he requires them, as they will Anſwer to God, to Him-"ſelf, and all the World, that they will no longer ſuffer their fellow Sub-"jects to welter in each others blood; that they would remember by "Whoſe Authority, and to what end they met in that Council, and "ſend ſuch an Anſwer to his Majeſty, as may open a door to let in a firm "Peace, and Security to the whole Kingdom. If his Majeſty ſhall again "be diſappointed of his Intentions therein, the blood, rapine, and de-"ſtruction, which may follow in *England*, and *Ireland*, will be caſt "upon the Account of thoſe who are deaf to the motive of Peace and "Accommodation.

THIS Meſſage was receiv'd by the Houſe of Peers (to whom it was directed) with all demonſtration of reſpect, and duty, and the Meſſenger very

very civily intreated by them; but when they communicated it to the Houſe of Commons, and defired their concurrence in preparing an Addreſs to the King ſuitable to his gracious Invitation, that Houſe was ſo far from concurring with them, that they gave immediate Order (which was executed accordingly) for the Apprehenſion, and Commitment of the Gentleman who brought the Meſſage; and declared, "that "they would proceed againſt him at a Council of War, upon the order, formerly mention'd, made by them when the Treaty was at *Oxford*, "that any Perſon coming from *Oxford* without their General's Paſs, or "one from the Houſes, ſhould be puniſh'd as a Spy; to which Order as the Peers never conſented, ſo the King had never, till this Commitment, notice of it; and Themſelves, after the making it, had ſent ſeveral Meſſengers to the King, without any formality of Paſs or Trumpet. *The Houſe of Commons commit the Meſſenger.*

THE Lords did what they could, publickly and privately, to diſſwade this courſe; but they could not prevail: the Houſe of Commons finding that the very imagination that a Peace might be concluded, infinitely retarded their carrying on the War, and made not only thoſe who were yet free, not eaſy to be drawn in; but many who were engaged, remiſs, and willing to retire; therefore they reſolv'd to proceed with that Vigour, and Reſolution, that no reaſonable Man ſhould believe it poſſible for the King to gain a Peace but by ſubduing Them, which ſeem'd at leaſt equally impoſſible. To this purpoſe, inſtead of returning any Anſwer to the King's Meſſage, within three days after the receiving it, they impeach'd the Queen of High Treaſon, "for aſſiſting "the King her Husband with Armes, and Ammunition, in the proſe-"cution of the War againſt them; an attempt as unheard of among all the Acts of their Predeceſſors, and as ſurpriſing as any thing they had yet ventured upon: Their Clergy ſounded their Trumpets louder to War than ever, if it was poſſible; and they reſolv'd, that Aſſembly of Divines to which they had at the Treaty urged the King's conſent, ſhould now meet by an Ordinance of their own, with an Addition of ſome Members of either Houſe to that Number. *The Commons impeach the Queen of High Treaſon.*

THERE had been, ſome Months before, a deſign of Prince *Rupert* upon the City of *Briſtol*, by correſpondence with ſome of the chief Inhabitants of the City, who were weary of the Tyranny of the Parliament; but it had been ſo unskilfully, or unhappily carried, that, when the Prince was near the Town, with ſuch a Party of Horſe and Foot, as he made choice of, it was diſcover'd, and many Principal Citizens apprehended by *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Son to the Lord *Say*, and then Governour of that City for the Parliament; at this time, ſpecial direction and order was ſent thither, "that he ſhould, with all ſeverity, and expe-"dition, proceed againſt thoſe Conſpirators (as they call'd them) and thereupon, by a Sentence and Judgement of a Council of War, Alderman *Yeomans*, who had been High Sheriff of the City, and of great Reputation in it, and *George Bourchier* another Citizen of principal Account, were (againſt all Interpoſition his Majeſty could make) both hanged; and all other imaginable Acts done, to let all the world ſee that there was no way to Peace but by the Sword.

THERE fell out now an accident at *London*, which gave great advantage to them in the fierce proſecution of the War, a diſcovery of a Plot, which produced a publick thankſgiving to God for their deliverance, a wonderful Animoſity againſt the King, and a Covenant, and Union among Themſelves, and throughout the City a prejudice to all *A Deſign diſcover'd at* London, *wherein Mr* Waller, *Mr* Tomkins, *and Others, were concern'd.*

Moderate

Moderate Men, who promoted an Accommodation, and a Brand upon all Overtures of Peace as Stratagems upon the City, and the Parliament. Of this Plot, there being never ſuch a form'd relation made by thoſe who made great uſe of it, that Men can collect what the deſign was, or that it was laid with any probable circumſtances, by which a ſucceſs might be expected, I ſhall briefly, and faithfully ſet down all that I know, have heard, or can reaſonably conjecture to be in it; and it was thought by many, and averr'd by others who I believe did Not think ſo, "that "I knew as much of it as moſt Men.

THERE was of the Houſe of Commons, one Mr *Waller*, a Gentleman of a very good Fortune and Eſtate, and of admirable parts, and faculties of Wit and Eloquence, and of an intimate Converſation, and familiarity with thoſe who had that Reputation. He had, from the beginning of the Parliament, been look'd upon by all Men, as a Perſon of very entire Affections to the King's Service, and to the eſtabliſh'd Government of Church and State; and by having no manner of relation to the Court, had the more credit and intereſt to promote the rights of it. When the ruptures grew ſo great between the King and the two Houſes, that very many of the Members withdrew from thoſe Councils, He, among the reſt, with equal diſlike abſented himſelf; but at the time the Standard was ſet up, having intimacy and friendſhip with ſome Perſons now of nearneſs about the King, with the King's Approbation, he return'd again to *London*; where he ſpoke, upon all occaſions, with great ſharpneſs, and freedom; which (now there were ſo few there that uſed it, and there was no danger of being over Voted) was not reſtrain'd; and therefore uſed as an Argument againſt thoſe, who were gone upon pretence "that they were not ſuffer'd to declare their opinion freely in "the Houſe; which could not be believ'd; when all Men knew, what "Liberty Mr *Waller* took, and ſpoke every day with impunity, againſt "the Senſe, and Proceedings of the Houſe. This wone him a great Reputation with all People who wiſh'd well to the King; and he was look'd upon as the boldeſt Champion the Crown had in both Houſes; ſo that ſuch Lords, and Commons, as really deſired to prevent the ruin of the Kingdom, willingly complied in a great familiarity with him, as a Man reſolute in their ends, and beſt able to promote them. And it may be they believ'd his Reputation at Court ſo good, that he would be no ill Evidence There, of other Mens Zeal, and Affection; and ſo all Men ſpoke their minds freely to him, both of the general diſtemper, and of the paſſions, and ambition of particular Perſons: All Men knowing him to be of too good a Fortune, and too wary a Nature, to engage himſelf in deſigns of danger or hazard.

Mr WALLER had a Brother in Law, one Mr *Tomkins*, who had married his Siſter, and was Clerk of the Queen's Council, of very good fame for Honeſty, and Ability. This Gentleman had good Intereſt, and Reputation in the City, and converſed much with thoſe who diſliked the proceedings of the Parliament, and wiſh'd to live under the ſame Government they were born; and from thoſe Citizens receiv'd information of the temper of the People, upon Accidents, in the publick Affairs. And Mr *Waller*, and He, with that confidence that uſes to be between Brethren of the ſame good Affections, frequently imparted their obſervations, and opinions to each other; the one relating, how many in both Houſes inclined to Peace; and the other making the ſame judgement upon the correſpondence he had, and intelligence he receiv'd from the

the moſt ſubſtantial Men of *London*; and both of them again communicated what one receiv'd from the other, to the Company they uſed to converſe with; Mr *Waller* imparting the wiſhes, and power of the well affected Party in the City, to the Lords and Gentlemen whom he knew to be of the ſame mind; and Mr *Tomkins* acquainting thoſe he durſt truſt of the City, that ſuch and ſuch Lords and Gentlemen, who were of ſpecial Note, were weary of the diſtractions, and would heartily, and confidently contribute to ſuch an honourable, and honeſt Peace, as all Men knew would be moſt acceptable to the King. And from hence they came reaſonably to a concluſion, that if ſome means were found out to raiſe a confidence in thoſe who wiſh'd well, that they ſhould not be oppreſs'd by the extravagant power of the deſperate Party; but that if they would ſo far aſſiſt one another, as to declare their opinions to be the ſame, they ſhould be able to prevent, or ſuppreſs thoſe Tumults, which ſeem'd to countenance the diſtractions; and the Houſes would be induced to Terms of Moderation.

IN this time the Lord *Conway*, being return'd from *Ireland*, incenſed againſt the *Scots*, and diſcontented with the Parliament here, finding Mr *Waller* in good eſteem with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and of great friendſhip with the Earl of *Portland*, he enter'd into the ſame familiarity; and, being more of a Soldier, in the diſcourſes adminiſter'd queſtions, and conſiderations, neceſſary to be underſtood by Men that either meant to Uſe force, or to Reſiſt it; and wiſh'd "that "they who had Intereſt, and Acquaintance in the City, would endea- "vour by a mutual correſpondence to inform themſelves of the diſtinct "Affections of their Neighbours, that, upon any exigent, Men might "foreſee whom they might truſt; and theſe diſcourſes being again derived by Mr *Waller* to Mr *Tomkins*, He, upon occaſion, and conference with his Companions, inſiſted on the ſame Arguments; and They again converſing with Their Friends, and Acquaintance (for of all this buſineſs, there were not above three who ever ſpoke together) agreed, "that "ſome well affected Perſons, in every Pariſh, and Ward, about *London*, "ſhould make a liſt of all the Inhabitants; and thereupon to make a "reaſonable gueſs of their ſeveral Affections (which at that time was no hard thing for obſerving Men to do) and thence a computation of the Strength, and Power of that Party, which was notoriouſly Violent againſt any Accommodation.

I AM perſwaded the utmoſt project in this deſign was (I ſpeak not what particular Men might intend, or wiſh upon their own fancies) to beget ſuch a Combination among the Party well affected, that they would refuſe to conform to thoſe Ordinances of the twentieth part, and other Taxes for the ſupport of the War; and thereby, or by joynt Petitioning for Peace, and diſcountenancing the other who Petition'd againſt it, to prevail with the Parliament to incline to a determination of the War. And it may be, ſome Men might think of making advantage of any Caſual Commotion, or preventing any miſchief by it; and thereupon that enquiry where the Magazines lay, and diſcourſe of wearing ſome diſtinguiſhing tokens, had been rather caſually mention'd, than ſeriouſly propoſed. For it is certain, very many who were conſcious to themſelves of Loyal Purpoſes to the King, and of hearty diſlike of the Parliaments proceedings, and obſerv'd the violent, revengeful, ruinating proſecution of all Men, by thoſe of the engaged Party, were not without ſad apprehenſions that, upon ſome jealouſy, and Quarrel pick'd,

even a general Maſſacre might be attempted of all the King's Friends; and thereupon, in ſeveral diſcourſes, might touch upon ſuch expedients, as might in thoſe Seaſons be moſt beneficial to their ſafety. But that there was ever any form'd deſign, either of letting in the King's Army into *London*, which was impoſſible to be contriv'd; or of raiſing an Army there, and ſurpriſing the Parliament, or any one Perſon of it, or of uſing any violence in, or upon the City, I could never yet ſee cauſe to believe; and if there had, they would have publiſh'd ſuch a relation of it, after Mr *Waller* had confeſs'd to them, all he knew, had heard, or fancied to himſelf, as might have conſtituted ſome reaſonable underſtanding of it; and not have contented themſelves with making concluſions from Queſtions that had been asked, and Anſwers made, by Perſons unknown, and forcing expreſſions uſed by one, to relate to Actions of another, between whom there had been never the leaſt acquaintance, or correſpondence; and joyning what was Said at *London* to ſomewhat Done at *Oxford*, at another time, and to another purpoſe: for before I finiſh this diſcourſe, it will be neceſſary to ſpeak of another Action, which, how diſtinct ſoever from this that is related, was woven together to make one Plot.

FROM the King's coming to *Oxford*, many Citizens of good Quality, who were proſecuted, or jealouſly look'd upon in *London*, had reſorted to the King, and hoping, if the Winter produced not a Peace, that the Summer would carry the King before that City with an Army, they had entertain'd ſome diſcourſe "of raiſing, upon their own Stocks of "Money and Credit, ſome Regiments of Foot, and Horſe, and joyning "with ſome Gentlemen of *Kent*, who were likewiſe inclined to ſuch an "undertaking: Among theſe was Sr *Nicholas Criſp*, a Citizen of good Wealth, great Trade, and an active ſpirited Man, who had been lately proſecuted with great ſeverity by the Houſe of Commons, and had thereupon fled from *London*, for appearing too great a Stickler in a Petition for Peace in the City. This Gentleman induſtriouſly preſerv'd a correſpondence ſtill there, by which he gave the King often very uſeful Intelligence, and aſſured him "of a very conſiderable Party, which "would appear there for him, when ever his own power ſhould be ſo "near, as to give them any countenance. In the end, whether invited by his Correſpondents there, or truſting his own ſprightly inclinations and reſolutions too much, and concluding that all who were equally Honeſt, would be equally Bold, he deſired his Majeſty, "to grant a Com-"miſſion to ſuch Perſons, whom He would nominate, of the City of "*London*, under the Great Seal of *England*, in the nature of a Commiſ-"ſion of Array, by virtue whereof, when the Seaſon ſhould come, his "Party there would appear in diſcipline, and order; and that this was "deſired by thoſe, who beſt knew what Countenance and Authority was "requiſite; and being truſted to them would not be executed at all, or "elſe at ſuch a time as his Majeſty ſhould receive ample fruit by it; pro-"vided it were done with ſecrecy, equal to the hazard They ſhould run, "who were employed in it.

THE King had this exception to it, "the improbability that it could "do good, and that the failing might do hurt to the Undertakers. But the Promoter was a very Popular Man in the City, where he had been a Commander of the Train'd-bands, till the Ordinance of the Militia removed him; which rather improv'd, than leſſen'd, his Credit; and he was very confident, it would produce a notable advantage to the King:

however, They desired it who were there, and would not appear without it; and therefore the King consented to it; referring the nomination of all Persons in the Commission to him; who, he verily believ'd, had proceeded by the Instruction, and Advice of those that were neareſt the concernment; and for the secrecy of it, the King referr'd the preparing, and dispatch of the Commission, to Sr *Nicholas Crisp* himself, who should acquaint no more with it, than he found requisite; so without the privity, or advice of any Counsellor, or Minister of State then most trusted by his Majesty, he procured such a Commission as he desired (being no other than the Commission of Array in *English*) to be sign'd by the King, and sealed with the Great Seal.

THIS being done, and remaining still in his Custody, the Lady *Aubigney*, by a Pass, and with the consent of the Houses, came to *Oxford* to transact the Affairs of her own Fortune with the King upon the death of her Husband, who was killed at *Edge-hill*; and She having in few days dispatch'd her business there, and being ready to return, Sr *Nicholas Crisp* came to the King, and besought him, "to desire that Lady (who had a Pass, and so could promise her self safety in her Journey) "to carry a small Box (in which that Commission should be) "with her, "and to keep it in her own Custody, until a Gentleman should call to "her Ladyship for it, by such a token; that token, he said, "he could "send to one of the Persons trusted, who should keep it by him, till "the opportunity came in which it might be executed. The King accordingly wish'd the Lady *Aubigney*, to carry it with great care and secrecy; telling her, "it much concern'd his own Service; and to deliver it in such manner, and upon such Assurance, as is before mention'd: which she did, and, within few days after her return to *London*, deliver'd it to a Person who was appointed to call for it. How this Commission was discover'd, I could never learn; for though Mr *Waller* had the Honour to be admitted often to that Lady, and was believ'd by Her to be a Gentleman of most entire Affections to the King's Service, and consequently might be fitly trusted with what she knew, yet her Ladyship her self, not knowing what it was she carried, could not inform any Body else.

BUT about this time, a Servant of Mr *Tomkins*, who had often cursorily over heard his Master and Mr *Waller* discourse of the Argument, We are now upon, placed himself behind a hanging, at a time they were together; and there, whilst either of them discoursed the language, and opinion of the Company they kept, over-heard enough to make him believe his Information, and Discovery, would make him welcome to those whom he thought concern'd; and so went to Mr *Pym*, and acquainted him with all he had heard, or probably imagined. The time when Mr *Pym* was made acquainted with it, is not known; but the circumstances of the publishing it were such, as filled all Men with Apprehensions. It was on *Wednesday* the 31st of *May*, their solemn fast day, when, being all at their Sermon, in St *Margarets* Church in *Westminster*, according to their custom, a Letter or Message is brought privately to Mr *Pym*; who thereupon, with some of the most active Members, rise from their Seats; and, after a little whispering together, remove out of the Church: This could not but exceedingly affect those who stayed behind; immediately they send Guards to all the Prisons, as *Lambeth*-House, *Ely*-House, and such places, where their Malignants were in Custody, with directions "to search the Prisoners; and some

other places which they thought fit ſhould be ſuſpected. After the Sermons were ended, the Houſes met; and were only then told, "that "Letters were intercepted going to the King and the Court at *Oxford*, "that expreſs'd ſome notable Conſpiracy in hand, to deliver up the Par- "liament, and the City into the hands of the Cavaliers; and that the "time for the execution of it, drew very near. Hereupon a Committee was appointed "to examine all Perſons They thought fit; and to appre- "hend ſome nominated at that time. And the ſame Night, this Committee apprehended Mr *Waller*, and Mr *Tomkins*; and, the next day, ſuch others as they ſuſpected.

Mr WALLER was ſo confounded with Fear, and Aphrehenſion, that he confeſs'd whatever he had ſaid, heard, thought, or ſeen; all that he knew of himſelf, and all that he ſuſpected of others; without concealing any Perſon of what Degree, or Quality ſoever, or any diſcourſe that he had ever, upon any occaſion, entertain'd with them: What ſuch and ſuch Ladies of great Honour, to whom, upon the Credit of his great Wit, and very good Reputation, he had been admitted, had ſpoke to him in their Chambers of the proceedings in the Houſes; and how they had encouraged him to oppoſe them, what correſpondence, and intercourſe they had, with ſome Miniſters of State at *Oxford*; and how they deriv'd all Intelligence thither. He inform'd them, "that the Earl of "*Portland*, and the Lord *Conway*, had been particular in all the agita- "tions which had been with the Citizens; and had given frequent Ad- "vice, and Directions, how they ſhould demean themſelves; and that "the Earl of *Northumberland*, had expreſs'd very good wiſhes to any "attempt, that might give a ſtop to the Violent Actions, and Proceed- "ings of the Houſes, and produce a good Underſtanding with the King.

WHEN the Committee were thus furniſh'd, they took the examinations of Mr *Tomkins*, and ſuch other as they thought neceſſary, and having at the ſame time, by ſome other means, diſcover'd (or conceal'd it till this time) that Commiſſion which is before diſcourſed of, and gotten the very original into their hands, they kneaded both into one Plot, and Conſpiracy; and, acquainting the Houſes with ſo much as they thought yet ſeaſonable to publiſh, they declared (without naming any Lords, or other Perſons, to be intereſted in the deſign, ſave thoſe only who were impriſon'd, among whom the Lady *Aubigney* was one: and without communicating any of the examinations, which, they pretended, were not to be common till the Conſpirators were brought to Tryal) "that the Original of this Conſpiracy was from the late *London* Petition "for Peace, which was ſpoken of about *Chriſtmas* laſt in the Book pre- cedent; "and that, under pretence of Peace and Moderation, a Party "was to be form'd, which ſhould be able to ſuppreſs all opponents, and "to awe the Parliament: That, to this purpoſe, ſome of thoſe who "were the principal Movers, and Fomenters of that Petition, did con- "tinue, in the Nature of a Committee, ſtill to carry on the deſign: that "they held Intelligence in both Armies, Court, and Parliament; took "a general Survey of the Number, and Affections of the ſeveral Inha- "bitants throughout the Wards, and Pariſhes of the City, and places "adjacent; and diſtinguiſh'd all under the titles of Men affected, or averſe "to the King; or indifferent, and Neutral Perſons, carried only by the "ſucceſs, and power of the Prevailers: That they were well inſtructed "in the Number, and inclinations of the Train'd-bands of *London*; the "places where the Magazines were kept; where the Commanders for

"the Parliament dwelt; had thought of places for Rendezvous, and "Retreat, upon any occaſion, and of Colours, and Marks of diſtinction "between the different Parties.

"THAT Mr *Waller* and Mr *Tomkins* were the principal Perſons, em- "ployed, and truſted to give advertiſement to, and correſpond with, the "King's Miniſters at *Oxford*; and receive advertiſements and Com- "mands from thence, for the compleating the work; that they Two "held conſtant Intelligence, and Intercourſe with the Lord *Falkland* "then principal Secretary to the King; and that, from Him, they re- "ceiv'd the ſignification of the King's pleaſure; and that thoſe Dire- "ctions, Counſels, and Encouragements, had been principally ſent by "thoſe Meſſengers which had been employed by his Majeſty to the Par- "liament, under the pretence of Peace; and, eſpecially, by Mr *Alexan- "der Hambden*; who came with the laſt Meſſage, and was a Couſin-ger- "man to Mr *Waller*. That the Lady *Aubigney*, who had been lately at "*Oxford*, had brought thence a Commiſſion to them from the King, by "force of Armes to deſtroy, kill, and ſlay the Forces, raiſed by the Par- "liament and their Adherents, as Traytors and Rebels; and that they "had lately ſent a Meſſage to *Oxford* by one *Haſſel*, a Servant of the "King's, to acquaint the Lord *Falkland*, that the deſign was come to a "good perfection; unto which, Anſwer was return'd, that they ſhould "haſten it with all ſpeed:

"THAT the particulars of the Deſign appear'd to be: 1. To ſeiſe in- "to their Cuſtody the King's Children: 2. To ſeiſe ſeveral Members of "both Houſes, the Lord Mayor, and Committee of the Militia, under "pretence of bringing them to a legal Tryal. 3. To ſeiſe upon the Out- "works, Forts, Tower of *London*, Magazines, Gates, and other places "of importance in the City. 4. To let in the King's Forces to ſurpriſe "the City, and to deſtroy all thoſe who ſhould oppoſe them by Autho- "rity of the Parliament. 5. By force of Armes to reſiſt all payments im- "poſed by Authority of Parliament, raiſed for the ſupport of the Ar- "mies employ'd for their juſt defence &c. to ſuſpend, if not alter the "whole Government of the City, and, with Aſſiſtance of the King's "Force, to awe, and maſter the Parliament.

WHEN both Houſes were awaken'd, and ſtartled with this report, the firſt thing agreed on, was, "a day of thankſgiving to God for this "wonderful delivery; which ſhut out any future doubts, and diſquiſi- tions, whether there had been any ſuch delivery; and, conſequently, whether their Plot was in truth, or had been ſo framed. Then it was ſaid, "that as the deſign was the moſt deſperate, ſo the carriage was the "moſt ſubtle, and among Perſons of Reputation, and not ſuſpected; "and that there was reaſon to ſuſpect, many Members of both Houſes "were privy to it; and therefore there ought to be all poſſible care taken "to make the diſcovery perfect, and to unite themſelves for the publick "defence: that if any part were left undiſcover'd, it might prove fatal "to the Common-wealth. This finding a full conſent, it was propounded, "that a Proteſtation might be drawn up, by which every Member of "the two Houſes might purge himſelf from any guilt of, or privity in, "that conſpiracy; and likewiſe oblige himſelf to reſiſt, and oppoſe any "ſuch Combination. They who were under the Character of Moderate Men, and uſually advanced all motions of Peace, and Accommodation, durſt not oppoſe the Expedient, leſt they ſhould be concluded guilty; moſt of them having had familiarity with Mr *Waller*, and, no doubt,

upon ſundry occaſions, ſpoken with that freedom to him, as might very well incur a ſevere Interpretation, if, upon this occaſion, what they had ſaid ſhould be ſcann'd. And ſo, before the riſing, there was framed by the Houſe of Commons, a Vow and Covenant to be taken by the Members of both Houſes, and afterwards by the City, and their Army; for their Jealouſy was now ſpread over all their own Quarters; which Covenant, for the rareneſs of it both in Title and Style, I think neceſſary here to inſert in the very terms; which were theſe:

A Vow and Covenant agreed to be taken by the Members of both Houſes upon diſcovery of that deſign.

A Sacred Vow, and Covenant, taken by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, upon the diſcovery of the late horrid and treacherous deſign, for the deſtruction of this Parliament and the Kingdom: the 6th *of* June 1643.

"WHEREAS there hath been, and now is, in this Kingdom, a Popiſh, "and Trayterous Plot for the Subverſion of the true Proteſtant Re- "form'd Religion, and the Liberty of the Subject; and, in purſuance "thereof, a Popiſh Army hath been raiſed, and is now on foot in divers "parts of this Kingdom; and whereas there hath been a treacherous "and horrid deſign, lately diſcover'd by the great bleſſing and eſpecial "providence of God, of divers Perſons, to joyn themſelves with the "Armies raiſed by the King, and to deſtroy the Forces raiſed by the "Lords and Commons in Parliament, to ſurpriſe the Cities of *London* "and *Weſtminſter* with the Suburbs; by Armes to force the Parliament; "and finding by conſtant experience, that many ways of force, and trea- "chery, are continually attempted, to bring to utter ruin and deſtruction "the Parliament, and Kingdom; and that which is deareſt, the true Pro- "teſtant Religion: And that, for the preventing and withſtanding the "ſame, it is fit, that all, who are true hearted, and lovers of their Coun- "try, ſhould bind themſelves each to other in a ſacred Vow and Co- "venant:

"I *A. B.* in humility, and reverence of the Divine Majeſty, declare "my hearty ſorrow for my own Sins, and the Sins of this Nation, which "have deſerv'd the Calamities, and Judgements, that now lie upon it; "and my true Intention is, by God's grace, to endeavour the amendment "of my own ways; and I do farther, in the preſence of Almighty God, "Declare, Vow, and Covenant, that, in order to the ſecurity and pre- "ſervation of the true Reform'd Proteſtant Religion, and Liberty of "the Subject, I will not conſent to the laying down of Armes, ſo long "as the Papiſts, now in open War againſt the Parliament, ſhall by force "of Armes be protected from the Juſtice thereof. And that I do abhor "and deteſt the ſaid wicked, and treacherous deſign, lately diſcover'd: "And that I never gave, nor will give my Aſſent to the execution "thereof, but will, according to my Power, and Vocation, oppoſe and "reſiſt the ſame, and all other of the like Nature. And in caſe any other "like deſign ſhall hereafter come to my knowledge, I will make ſuch "timely diſcovery, as I ſhall conceive may beſt conduce to the prevent- "ing thereof. And whereas I do in my conſcience believe, that the "Forces, raiſed by the two Houſes of Parliament, are raiſed, and con- "tinued for their juſt Defence, and for the Defence of the true Proteſtant "Religion, and Liberty of the Subject, againſt the Forces raiſed by the "King; that I will, according to my Power, and Vocation, aſſiſt the

"Forces

"Forces raiſed and continued, by both Houſes of Parliament, againſt "the Forces raiſed by the King without Their conſent; And will like-"wiſe aſſiſt all other Perſons that ſhall take this Oath, in what they ſhall "do in purſuance thereof; and will not directly, or indirectly, adhere "unto, nor ſhall willingly aſſiſt the Forces raiſed by the King, without "the Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament. And this Vow, and Co-"venant, I make in the preſence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all "hearts, with a true Intention to perform the ſame, as I ſhall Anſwer "at the great day, when the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be diſcloſed.

THOUGH many were much ſtartled at this Covenant, and took time to conſider of it, there being in the Preamble, and poſitive part, much which very few believ'd, and in the promiſſory part a more direct denouncing War againſt the King, than had been in plain terms before avow'd by them, and an abſolute Proteſtation againſt Peace, till the King were at their Mercy; yet the fear of being concluded guilty of the Plot, made them ſwallow all the reſt; and the example of one prevailing with many, there was not a Member of either Houſe that took it not; and being thus fetter'd, and intangled themſelves, they ſent their Committee into the City, to acquaint them with their "happy diſco-"very, and how miraculouſly God had preſerv'd them, and to engage "them in the ſame ſacred Vow, and Covenant; which was readily ſubmitted to; and, by the Induſtry of their Clergy, ſooner than can be imagined, taken throughout that People. Then it was, with equal diligence, and ſolemnity, tranſmitted to their Army, that their Fears of Inconvenience from thence might be likewiſe purged; and thence it grew the mark of diſtinction, to know their Friends and Enemies by; and whoſoever refuſed to take that Covenant, needed no other Charge to be concluded, and proſecuted, as the higheſt Malignant.

The ſame Vow and Covenant taken throughout the City, and Army.

BEING this way ſecure from any future Clamours for Peace, they proceeded to try Mr *Tomkins*; Mr *Chaloner*, a Citizen of good Wealth and Credit, and moſt intimate with *Tomkins*; Mr *Hambden*, who brought the laſt Meſſage from the King: one *Haſſel* a Meſſenger of the King's, who paſs'd often between *London* and *Oxford*, and ſometimes carried Letters and Meſſages to the Lord *Falkland*; and ſome Citizens, whoſe names were in the Commiſſion ſent from *Oxford*; by a Council of War; by whom Mr *Tomkins*, and Mr *Chaloner* were Condemn'd to be hanged; and were both, with all circumſtances of ſeverity, and cruelty, executed: the One, on a Gibbet, by his own Houſe in *Holborn*; where he had long liv'd with ſingular eſtimation; and the Other, by his Houſe in *Cornhil*, near the old *Exchange*. *Haſſel* the Meſſenger ſaved them farther trouble, and died in Priſon the night before his Tryal: And there being no evidence againſt Mr *Hambden*, but what Mr *Waller* himſelf gave, they gave no judgement againſt Him, but kept him long after in Priſon, till he died; neither proceeded they Capitally againſt thoſe Citizens whoſe names were in the Commiſſion, it not appearing that their names were uſed with their conſent, and privity; though the brand of being Malignants ſerv'd the turn for their undoing; for all their Eſtates were ſeiſed, as theirs were who had been executed.

The Tryal, and Execution of Mr Tomkins *and* Mr Chaloner.

THERE is nothing clearer than that the Commiſſion ſent from *Oxford* by the Lady *Aubigney*, had not any relation to the diſcourſes paſs'd between Mr *Waller*, *Tomkins*, and thoſe Citizens, or that they, who knew of one, had not any privity with the other: which if they had had,

and

and intended ſuch an Inſurrection, as was alledged, Mr *Waller*, and Mr *Tomkins*, or ſome one of thoſe Lords who were ſuppoſed to combine with them, would have been in the Commiſſion. Or if the King's Miniſters had been engaged in the conſultation, and hoped to have raiſed a Party which ſhould ſuddainly ſeiſe upon the City, and the Parliament, they would never have thought a Commiſſion granted to ſome Gentlemen at *Oxford* (for the Major part of the Commiſſioners were there) and a few private Citizens, would have ſerv'd for that work. I am very confident, and I have very much reaſon for that confidence, that there was no more known, or thought of at *Oxford*, concerning the matter of the Commiſſion, than I have before ſet forth, nor of the other, than that Mr *Tomkins* ſometimes writ to the Lord *Falkland* (for Mr *Waller*, out of the cautiouſneſs of his own Nature, never writ word) and by Meſſengers ſignified to him, "that the Number of thoſe who deſired "Peace, and abhorr'd the proceedings of the Houſes, was very conſi- "derable; and that they reſolv'd, by refuſing to contribute to the War, "and to ſubmit to their Ordinances, to declare and manifeſt themſelves "in that manner, that the Violent Party in the City ſhould not have "credit enough to hinder any Accommodation. And the Lord *Falkland* always return'd Anſwer, "that they ſhould expedite thoſe Expedients, "aſſoon as might be, for that delays made the War more difficult to be "reſtrain'd. And if I could find Evidence, or Reaſon, to induce me to believe, that there was any farther deſign in the thing it ſelf, or that the King gave farther countenance to it, I ſhould not at all conceal it. No Man can imagine, that if the King could have entertain'd any probable hope of reducing *London*, which was the Fomenter, Supporter, and indeed the Life of the War, or could have found any expedient, from whence he could reaſonably propoſe to diſſolve, ſcatter, and diſperſe thoſe who, under the name of a Parliament, had kindled a War againſt him, but he would have given his utmoſt aſſiſtance, and countenance thereunto, either by publick Force, or private Contrivance.

THERE were very great endeavours uſed, to have proceeded with equal ſeverity againſt the Earl of *Portland*, and the Lord *Conway* (for the accuſation of the Earl of *Northumberland*, it was proceeded tenderly in; for though the Violent Party was heartily incenſed againſt him, as a Man weary of them, yet his Reputation was ſtill very great) who were both cloſe Priſoners; and, to that purpoſe, their Lordſhips and Mr *Waller* were confronted before the Committee; where They as peremptorily denying, as He charging them, and there being no other Witneſs but He againſt them, the proſecution was rather let alone than declined, till after a long reſtraint they procured enlargement upon Bayl. Mr *Waller* himſelf (though confeſſedly the moſt guilty; and by his unhappy demeanour, in this time of his Affliction, he had raiſed as many Enemies as he had formerly Friends, and almoſt the ſame) after he had, with incredible diſſimulation, acted ſuch a remorſe of Conſcience, that his Tryal was put off out of Chriſtian compaſſion, till he might recover his underſtanding (and that was not, till the heat, and fury of the Proſecutors, was reaſonably abated with the Sacrifices they had made) and, by drawing Viſitants to himſelf, of the moſt powerful Miniſters of all Factions, had, by his liberality, and penitence, his receiving vulgar and vile ſayings from them with humility, and reverence, as clearer Convictions and Informations than in his Life he had ever had; and diſtributing great Sums to them for their Prayers, and Ghoſtly Counſel;

Counſel; ſo ſatisfied Them, that They ſatisfied others; was brought, at his ſuite, to the Houſe of Commons Bar; where (being a Man in truth very powerful in Language; and who, by What he ſpoke, and in the Manner of ſpeaking it, exceedingly captivated the good Will and Benevolence of his hearers; which is the higheſt part of an Oratour) with ſuch flattery, as was moſt exactly calculated to that Meridian, with ſuch a Submiſſion, as Their Pride took delight in, and ſuch dejection of mind, and ſpirit, as was like to couſen the Major part, and be thought ſerious; he laid before them "their own danger, and concernment, if "they ſhould ſuffer one of their own Body, how unworthy and mon-"ſtrous ſoever, to be tryed by the Soldiers, who might thereby grow "to that power hereafter, that they would both try thoſe They would "not be willing ſhould be tryed, and for things which they would ac-"count No Crimes; the inconvenience, and inſupportable miſchief "whereof, all wiſe Common-wealths had foreſeen, and prevented, by "exempting their own Members from all judgements but their own: He prevailed, Not to be tryed by a Council of War; and thereby pre-ſerv'd his dear bought Life; ſo that, in truth, he does as much owe the Keeping his head to that Oration, as *Cataline* did the Loſs of His to thoſe of *Tully*: and by having done Ill very well, he, by degrees, drew that reſpect to his parts, which always carries ſome compaſſion to the Perſon, that he got leave to compound for his tranſgreſſion, and them to accept of ten thouſand pounds (which their Affairs wanted) for his liberty; whereupon he had leave to recollect himſelf in another Coun-try (for his Liberty was to be in Baniſhment) how miſerable he had made himſelf, in obtaining that leave to live out of his own. And there cannot be a greater Evidence of the ineſtimable Value of his Parts, than that he liv'd, after this, in the good Affection, and Eſteem of many, the pity of moſt, and the reproach, and ſcorn of few, or none.

THESE high proceedings, at *London*, and in the Houſes, were not ſeconded with any notable ſucceſs abroad; but it appear'd plainly, by the flow coming in of Monies, and more flow coming in of Men, that the hearts of the People were generally more devoted to Peace, than to the continuance of thoſe diſtractions; and the Earl of *Eſſex*, by the great decay, and ſickneſs of his Army, was not in near ſix weeks, able to remove from *Reading*; by which many Men concluded, which could not be reaſonably foreſeen, that if *Reading* had held out many days longer, he would have been compell'd to raiſe his Siege; and that was the reaſon the Earl gave for granting ſo good conditions: for if he could have ſtaid longer before it, he well knew, they muſt have yielded on worſe terms; neither fear'd he the King would be able to relieve it. In the end, there being no other way to quiet the City of *London*, he march'd towards *Oxford*; but, in truth, rather to ſecure *Buckingham-ſhire*, which was now infeſted by the King's Horſe, than to diſquiet that place. And to that purpoſe, he fixed his head Quarter at *Thame*, ten Miles from *Oxford*, and upon the very edge of the other County. *The Earl of Eſſex marches to Thame.*

IN the beginning of the War, the Army in *Scotland* having been lately disbanded, many Officers of that Nation, who had ſerv'd in *Ger-many* and in *France*, betook themſelves to the Service of the Parlia-ment; whereof divers were Men of good Conduct, and Courage; though there were more as bad as the Cauſe, in which they engaged. Of the former ſort Colonel *Urry* was a Man of Name, and Reputation, and an excellent Officer of Horſe, and had commanded thoſe Horſe at

Edge-hill under *Balfour*, which had preſerv'd their Army there; and finding himſelf afterwards not ſo well regarded, as, he thought, he had deſerv'd, as it was no eaſy thing to value that People at the rate they did ſet upon themſelves; and being without any other Affection for their Service, than their Pay inclined him to, he reſolv'd to quit them, and to go to the King; in order to which, he had kept ſome correſpondence with the Earl of *Brainford* the King's General; under whoſe Command he had formerly ſerv'd in *Germany*. Whilſt the Earl of *Eſſex* remain'd at *Thame*, and his Army quarter'd thereabout, *Urry* came to *Oxford*, in the Equipage that became a Colonel of Horſe who had receiv'd good Pay; and the very next day after he came, having been very graciouſly receiv'd by the King, to give proof that he brought his whole heart with him, he went to Prince *Rupert*, acquainted him where the Parliament Horſe lay, and how looſe they were in their Quarters; and to give a teſtimony of his fidelity to the King, he deſired to march a Voluntier with a good Party, to make an attempt upon the Enemy; and the Prince aſſigning a ſtrong Party for the Service, he accompanied, and conducted them out of the Common Road, till they came to a Town, where a Regiment of the Parliaments Horſe was Quarter'd; which they beat up; and kill'd, or took moſt of the Officers and Soldiers; and then fell upon thoſe other Quarters, by which they had paſſed before, with the like ſucceſs; ſo return'd to *Oxford* with many Priſoners, and with notable damage to the Enemy.

ASSOON as he return'd, he made another Propoſition to the Prince for the attacking the Quarters near *Thame*; through which he had paſs'd, when he came to *Oxford*, and ſo was well acquainted with the poſture in which they were, and aſſured the Prince, "that, if he went about it "time enough, before there ſhould be any alteration in their Quarters, "which he believ'd the General would quickly make, the Enterpriſe "would be worthy of it. The Prince was ſo well ſatisfied with what he had already done, that he reſolv'd to conduct the next adventure himſelf, which he did very fortunately. They went out of the Ports of *Oxford* in the Evening upon a *Saturday*, and march'd beyond all the Quarters as far as *Wickham*, and fell in there at the farther end of the Town towards *London*, from whence no Enemy was expected, and ſo no Guards were kept There. A Regiment of Horſe, and of Foot, were lodged there; which were cut off, or taken Priſoners; and all the Horſes and a good Booty brought away. From thence they march'd backward to another Quarter, within leſs than two Miles of the General's own Quarters; where his Men lodg'd with the ſame ſecurity, they had done at *Wickham*, not expecting any Enemy that way; and ſo met with the ſame fate the others had done; and were all kill'd, or made Priſoners. Thus having perform'd, at leaſt as much as they had propoſed to do, and being laden with Priſoners, and Booty, and the Sun being now riſing, the Prince thought it time to retire to *Oxford*, and gave orders to march accordingly with all convenient ſpeed, till they ſhould come to a Bridge which was yet two Miles from them, where he had appointed a Guard to attend, to favour their Retreat.

Prince Rupert *beats up ſome of his Quarters with good ſucceſs.*

BUT the Alarm had been brought to the Earl of *Eſſex* from all the Quarters, who quickly gathered thoſe Troops together, which were neareſt; and directed thoſe to follow the Prince, and to entertain him in Skirmiſhes, till Himſelf ſhould come up with the Foot, and ſome other Troops; which he made all poſſible haſt to do. So that when the

Prince had allmoſt paſs'd a fair Plain, or Field, call'd *Chalgrave* Field, from whence he was to enter a Lane, which continued to the Bridge; the Enemies Horſe were diſcover'd marching after them with ſpeed; and as they might eaſily overtake them in the Lane, ſo they muſt as eaſily have put them into great diſorder. Therefore the Prince reſolv'd to expect, and ſtand them upon the open Field, though his Horſe were all tired, and the Sun was grown very hot, it being about eight of the Clock in the Morning in *June*. He then directed, "that the Guard of "the Priſoners ſhould make what haſt they could to the Bridge: but that "all the reſt ſhould return; for ſome were enter'd the Lane: and ſo he placed himſelf and his Troops, as he thought fit, in that Field to receive the Enemy; which made more haſt, and with leſs order than they ſhould have done; and being more in Number than the Prince, and conſiſting of many of the Principal Officers, who having been preſent with the Earl of *Eſſex*, when the Alarm came, ſtayed not for their own Troops, but joyn'd with thoſe who were ready in the purſuit, as They thought, of a Flying Enemy, or ſuch as would eaſily be arreſted in their haſty retreat; and, having now overtaken them, meant to take revenge themſelves for the damage they had receiv'd that Night, and Morning, before the General could come up to have a ſhare in the Victory, though his Troops were even in View. But the Prince entertain'd them ſo roughly, that though they charged very bravely and obſtinately, being many of their beſt Officers, of which the chiefeſt falling, the reſt ſhew'd leſs Vigour, in a ſhort time they broke, and fled, and were purſued till they came near the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Body; which being at near a miles diſtance, and making a ſtand to receive their Flying Troops, and to be inform'd of their diſaſter, the Prince with his Troops haſten'd his retreat, and paſs'd the Lane, and came ſafe to the Bridge before any of the Earls Forces came up; who found it then to no purpoſe to go farther, there being a good Guard of Foot, which had likewiſe lined both ſides of the Hedges a good way in the Lane. Thus the Prince, about Noon, or ſhortly after, enter'd *Oxford*, with near two hundred Priſoners, ſeven Cornets of Horſe, and four Enſigns of Foot, with moſt of the Men he carried from thence; few only having been kill'd in the Action, whereof ſome were of Name.

THE Prince preſented Colonel *Urry* to the King with a great Teſtimony of the Courage he had ſhew'd in the Action, as well as of his Counſel, and Conduct in the whole; which was indeed very dexterous, and could have been perform'd by no Man, who had not been very converſant in the Quarters of thoſe he deſtroyed. Upon which, the King honour'd him with Knighthood, and a Commiſſion to raiſe a Regiment of Horſe; and every body magnified, and extolled him, as they uſually do a Man who hath good luck, and the more, becauſe he was a *Scotsman*, and profeſs'd a Repentance for having been in Rebellion againſt the King. He deſerves this Teſtimony, and Vindication to be given him, againſt the calumnies which were raiſed againſt him, "as if he had broken "his Truſt, and deſerted the Service of the Parliament, and betrayed "them to the King, which is not true. He had own'd, and publiſh'd his diſcontents long before, and demanded redreſs, and juſtice, in ſome particulars from the Parliament, in which the Earl of *Eſſex* thought he had reaſon; and wiſh'd he might receive ſatisfaction. But the Man was in his nature proud, and imperious; had raiſed many Enemies; was a Man of Licence, and committed many diſorders of that kind. He was however

however a good Officer in the Field; regular and vigilant in marching, and in his Quarters; which the Parliament thought other Men would attain to, who had fewer Vices; and therefore granted nothing that he had defired; upon which he declared, "he would ſerve them no longer; and deliver'd up his Commiſſion to the Earl of *Eſſex*; and being then preſs'd to promiſe, that he would not ſerve the King; he poſitively refuſed to give any ſuch Engagement; and after he had ſtayed at *London* about a Month, and had receiv'd encouragement from ſome Friends in *Oxford*, he came thither in the manner ſet down before.

THE Prince's ſucceſs in this laſt march was very ſeaſonable, and raiſed the Spirits at *Oxford* very much, and for ſome time allay'd the Jealouſies, and Animoſities, which too often broke out in ſeveral Factions to the diſquiet of the King. It was viſibly great in the number of the Priſoners; whereof many were of condition, and the names of many Officers were known, who were left dead upon the Field, as Colonel *Gunter*, who was look'd upon as the beſt Officer of Horſe they had, and a Man of known malice to the Government of the Church; which had drawn ſome ſevere cenſure upon him before the Troubles, and for which he had ſtill meditated Revenge. One of the Priſoners taken in the Action, ſaid, "that he was confident Mr *Hambden* was hurt, for he ſaw him "ride off the Field before the Action was done, which he never uſed to "do, with his head hanging down, and reſting his hands upon the neck "of his Horſe; by which he concluded he was hurt. The news the next day made the Victory much more important, than it was thought to have been. There was full information brought of the great loſs the Enemy had ſuſtain'd in their Quarters, by which three or four Regiments were utterly broken and loſt: the names of many Officers, of the beſt account, were known, who were either kill'd upon the place, or ſo hurt as there remain'd little hope of their recovery.

AMONG the Priſoners, there were taken Colonel *Sheffield*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Mulgrave*, and one Colonel *Beckly* a *Scots*-man; who, being viſibly both wounded, acted their hurts ſo well, and pretended to be ſo ready to expire, that upon their Paroles neither to endeavour nor endure a Reſcue, they were ſuffer'd to reſt at a private Houſe in the way, within a mile of the Field, till their Wounds ſhould be dreſs'd, and they recover ſo much ſtrength as to be able to render themſelves Priſoners at *Oxford*. But the King's Forces were no ſooner gone, than they found means to ſend to their Comrades, and were the next day ſtrong enough, to ſuffer themſelves to be removed to *Thame*, by a ſtrong Party ſent from the Earl of *Eſſex*; and, between denying that they had promiſed, and ſaying, that they would perform it, they never ſubmitted themſelves to be Priſoners, as much againſt the Law of Armes, as their taking Armes was againſt their Allegiance. But that which would have been look'd upon as a conſiderable recompence for a Defeat, could not but be thought a great addition to the Victory, which was the death of Mr *Hambden*; who, being ſhot into the Shoulder with a brace of Bullets, which brake the Bone, within three Weeks after died with extraordinary pain; to as great a conſternation of all that Party, as if their whole Army had been defeated, or cut off.

Mr Hambden *wounded in* Chalgrave *Field, of which he died.*

MANY Men obſerv'd (as upon ſignal turns of great Affairs, as this was, ſuch obſervations are frequently made) that the Field in which the late Skirmiſh was, and upon which Mr *Hambden* receiv'd his death's wound, *Chalgrave* Field, was the ſame place in which he had firſt executed

the Ordinance of the Militia, and engaged that County, in which his Reputation was very great, in this Rebellion: and it was confeſs'd by the Priſoners that were taken that day, and acknowledged by all, that upon the Alarm that morning, after their Quarters were beaten up, he was exceeding ſollicitous to draw Forces together to purſue the Enemy; and, being a Colonel of Foot, put himſelf among thoſe Horſe as a Voluntier, who were firſt ready; and that when the Prince made a ſtand, all the Officers were of opinion to ſtay till their Body came up, and He alone (being ſecond to None but the General himſelf in the obſervance, and application of all Men) perſwaded, and prevailed with them to advance; ſo violently did his fate carry him, to pay the Mulct in the place where he had committed the Tranſgreſſion, about a year before.

He was a Gentleman of a good Family in *Buckingham-ſhire*, and born to a fair Fortune, and of a moſt civil and affable deportment. In his entrance into the world, he indulged to himſelf all the Licence in Sports and Exerciſes, and Company, which were uſed by Men of the moſt Jolly Converſation. Afterwards, he retired to a more reſerv'd, and Melancholy Society, yet preſerving his own natural Chearfulneſs, and Vivacity, and above all, a flowing courteſy to all Men; though they who converſed nearly with him, found him growing into a diſlike of the Eccleſiaſtical Government of the Church, yet moſt believ'd it rather a diſlike of ſome Church-men, and of ſome introducements of Theirs, which he apprehended might diſquiet the publick Peace. He was rather of Reputation in his own Country, than of publick diſcourſe, or fame in the Kingdom, before the buſineſs of Ship-money: but Then he grew the Argument of all Tongues, every Man enquiring who, and what He was, that durſt, at his own charge, ſupport the Liberty, and Property of the Kingdom, and reſcue his Country, as he thought, from being made a Prey to the Court. His carriage, throughout this Agitation was with that rare temper and modeſty, that they who watch'd him narrowly to find ſome advantage againſt his Perſon, to make him leſs reſolute in his Cauſe, were compell'd to give him a juſt Teſtimony. And the Judgement that was given againſt him, infinitely more advanced Him, than the Service for which it was given. When this Parliament begun (being return'd Knight of the Shire for the County where he liv'd) the Eyes of all Men were fixed upon, him, as their *Patriæ Pater*, and the Pilot that muſt ſteer the Veſſel, through the Tempeſts, and Rocks which threaten'd it. And I am perſwaded, his Power and Intereſt, at that time, was greater to do Good or Hurt, than any Man's in the Kingdom, or than any Man of His Rank hath had in any time: for his Reputation of Honeſty was Univerſal, and his Affections ſeem'd ſo publickly guided, that no corrupt, or private ends could byaſs them.

He was of that rare affability, and temper in Debate, and of that ſeeming humility and ſubmiſſion of Judgement, as if he brought no opinion of his own with him, but a deſire of Information, and Inſtruction; yet he had ſo ſubtile a way of Interrogating, and, under the notion of Doubts, inſinuating his Objections, that he infuſed his own opinions into thoſe from whom he pretended to learn, and receive them. And even with them who were able to preſerve themſelves from his infuſions, and diſcern'd thoſe opinions to be fixed in him, with which they could not comply, he always left the Character of an Ingenious, and Conſcientious Perſon. He was indeed a very Wiſe Man, and of great parts, and poſſeſs'd with the moſt abſolute ſpirit of Popularity, and the

moſt abſolute faculties to govern the People, of any Man I ever knew. For the firſt year of the Parliament, he ſeem'd rather to moderate, and ſoften the violent and diſtemper'd humours, than to inflame them. But wiſe and diſpaſſion'd Men plainly diſcern'd, that that moderation proceeded from prudence, and obſervation that the ſeaſon was not ripe, rather than that he approv'd of the moderation; and that he Begot many opinions, and motions, the Education whereof he committed to other Men; ſo far diſguiſing his own deſigns, that he ſeem'd ſeldom to wiſh more than was concluded; and in many groſs concluſions, which would hereafter contribute to deſigns not yet ſet on foot, when he found them ſufficiently backed by majority of Voices, he would withdraw himſelf before the Queſtion, that he might ſeem not to conſent to ſo much viſible unreaſonableneſs; which produced as great a doubt in ſome, as it did approbation in others, of his Integrity. What combination ſoever had been originally with the *Scots* for the Invaſion of *England*, and what farther was enter'd into afterwards in favour of them, and to advance any alteration of the Government in Parliament, no Man doubts was at leaſt with the privity of this Gentleman.

AFTER he was among thoſe Members accuſed by the King of High-Treaſon, he was much alter'd; his nature and carriage ſeeming much fiercer than it did before. And without queſtion, when he firſt drew his Sword, he threw away the Scabbard; for he paſſionately oppoſed the Overture made by the King for a Treaty from *Nottingham*, and as eminently, all expedients that might have produced any accommodations in this that was at *Oxford*; and was principally relied on, to prevent any infuſions which might be made into the Earl of *Eſſex* towards Peace, or to render them ineffectual, if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that Party, than the General himſelf. In the firſt entrance into the Troubles, he undertook the Command of a Regiment of Foot, and perform'd the duty of a Colonel, upon all occaſions, moſt punctually. He was very temperate in diet, and a Supreme Governour over all his Paſſions, and Affections, and had thereby a great power over other Mens. He was of an Induſtry and Vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the moſt Laborious; and of Parts not to be impoſed upon, by the moſt Subtle, or Sharp; and of a Perſonal courage equal to his beſt Parts; ſo that he was an Enemy not to be wiſh'd wherever he might have been made a Friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was ſo, as any Man could deſerve to be. And therefore his death was no leſs pleaſing to the One Party, than it was condoled in the Other. In a word, what was ſaid of *Cinna*, might well be applied to Him; "he had a Head to contrive, and a Tongue to perſwade, "and a Hand to execute, any miſchief. His death therefore ſeem'd to be a great deliverance to the Nation.

THE Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army was ſo weaken'd by theſe defeates, and more by the ſickneſs that had waſted it, that it was not thought ſafe to remain longer ſo near his unquiet, and reſtleſs Enemies. The Factions, and Animoſities at *London*, required his preſence There; and he thought the Army would be ſooner recruited there, than at ſo great a diſtance; ſo that he march'd directly from *Thame* to *London*, where he found Jealouſy and Contention enough; leaving his Army Quarter'd about St *Albans*. Whilſt the Affairs of the Parliament were in this diſtraction, the King's recover'd great Reputation; and the Seaſon of the year being fit for Action, all Diſcontents, and Factious Murmurings, were adjourn'd to the next Winter.

The Earl of Eſſex *marches from* Thame *to* London; *quartering his Army about* St Albans.

THE

THE end of the Treaty, in which We left the Chief Commanders of the *Corniſh* Forces, with Commiſſioners of the other Weſtern Counties, was like that in other places; for notwithſtanding thoſe extraordinary obligations of Oaths, and receiving the Sacrament, circumſtances in no other Treaty, the Parliament no ſooner ſent their Votes, and Declarations to them (the ſame which are before mention'd upon the Treaties in *York-ſhire*, and *Cheſhire*) and ſome Members of their own to overlook and perplex them, but all peaceable Inclinations were laid aſide; ſo that (having in the mean time induſtriouſly levied Money, throughout *Somerſet* and *Devon*, upon Friends and Enemies; and a good Body of Men) the Night before the expiration of the Treaty and Ceſſation, *James Chudleigh* the Major General of the Rebels, brought a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Foot within two miles of *Launceſton*, the head Quarter of the *Corniſh*, and the very next Morning, the Ceſſation not being determined till after twelve of the Clock in the Night, march'd upon the Town, where they were not ſufficiently provided for them. For though the Commanders of the *Corniſh* had employed their time, as uſefully as they could, during the Ceſſation, in preparing the Gentry of that Country, and all the Inhabitants, to ſubmit to a Weekly Tax for the ſupport of that power, which defended them; over and above which, the Gentlemen, and Perſons of Quality, freely brought in all their Plate to be diſpoſed of to the publick; and though they foreſaw, after the Committee of Parliament came into the Country, that the Treaty would conclude without fruit, and therefore Sr *Ralph Hopton*, and Sr *Bevil Greenvil* repaired to *Launceſton* the day before the expiration of the Treaty, to meet any attempt ſhould be made upon them: Yet, being to Feed, and Pay their ſmall Forces out of one County, they had been compell'd to Quarter their Men at a great diſtance, that no one part might be more oppreſs'd than was neceſſary: ſo that all that was done the firſt day, was by the advantage of Paſſes, and lining of Hedges, to keep the Enemy in Action, till the other Forces came up; which they ſeaſonably did, towards the Evening; and then the Enemy, who receiv'd great loſs in that days Action, grew ſo heartleſs, that in the Night they retired to *Okington*, fifteen miles from the place of their Skirmiſh. After which many ſmall Skirmiſhes enſued, for many days, with various ſucceſs; ſometimes the *Corniſh* advancing in *Devon*, and then retiring again; for it appear'd now, that a form'd Army was marching againſt them, ſo far ſuperior in Number, that there was no reaſonable hope of reſiſtance.

The King's Affairs in the Weſt.

TOWARDS the middle of *May*, the Earl of *Stamford* march'd into *Cornwal*, by the North part, with a Body of fourteen hundred Horſe and Dragoons, and five thouſand four hundred Foot by the Poll, with a Train of thirteen Braſs Ordnance, and a Mortar Piece, and a very plentiful Magazine of Victual, and Ammunition, and every way in as good an Equipage, as could be provided by Men who wanted no Money; whilſt the King's ſmall Forces, being not half the Number, and unſupplied with every uſeful thing, were at *Launceſton*; of whom the Enemy had ſo abſolute a contempt, though they knew they were marching to them, within ſix or ſeven miles, that they conſider'd only how to take them after they were diſperſed, and to prevent their running into *Pendennis* Caſtle to give them farther trouble. To which purpoſe having encamped themſelves upon the flat top of a very high Hill, to which the Aſcents were very ſteep every way, near *Stratton*, being the only

The Earl of Stamford *marches into* Cornwal *with an Army.*

only part of *Cornwal* eminently diſaffected to the King's Service, they ſent a Party of twelve hundred Horſe and Dragoons, under the Command of Sr *George Chudleigh*, Father to their Major General, to *Bodmin* to ſurpriſe the High Sheriff, and principal Gentlemen of the Country; and thereby, not only to prevent the coming up of any more ſtrength to the King's Party, but, under the awe of ſuch a power of Horſe, to make the whole Country riſe for Them. This deſign, which was not in it ſelf unreaſonable, prov'd fortunate to the King. For his Forces which march'd from *Launceſton*, with a reſolution to Fight with the Enemy, upon any diſadvantage of Place or Number (which, how hazardous ſoever, carried leſs danger with it, than retiring into the County, or any thing elſe that was in their power) eaſily now reſolv'd to Aſſault the Camp in the abſence of their Horſe; and with this reſolution, they march'd on *Monday* the fifteenth of *May*, within a Mile of the Enemy; being ſo deſtitute of all Proviſions, that the beſt Officers had but a Bisket a Man a day, for two days, the Enemy looking upon them as their own.

ON *Tueſday* the ſixteenth of *May*, about five of the Clock in the Morning, they diſpoſed themſelves to their Work; having ſtood in their Armes all the Night. The Number of Foot was about two thouſand four hundred, which they divided into four Parts, and agreed on their ſeveral Provinces. The firſt was Commanded by the Lord *Mohun*, and Sr *Ralph Hopton*; who undertook to Aſſault the Camp on the South ſide. Next them, on the left hand, Sr *John Berkley*, and Sr *Bevil Greenvil* were to force their way. Sr *Nicholas Slanning*, and Colonel *Trevannion* were to Aſſault the North ſide; and, on the left hand, Colonel *Thomas Baſſet*, who was Major General of their Foot, and Colonel *William Godolphin* were to advance with Their Party; each Party having two pieces of Cannon to diſpoſe as they found neceſſary: Colonel *John Digby* Commanding the Horſe and Dragoons, being about five hundred, ſtood upon a Sandy Common which had a way to the Camp, to take any advantage he could of the Enemy, if they Charg'd; otherwiſe, to be firm as a Reſerve.

IN this manner the Fight begun; the King's Forces preſſing, with their utmoſt vigour, thoſe four ways up the Hill, and the Enemies as obſtinately defending their ground. The Fight continued with very doubtful ſucceſs, till towards three of the Clock in the Afternoon; when word was brought to the Chief Officers of the *Corniſh*, that their Ammunition was ſpent to leſs than four Barrels of Powder; which (concealing the defect from the Soldiers) they reſolv'd could be only ſupplied with Courage: and therefore, by Meſſengers to one another, they agreed to advance with their full Bodies, without making any more ſhot, till they reach'd the top of the Hill, and ſo might be upon even ground with the Enemy; wherein the Officers Courage, and Reſolution, was ſo well ſeconded by the Soldier, that they begun to get ground in all places; and the Enemy, in wonder of the Men, who out-faced their ſhot with their Swords, to quit their Poſt. Major General *Chudleigh*, who order'd the Battle, failed in no part of a Soldier; and when he ſaw his Men recoile from leſs Numbers, and the Enemy in all places gaining the Hill upon him, himſelf advanced, with a good ſtand of Pikes, upon that Party which was led by Sr *John Berkley*, and Sr *Bevil Greenvil*; and Charg'd them ſo ſmartly, that he put them into diſorder; Sr *Bevil Greenvil*, in the ſhock, being borne to the Ground, but quickly reliev'd by

by his Companion; they ſo reinforced the Charge, that having kill'd moſt of the Aſſailants, and diſperſed the reſt, they took the Major General Priſoner, after he had behaved himſelf with as much Courage, as a Man could do. Then the Enemy gave ground apace, inſomuch as the four Parties, growing nearer and nearer as they aſcended the Hill, between three and four of the Clock, they all met together upon one ground near the top of the Hill; where they embraced with unſpeakable joy, each congratulating the others ſucceſs, and all acknowledging the wonderful bleſſing of God; and being there poſſeſs'd of ſome of the Enemies Cannon, they turn'd them upon the Camp, and advanced together to perfect the Victory. But the Enemy no ſooner underſtood the loſs of their Major General, but their hearts failed them; and being ſo reſolutely preſs'd, and their ground loſt, upon the ſecurity and advantage whereof they wholely depended, ſome of them threw down their Armes, and Others fled; diſperſing themſelves, and every Man ſhifting for himſelf: Their General, the Earl of *Stamford*, giving the example, who (having ſtood at a ſafe diſtance all the time of the Battle, environ'd with all the Horſe, which in ſmall Parties, though it is true their whole Number was not above ſix or ſevenſcore, might have done great miſchief to the ſeveral Parties of Foot, who with ſo much difficulty ſcaled the ſteep Hill) aſſoon as he ſaw the day loſt, and ſome ſay ſooner, made all imaginable haſt to *Exeter*, to prepare them for the condition they were ſhortly to expect.

The Earl is beaten near Stratton, May 16.

THE Conquerours, aſſoon as they had gain'd the Camp, and diſperſed the Enemy, and after publick Prayers upon the place, and a ſolemn Thankſgiving to Almighty God for their Deliverance and Victory, ſent a ſmall Party of Horſe to purſue the Enemy for a mile or two; not thinking fit to purſue farther, or with their whole Body of Horſe, leſt Sr *George* ſhould return from *Bodmin* with his ſtrong Body of Horſe and Dragoons, and find them in diſorder; but contenting themſelves with the Victory they had obtain'd upon the place, which, in Subſtance as well as Circumſtance, was as ſignal a one, as hath happen'd to either Party ſince the unhappy diſtraction; for on the King's Party were not loſt in all above fourſcore Men; whereof few were Officers, and none above the degree of a Captain; and though many more were hurt, not above ten Men died afterwards of their wounds. On the Parliament ſide, notwithſtanding their advantage of ground, and that the other were the Aſſailants, above three hundred were ſlain on the place, and ſeventeen hundred taken Priſoners with their Major General, and above thirty other Officers. They took likewiſe all their Baggage and Tents, all their Cannon, being, as was ſaid before, thirteen pieces of Braſs Ordnance, and a Braſs Mortar piece; all their Ammunition, being ſeventy Barrels of Powder, and all other ſorts of Ammunition proportionable, and a very great Magazine of Biſket, and other excellent proviſions of Victuals; which was as ſeaſonable a Bleſſing as the Victory, to thoſe who, for three or four days before, had ſuffer'd great want of food as well as ſleep; and were equally tired with duty, and hunger. The Army reſted that night, and the next day, at *Stratton*; all care being taken by expreſs Meſſengers, to diſperſe the news of their ſucceſs to all parts of that Country, and to guard the Paſſes upon the River *Tamar*, whereby to hinder the return of the Enemies Horſe and Dragoons. But Sr *George Chudleigh* had no ſooner, with great triumph, diſperſed the High Sheriff, and Gentlemen, who intended to have call'd

the *poſſe Comitatus*, according to their good cuſtom, for the Aſſiſtance of the King's Party, and with little reſiſtance enter'd *Bodmin*, when he receiv'd the fatal News of the loſs of their Camp and Army at *Stratton*. Upon which, with as much haſt, and diſorder, as ſo great a conſternation could produce among a People not acquainted with the Accidents of War, leaving many of his Men and Horſes a Prey to the Country People, himſelf, with as many as he could get, and keep together, got into *Plymouth*; and thence, without interruption or hazard, into *Exeter*.

THE Earl of *Stamford*, to make his own conduct and misfortune the leſs cenſur'd, induſtriouſly ſpread abroad in all places, and confidently ſent the ſame information to the Parliament, "that he had been be-"tray'd by *James Chudleigh*; and that, in the heat of the Battle, when "the hope of the day ſtood fair, he had Voluntarily, with a Party, run "over to the Enemy, and immediately Charged the Parliament Forces; "which begot in all Men a general apprehenſion of Treachery, the Sol-"diers fearing their Officers, and the Officers their Soldiers revolt; and "thereupon the Rout enſued. Whereas the truth is, as he was a young Man of excellent Parts, and Courage, he perform'd the part of a right good Commander, both in his Orders, and his Perſon; and was taken Priſoner in the Body of his Enemy, whither he had Charged with undaunted Courage, when there was no other expedient in reaſon left. But this ſcandal ſo without colour caſt on him, and entertain'd with more credit than his ſervices had merited (for from the time of his Engagement to the Parliament, he had ſerv'd not only with full ability, but with notable ſucceſs, and was the only Man that had given any interruption to the proſperity of the *Corniſh* Army, and in a night-skirmiſh, at *Bradock*-Down near *Okington*, ſtruck a greater terror into them, and diſorder'd them more than they were at any other time) wrought ſo far upon the young Man, together with the kind uſage, and reception he found as a Priſoner among the Chief Officers, who lov'd him as a Gallant Enemy, and one like to do the King good Service if he were recover'd to his Loyalty, that after he had been Priſoner about ten days, he freely declared, "that he was convinced in his conſcience, and judge-"ment, of the errors he had committed; and, upon promiſe made to him of the King's Pardon, frankly offer'd to joyn with them in his Majeſty's Service; and ſo gave ſome countenance to the reproach that was firſt moſt injuriouſly caſt upon him.

THE truth is, he was of too good an underſtanding, and too much generoſity in his nature, to be affected to the Cauſe which he ſerv'd, or to comply with thoſe Arts, which he ſaw practiced to carry it on; and having a Command in *Ireland* when the War firſt broke out, he came thence into *England*, with a purpoſe to ſerve the King; and to that end, ſhortly after his Majeſty's coming to *Oxford*, he came thither to tender his Service; but he found the Eyes of moſt Men fixed upon him with prejudice and jealouſy there, both for his Family's ſake, which was notoriouſly diſaffected to the King, and for ſome errors of his own, in that Plot, that was ſo much ſpoken of, to bring up the Northern Army to awe the Parliament; in which buſineſs, being then a very young Man, and of a ſtirring ſpirit, and deſirous of a Name, he had expreſs'd much Zeal to the King's Service, and been buſy in inclining the Army to engage in ſuch Petitions, and Undertakings, as were not gracious to the Parliament. Bnt when that diſcovery was made by Mr *Goring*, as is

before remember'd, and a Committee appointed to examine the combination, this Gentleman, wrought upon by hopes, or fears, in his examination, ſaid much that was diſadvantageous to the Court, and therefore, bringing no other Teſtimony with him to *Oxford*, but of his own Conſcience, he receiv'd nothing like Countenance there; whereupon he return'd to *London*, ſufficiently incenſed that he was neglected; and was quickly entertain'd for their Weſtern employment, where his neareſt Friends were throughly engaged. But after this defeat, his former paſſion being allayed, and his obſervation and experience convincing him, that the deſigns of the Parliament were not ſuch as were pretended, he reſign'd himſelf to thoſe who firſt conquer'd him with Force, and then with Reaſon and Civility; and, no doubt, was much wrought upon by the diſcipline, and integrity of the Forces, by whom he had been ſubdued; and with the piety, temper, and ſobriety of the Chief Commanders, which indeed was moſt exemplary, and worthy the Cauſe for which they were engaged; the Reputation and Conſcience whereof, had alone carried them through the difficulties, and ſtreights, with which they were to contend.

THIS Army, willing to relieve their Friends of *Cornwal*, from the burthen which they ſuſtain'd ſo patiently, haſten'd their march into *Devon-ſhire*, not throughly reſolv'd whether to attack *Plymouth*, or *Exeter*, or both; when advertiſement came to them, by an expreſs from *Oxford*, "that the King had ſent Prince *Maurice*, and the Marquis of *Hertford*, "with a very good Body of Horſe to joyn with them, and that they were "advanced towards them as far as *Somerſet-ſhire*; and that Sr *William* "*Waller* was deſign'd by the Parliament, to viſit the Weſt, with a new "Army, which would receive a good recruit from thoſe who eſcaped "from the Battle of *Stratton*: So that it was neceſſary for all the King's Forces in thoſe parts to be united in a Body, aſſoon as might be; hereupon it was quickly reſolv'd to leave ſuch a Party at *Salt-aſh*, and *Milbrook* as might defend faithful *Cornwal* from any incurſions of *Plymouth*, and with their Army to march Eaſtward; their number increaſing daily upon the Reputation of their new wonderful Victory; many Voluntiers coming to them out of *Devon-ſhire*, and very many of their Priſoners profeſſing, they had been ſeduced, and freely offering to ſerve the King againſt thoſe who had wrong'd both; who, being entertain'd under ſome of their own converted Officers, behaved themſelves afterwards with great Honeſty and Courage. And ſo making no longer ſtay by the way, than was neceſſary for the refreſhing of their Troops, the *Corniſh* Army, for that was the ſtyle it now carried, march'd by *Exeter*, where the Earl of *Stamford*, with a ſufficient Garriſon, then was; and ſtaying only two or three days to fix ſmall Garriſons, whereby that Town, full of fear and apprehenſion, might be kept from having too great an influence upon ſo populous a County, advanced to *Tiverton*, where a Regiment of Foot of the Parliament, under Colonel *Ware*, a Gentleman of that Country, had fixed themſelves; hoping Sr *William Waller* would be as ſoon with them for their relief, as the *Corniſh* would be to force them; which Regiment being eaſily diſperſed, they ſtay'd there to expect new Orders from the Marquis of *Hertford*.

WHEN the loſs of *Reading* was well digeſted, and the King underſtood the declining condition of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, and that he would either not be able to advance, or not in ſuch a manner, as would give him much trouble at *Oxford*; and hearing in what proſperous

ſtate his hopeful Party in *Cornwal* ſtood, whither the Parliament was making all haſt to ſend Sr *William Waller*, to check their good ſucceſs; his Majeſty reſolv'd to ſend the Marquis of *Hertford* into thoſe parts, the rather becauſe there were many of the prime Gentlemen of *Wiltſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, and *Somerſet-ſhire*, who confidently undertook, if the Marquis went through thoſe Counties, with ſuch a ſtrength as they ſuppoſed the King would ſpare to him, they would in a very ſhort time raiſe ſo conſiderable a power, as to oppoſe any force the Parliament ſhould be able to ſend. When the Marquis was ready for his Journey, news arriv'd of the great Victory at *Stratton*; ſo that there was no danger in the Marquis's being able to joyn with that little *Corniſh* Army; and then there would appear indeed a viſible Body worthy the name of an Army. This put ſome Perſons upon deſiring, that Prince *Maurice* (who was yet in no other Quality of Command, than of a private Colonel of Horſe, but had always behaved himſelf with great Courage and Vigilance) might be likewiſe diſpoſed into a Command of that Army. Hereupon the King aſſign'd Him, and his Highneſs willingly accepted to be Lieutenant General under the Marquis; who for many reaſons, beſides that he was actually poſſeſs'd of it, was thought fit to have the ſuperior power over thoſe Weſtern Counties, where his Fortune lay, and the Eſtimation, and Reverence of the People to him was very great. So the Prince, and the Marquis, with Prince *Maurice*'s, and the Earl of *Carnarvon*'s, and Colonel *Thomas Howard*'s Regiments of Horſe (the Earl being General of the Cavalry) advanced into the Weſt; and ſtaying only ſome few days at *Salisbury*, and after in *Dorſet-ſhire*, whilſt ſome new Regiments of Horſe and Foot, which were levying by the Gentlemen in thoſe parts, came up to them, made all convenient haſt into *Somerſetſhire*, being deſirous to joyn with the *Corniſh*, aſſoon as might be; preſuming they ſhould be then beſt able to perfect their new Levies, when they were out of apprehenſion of being diſturbed by a more powerful Force. For Sr *William Waller* was already march'd out of *London*, and uſed not to ſtay longer by the way than was unavoidably neceſſary.

IN the Marquis's firſt entrance into the Weſt, He had an unſpeakable loſs, and the King's Service a far greater, by the death of Mr *Rogers*, a Gentleman of a rare Temper, and excellent Underſtanding; who beſides that he had a great Intereſt in the Marquis, being his Couſin-german, and ſo, out of that private Relation, as well as Zeal to the publick, paſſionately inclined to advance the Service, had a wonderful great influence upon the County of *Dorſet*, for which he ſerv'd as one of the Knights in Parliament; and had ſo well deſign'd all things there, that *Poole*, and *Lyme* (two Port Towns in that County, which gave the King afterwards much Trouble) if He had liv'd, had been undoubtedly reduced. But by his Death all thoſe hopes were cancelled, the ſurviving Gentry of that Shire being, how well affected ſoever, ſo unactive, that the progreſs, that was that year made there to the King's advantage, ow'd little to their Aſſiſtance.

ABOUT the middle of *June*, Prince *Maurice*, and the Marquis, with ſixteen or ſeventeen hundred Horſe, and about one thouſand new levied Foot, and ſeven or eight Field-pieces, came to *Chard*, a fair Town in *Somerſet-ſhire*, neareſt the edge of *Devon-ſhire*; where, according to order, they were met by the *Corniſh* Army; which conſiſted of above three thouſand excellent Foot, five hundred Horſe, and three hundred

Dragoons, with four or five Field-pieces; ſo that, Officers and all, being joyn'd, they might well paſs for an Army of ſeven thouſand Men; with an excellent Train of Artillery, and a very fair proportion of Ammunition of all ſorts, and ſo good a Reputation, that they might well promiſe themſelves a quick increaſe of their Numbers. Yet if the extraordinary temper and virtue of the Chief Officers of the *Corniſh*, had not been much ſuperior to that of their Common Soldiers, who valued themſelves high, as the Men whoſe courage had alone vindicated the King's Cauſe in the Weſt, there might have been greater diſorder at their firſt joyning, than could eaſily have been compoſed. For how ſmall ſoever the Marquis's Party was in Numbers, it was ſupplied with all the General Officers of a Royal Army, a General, Lieutenant General, General of the Horſe, General of the Ordnance, a Major General of Horſe, and another of Foot, without keeping ſuitable Commands for thoſe who had done all that was paſſed, and were to be principally relied on for what was to come. So that the Chief Officers of the *Corniſh* Army, by joyning with a much leſs Party than themſelves, were at beſt in the condition of Private Colonels. Yet the ſame publick thoughts ſtill ſo abſolutely prevail'd with them, that they quieted all murmurings and emulations among Inferior Officers, and Common Soldiers; and were with equal candour and eſtimation, valued by the Prince and Marquis, who bethought themſelves of all expedients which might prevent any future miſunderſtanding.

The Marquis of Hertford *and Prince* Maurice, *with their Forces, joyn the* Corniſh *Army at* Chard.

TAUNTON was the firſt place they reſolv'd to viſit, being one of the faireſt, largeſt, and richeſt Towns in *Somerſetſhire*; but withall as eminently affected to the Parliament, where they had now a Garriſon; but they had not yet the ſame Courage they recover'd afterwards. For the Army was no ſooner drawn near the Town, the head Quarters being at *Orchard*, a Houſe of the *Portmans*, two miles from the Town, but the Town ſent two of their ſubſtantial Inhabitants to Treat; which, though nothing was concluded, ſtruck that terrour into the Garriſon (the Priſoners in the Caſtle, whereof many were Men of good Fortunes, impriſon'd there as Malignants, at the ſame time raiſing ſome commotion there) that the Garriſon fled out of the Town to *Bridgewater*, being a leſs Town but of a much ſtronger ſituation; and, with the ſame panick fear, the next day, from thence; ſo that the Marquis was poſſeſs'd, in three days, of *Taunton*, *Bridgewater*, and *Dunſtar*-Caſtle, ſo much ſtronger than both the other, that it could not have been forced; yet by the dexterity of *Francis Windham*, who wrought upon the fears of the owner, and maſter of it, Mr *Lutterel*, was, with as little blood-ſhed as the other, deliver'd up to the King; into which the Marquis put him, that took it, as Governour; as he well deſerv'd.

THE Government of *Taunton* he committed to Sr *John Stawell*, a Gentleman of a very great Eſtate in thoſe parts; who from the beginning, had heartily and perſonally engaged Himſelf and his Children for the King; and was in the firſt form of thoſe who had made themſelves obnoxious to the Parliament. The other Government, of *Bridgewater*, was conferr'd upon *Edmund Windham*, High Sheriff of the County, being a Gentleman of a Fortune near the place, and of a good perſonal Courage, and unqueſtionable Affection to the Cauſe. The Army ſtayed about *Taunton* ſeven or eight days; for the ſettling thoſe Garriſons, and to receive Advertiſements of the Motion, or Station of the Enemy; in which time they loſt much of the Credit, and Repu-

tation, they had with the Country. For whereas the Chief Commanders of the *Corniſh* Army, had reſtrain'd their Soldiers from all manner of Licence, obliging them to ſolemn, and frequent Actions of Devotion, inſomuch as the fame of their Religion, and Diſcipline, was no leſs than of their Courage, and thereupon Sr *Ralph Hopton* (who was generally conſider'd as the General of that Army, though it was govern'd by ſuch a Commiſſion as is before remember'd) was greedily expected in his own Country, where his Reputation was ſecond to no Man's; the Horſe, that came now with the Marquis, having lived under a looſe diſcipline, and coming now into plentiful Quarters, unviſited by an Army, eminent for their diſaffection, were diſorderly enough to give the Enemy credit in laying more to their charge than they deſerv'd; and by their Licence hinder'd thoſe orderly Levies, which ſhould have brought in a ſupply of Money, for the regular payment of the Army. This extravagancy produced another miſchief, ſome jealouſy, or ſhadow of it, between the Lord Marquis and Prince *Maurice*; the firſt, as being better verſed in the policy of Peace, than in the myſteries of War, deſiring to regulate the Soldier, and to reſtrain him from uſing any Licence upon the Country, and the Prince being thought ſo wholely to incline to the Soldier, that he neglected any conſideration of the Country, and not without ſome deſign of drawing the ſole dependence of the Soldier upon himſelf. But here were the ſeeds rather ſown of diſlike, than any viſible diſinclination produced; for after they had ſettled the Garriſons before mention'd they advanced, with unity and alacrity, Eaſtward, to find out the Enemy, which was gather'd together in a conſiderable Body, within leſs than twenty miles of them.

WHILST ſo much time was ſpent at *Oxford*, to prepare the ſupplies for the Weſt, and in ſettling the manner of ſending them; which might have been done much ſooner, and with leſs noiſe; the Parliament foreſaw, that if all the Weſt were recover'd from them, their Quarters would by degrees be ſo ſtreighten'd, that their other Friends would quickly grow weary of them. They had ſtill all the Weſtern Ports at their Devotion, thoſe in *Cornwal* only excepted; and their Fleets had always great benefit by it. And though moſt of the Gentry were engaged againſt them, as they were in truth in many parts throughout the Kingdom, yet the Common People, eſpecially in the Cloathing parts of *Somerſet-ſhire*, were generally too much inclined to them. So that they could not want Men, if they ſent a Body of Horſe, and ſome Armes, to countenance them; with the laſt of which, they had ſufficiently ſtored the Sea Towns which were in their hands. And therefore they reſolv'd, that though they could not eaſily recruit their Army, they would ſend ſome Troops of Horſe, and Dragoons, into the Weſt, to keep up the Spirits of their Friends there. And for the conduct of this ſervice, they made choice of Sr *William Waller*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and a Gentleman of a Family in *Kent*.

The Parliament ſent Sr W. Waller into the Weſt with an Army.

Sr *William Waller* had been well bred; and, having ſpent ſome years abroad, and ſome time in the Armies there, return'd with a good Reputation home; and ſhortly after, having Married a young Lady, who was to inherit a good Fortune in the Weſt, he had a quarrel with a Gentleman of the ſame Family, who had the Honour to be a menial Servant to the King in a place near his Perſon; which, in that time, was attended with Privilege and Reſpect from all Men. Theſe two Gentlemen diſcourſing with ſome warmth together, Sr *William Waller* receiv'd

receiv'd ſuch provocation from the other, that he ſtruck him a blow over the face, ſo near the Gate of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, that there were Witneſſes, who ſwore, "that it was in the Hall it ſelf, the Courts being "then ſitting; which, according to the rigour of Law, makes it very penal; and the credit the other had in the Court, made the proſecution to be very ſevere; inſomuch as he was at laſt compelled to redeem himſelf at a dear ranſom; the benefit whereof, was conferr'd on his adverſary, which made the ſenſe of it the more grievous; and this produced in him ſo eager a ſpirit againſt the Court, that he was very open to any temptation, that might engage him againſt it; and ſo concurring in the Houſe of Commons with all thoſe Counſels which were moſt Violent, he was employed in their firſt Military Action, for the reducing of *Portſmouth*; which he effected with great eaſe, as is remember'd before; and when the Earl of *Eſſex* had put the Army into Winter Quarters, he had with ſome Troops, made a Cavalcade or two into the Weſt, ſo fortunately, that he had not only beat up ſome looſe Quarters, but had ſurpriſed a fix'd and fortified Quarter, made by the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland* near *Gloceſter*; in which he took above twelve hundred Priſoners with all the Officers; being a number very little inferior to his own Party; which is likewiſe particularly remember'd before. So that he got great Reputation with the Parliament and the City; and was there called *William the Conqueror*. And it is very true, that they who looked upon the Earl of *Eſſex*, as a Man that would not keep them company to the end of their Journey, had their Eyes upon Sr *William Waller*, as a Man more for Their turn; and were deſirous to extol him the more, that he might eclipſe the other. And therefore they prepared all things for his march, with ſo great expedition, and ſecrecy, that the Marquis of *Hertford* was no ſooner joyn'd to the *Corniſh* Troops (in which time *Bridgewater*, and *Dunſtar*, and ſome other places were reduced from the Parliament) before he was inform'd that Sr *William Waller* was within two days march of him, and was more like to draw ſupplies to him from *Briſtol*, and the parts adjacent, which were under the Parliament, than the Marquis could from the open Country; and therefore it was held moſt counſelable to advance, and engage him, whilſt he was not yet too ſtrong; and by this means they ſhould continue ſtill their march towards *Oxford*; which they were now inclined to do.

THOUGH Sr *William Waller* himſelf continued ſtill at *Bath*, yet the remainder of thoſe Horſe and Dragoons that eſcaped out of *Cornwal*, after the Battle of *Stratton*, and ſuch other as were ſent out of *Exeter* for their eaſe, when they apprehended a Siege, and thoſe Soldiers who fled out of *Taunton*, and *Bridgewater*, and other Regiments of the Country, were by *Alexander Popham*, *Strode*, and the other Deputy Lieutenants of the Militia for *Somerſet*, rallied; and with the Train'd-bands, and Voluntier Regiments of the Country, drawn together, with that confidence, that when the Marquis had taken up his head Quarters at *Somerton*, the Enemy, before break of day, fell upon a Regiment of Dragoons, quarter'd a mile Eaſtward from the Town; and gave ſo briſk an Alarm to the King's Army, that it was immediately drawn out, and advanced upon the Enemy (being the firſt they had ſeen make any ſtand before them, ſince the Battle of *Stratton*) who making ſtands upon the places of advantage, and maintaining little Skirmiſhes in the Rear, retired in no ill order to *Wells*; and the King's Forces ſtill purſuing, they

they choſe to quit that City likewiſe; and drew their whole Body, appearing in number as conſiderable as their Purſuers, to the top of a Hill, called *Mendip*-Hill, overlooking the City of *Wells*, which they had left. The day being far ſpent, and the March having been long, the Marquis, with all the Foot, and Train, ſtaid at *Wells*; but Prince *Maurice*, and the Earl of *Carnarvon*, with Sr *Ralph Hopton*, and Sr *John Berkley*, and two Regiments of Horſe, reſolv'd to look upon the Enemy on the top of the Hill; who ſuffer'd them, without interruption, to gain the top of the Hill level with them, and then, in a very orderly manner, facing with a large Front of their Horſe, to give their Foot and Baggage leiſure and ſecurity, retired together as the Prince advanced. This, and the natural contempt the King's Horſe yet had of the Enemy, which in all Skirmiſhes and Charges had been hitherto beaten by them, made the Prince judge this to be but a more graceful running away; and therefore follow'd them farther, over thoſe large Hills, till the Enemy, who were anon to paſs through a Lane, and a Village called *Chewton*, were compelled, before their entrance into the Lane, to leave their Reſerve; which faced about much thinner than it was over the Hill; which opportunity and advantage was no ſooner diſcern'd, as it had been foreſeen, but the Earl of *Carnarvon* (who always Charg'd home) with an incomparable Gallantry Charg'd the Enemy, and preſs'd them ſo hard, that he enter'd the Lane with them, and Routed the whole Body of their Horſe, and follow'd the execution of them above two miles.

BUT this was like to have been a dear ſucceſs; for Sr *William Waller*, who lay with his new Army at *Bath*, and had drawn to him a good ſupply out of the Garriſon at *Briſtol*, had directed this Body which was in *Somerſet*, to retire before the King's Forces till they ſhould joyn with him, who had ſent a freſh, ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons, to aſſiſt their Retreat; which, by the advantage of a Hedge, had march'd without being diſcover'd: ſo that the Earl of *Carnarvon*, being a ſtranger in the Country and the ways, purſued the Enemy into Sr *William Waller*'s Quarters, and till himſelf was preſs'd by a freſh Body of Horſe and Dragoons; when he was neceſſitated to retire in as good order as he could; and ſent the Prince, who follow'd him, word of the danger which attended them. His Highneſs hereupon, with what haſt he could, drew back through the Village; chooſing rather, with very good reaſon, to attend the Enemy in the plain Heath, than to be engaged in a narrow paſſage: thither the Earl of *Carnarvon* with his Regiment came to him, broken and chaſed by the Enemy; who immediately drew up a large Front of Horſe and Dragoons, much ſtronger than the Prince's Party, who had only his own, and the Earl of *Carnarvon*'s Regiments, with ſome Gentlemen Voluntiers. The ſtreight, and neceſſity he was in, was very great; for as he might ſeem much too weak to Charge them, ſo the danger might probably be much greater to retire over theſe fair Hills, being purſued with a freſh Party much ſuperior in number. Therefore he took a Gallant Reſolution, to give the Enemy a brisk Charge with his own Regiment upon their advance, whilſt the Earl rallied His, and prepared to ſecond him, as there ſhould be occaſion. This was as ſoon and fortunately executed as reſolv'd; the Prince in the head of the Regiment Charging ſo vigorouſly, that he utterly broke, and routed that part of the Front that receiv'd the impreſſion. But almoſt half the Enemies Horſe, that, being extended larger than his Front, were not Charg'd, wheel'd about, and Charg'd the Prince in the Rear; and at the

ſame

ſame time the Earl of *Carnarvon*, with his rallied Regiment, Charg'd Their Rear; and all this ſo throughly perform'd, that they were mingled one among the other, and the good Sword was to decide the controverſy, their Piſtols being ſpent in the cloſe. The Prince himſelf receiv'd two ſhrewd hurts in his head, and was beaten off his Horſe; but he was preſently reliev'd, and carried off; and the Enemy totally routed, and purſued again by the Earl of *Carnarvon*; who had a fair execution upon them, as long as the light countenanced his chaſe, and then he return'd to the head Quarters at *Wells*; there having been in theſe Skirmiſhes threeſcore or fourſcore Men loſt on the Prince's Party, and three times that number by the Enemy; the Action being too quick to take many Priſoners.

AT *Wells* the Army reſted many days, as well to recover the Prince's wounds, being only cuts with Swords, as to conſult what was next to be done; for they were now within diſtance of an Enemy that they knew would Fight with them. For Sr *William Waller* was at *Bath* with his whole Army, much encreaſed by thoſe who were chaſed out of the Weſt; and reſolv'd not to advance, having all advantages of Proviſions, and Paſſes, till a new ſupply, he every day expected from *London*, were arriv'd with him. On the other ſide, the Marquis was not only to provide to meet with ſo vigilant an Enemy, but to ſecure himſelf at his Rear, that the diſaffection of the People behind him, who were only ſubdued, not converted, upon the advance of Sr *William Waller*, might not take freſh Courage. Though *Cornwal* was reaſonably ſecured, to keep off any impreſſion upon it ſelf from *Plymouth*, yet *Devon-ſhire* was left in a very unſafe poſture; there being only a ſmall Party at *Columb-John*, a Houſe of Sr *John Ackland*'s three miles off *Exeter*, to controul the power of that City, where the Earl of *Stamford* was; and to diſpute not only with any commotion, that might happen in the Country, but with any power that might arrive by Sea. Upon theſe conſiderations, and the intelligence, that the Parliament had ſent directions to the Earl of *Warwick* their Admiral, "to attend the *Devon-ſhire* Coaſt "with his Fleet, and take any advantage he could, the Marquis, by the advice of the Council of War, ſent Sr *John Berkley* back into *Devon-ſhire*, with Colonel *Howard*'s Regiment of Horſe, to Command the Forces which were then there, and to raiſe what Numbers more he could poſſibly, for the blocking up that City, and reducing the County; and upon his arrival there, to ſend up to the Army Sr *James Hamilton*'s Regiment of Horſe and Dragoons; which had been left in *Devon-ſhire*; and, by the Licence they took, weaken'd the King's Party; ſo that by ſending this relief thither, he did not leſſen at all his own Numbers, yet gave great ſtrength to the reducing thoſe parts, as appear'd afterwards by the ſucceſs.

AFTER this diſpoſition, and eight or ten days reſt at *Wells*, the Army generally expreſſing a chearful impatience to meet with the Enemy, of which, at that time, they had a greater contempt, than in reaſon they ſhould have; the Prince, and Marquis, advanced to *Frome*, and thence to *Bradford* within four miles of *Bath*. And now no day paſſed without Action, and very ſharp Skirmiſhes; Sr *William Waller* having receiv'd from *London* a freſh Regiment of five hundred Horſe, under the Command of Sr *Arthur Haſlerig*; which were ſo compleatly Arm'd, that they were called by the other ſide the Regiment of Lobſters, becauſe of their bright Iron ſhells, with which they were cover'd, being

perfect Cuiraſſiers; and were the firſt ſeen ſo Arm'd on either ſide, and the firſt that made any impreſſion upon the King's Horſe; who, being unarm'd, were not able to bear a ſhock with them; beſides that they were ſecure from hurts of the Sword, which were almoſt the only Weapons the other were furniſh'd with.

THE contention was hitherto with Parties, in which the ſucceſſes were various, and almoſt with equal loſſes: for as Sr *William Waller*, upon the firſt advance from *Wells*, beat up a Regiment of Horſe and Dragoons of Sr *James Hamilton*'s, and diſperſed them; ſo, within two days, the King's Forces beat a Party of His from a Paſs near *Bath*, where the Enemy loſt two Field-pieces, and near an hundred Men. But Sr *William Waller* had the advantage in his ground, having a good City, well furniſh'd with proviſions, to quarter his Army together in; and ſo in his choice not to Fight, but upon extraordinary advantage. Whereas the King's Forces muſt either diſperſe themſelves, and ſo give the Enemy advantage upon their Quarters, or, keeping near together, lodge in the Field, and endure great diſtreſs of Proviſion; the Country being ſo diſaffected, that only force could bring in any ſupply or relief. Hereupon, after ſeveral attempts to engage the Enemy to a Battle upon equal terms, which having the advantage, he wiſely avoided; the Marquis, and Prince *Maurice*, advanced with their whole Body to *Marsfield*, five miles beyond *Bath* towards *Oxford*; preſuming, that, by this means, they ſhould draw the Enemy from their place of advantage, his chief buſineſs being to hinder them from joyning with the King. And if they had been able to preſerve that temper, and had neglected the Enemy, till he had quitted his advantages, it is probable they might have Fought upon as good terms as they deſired. But the unreaſonable contempt they had of the Enemy, and confidence they ſhould prevail in any ground, together with the ſtreights they endured for want of Proviſions, and their want of Ammunition, which was ſpent as much in the daily Hedge Skirmiſhes, and upon their Guards, being ſo near, as could have been in Battle, would not admit the patience: for Sr *William Waller*, who was not to ſuffer that Body to joyn with the King, no ſooner drew out his whole Army to *Lanſdown*, which look'd towards *Marsfield*, but they ſuffer'd themſelves to be engaged upon great diſadvantage.

The Battle of Lanſdown July 5.

IT was upon the fifth of *July* when Sr *William Waller*, aſſoon as it was light, poſſeſs'd himſelf of that Hill; and after he had, upon the brow of the Hill over the high way, raiſed Breaſt-works with faggots and earth, and planted Cannon there, he ſent a ſtrong Party of Horſe towards *Marsfield*; which quickly Alarm'd the other Army, and was ſhortly driven back to their Body. As great a mind as the King's Forces had to cope with the Enemy, when they had drawn into Battalia, and found the Enemy fixed on the top of the Hill, they reſolv'd not to attack them upon ſo great diſadvantage; and ſo retired again towards their old Quarters: which Sr *William Waller* perceiving, ſent his whole Body of Horſe and Dragoons, down the Hill, to Charge the Rear and Flank of the King's Forces; which they did throughly, the Regiment of Cuiraſſiers ſo amazing the Horſe they Charged, that they totally routed them; and, ſtanding firm and unſhaken themſelves, gave ſo great terror to the King's Horſe, who had never before turn'd from an Enemy, that no example of their Officers, who did Their parts with invincible Courage, could make them Charge with the ſame confidence, and in the ſame manner they had uſually done. However, in the end, after Sr *Nicholas Slanning*

Slanning with three hundred Muſqueteers, had fallen upon, and beaten their Reſerve of Dragooners, Prince *Maurice*, and the Earl of *Carnarvon*, rallying their Horſe, and winging them with the *Corniſh* Muſqueteers, charged the Enemy's Horſe again, and totally routed them; and in the ſame manner receiv'd two Bodies more, and routed and chaſed them to the Hill; where they ſtood in a place almoſt inacceſſible. On the brow of the Hill there were Breaſt-works, on which were pretty Bodies of ſmall ſhot, and ſome Cannon; on either Flank grew a pretty thick Wood towards the declining of the Hill, in which ſtrong Parties of Muſqueteers were placed; at the Rear, was a very fair Plain, where the Reſerves of Horſe and Foot ſtood ranged: yet the *Corniſh* Foot were ſo far from being appalled at this diſadvantage, that they deſired to fall on, and cryed out, "that they might have leave to fetch off thoſe Cannon. In the end, order was given to attempt the Hill with Horſe and Foot. Two ſtrong Parties of Muſqueteers were ſent into the Woods, which flanked the Enemy; and the Horſe and other Muſqueteers up the Road way, which were Charged by the Enemy's Horſe, and routed; then Sr *Bevil Greenvil* advanced with a Party of Horſe, on his right hand, that ground being beſt for Them; and his Muſqueteers on the left; himſelf leading up his Pikes in the middle; and in the face of their Cannon, and Small ſhot from the Breaſt-works, gained the brow of the Hill; having ſuſtain'd two full Charges of the Enemies Horſe; but in the third Charge his Horſe failing, and giving ground, he receiv'd, after other wounds, a blow on the Head with a Poll-Axe, with which he fell, and many of his Officers about him; yet the Muſqueteers fired ſo faſt upon the Enemies Horſe, that they quitted their ground, and the two Wings, who were ſent to clear the Woods, having done their Work, and gain'd thoſe parts of the Hill, at the ſame time beat off their Enemies Foot, and became poſſeſs'd of the Breaſt-works; and ſo made way for their whole Body of Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, to aſcend the Hill; which they quickly did, and planted themſelves on the ground they had wone; the Enemy retiring about Demy Culvering ſhot behind a Stone Wall upon the ſame Level, and ſtanding in reaſonable good order.

EITHER Party was ſufficiently tired, and battered, to be contented to ſtand ſtill. The King's Horſe were ſo ſhaken, that of two thouſand which were upon the Field in the morning, there were not above ſix hundred on the top of the Hill. The Enemy was exceedingly ſcatter'd too, and had no mind to venture on plain ground with thoſe who had beaten them from the Hill; ſo that, exchanging only ſome ſhot from their Ordnance, they look'd one upon another till the night interpoſed. About twelve of the Clock, it being very dark, the Enemy made a ſhew of moving towards the ground they had loſt; but giving a ſmart Volly of ſmall ſhot, and finding themſelves Anſwer'd with the like, they made no more noiſe; which the Prince obſerving, he ſent a Common Soldier to hearken as near the place, where they were, as he could; who brought word, "that the Enemy had left lighted matches in the Wall behind which "they had lain, and were drawn off the Field; which was true; ſo that, aſſoon as it was day, the King's Army found themſelves poſſeſs'd entirely of the Field, and the Dead, and all other Enſigns of Victory: Sr *William Waller* being march'd to *Bath*, in ſo much diſorder and apprehenſion, that he left great ſtore of Armes, and ten Barrels of Powder, behind him; which was a very ſeaſonable ſupply to the other ſide,

who had ſpent, in that days Service, no leſs than fourſcore Barrels, and had not a ſafe proportion left.

IN this Battle, on the King's part, there were more Officers and Gentlemen of Quality ſlain, than Common Men; and more hurt, than ſlain. That which would have clouded any Victory, and made the loſs of others leſs ſpoken of, was the death of Sr *Bevil Greenvil*. He was indeed an excellent Perſon, whoſe Activity, Intereſt, and Reputation, was the Foundation of what had been done in *Cornwal*; and his temper, and affections, ſo publick, that no accident which happen'd, could make any impreſſions in him; and His example kept others from taking any thing ill, or at leaſt ſeeming to do ſo. In a word, a brighter Courage, and a gentler Diſpoſition, were never married together to make the moſt chearful, and innocent converſation.

Sr Bevil Greenvil *ſlain.*

VERY many Officers and Perſons of Quality were hurt; as the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, ſhot in the thigh with a brace of Piſtol Bullets; Sr *Ralph Hopton*, ſhot through the Arme with a Muſquet; Sr *George Vaughan*, and many others, hurt in the head of their Troops with Swords and Poll-Axes; of which, none of name died. But the morning added much to the Melancholy of their Victory, when the Field was entirely their own. For Sr *Ralph Hopton* riding up and down the Field to viſit the hurt Men, and to put the Soldiers in order, and readineſs for motion, fitting on his Horſe, with other Officers and Soldiers about him, near a Waggon of Ammunition, in which were eight Barrels of Powder; whether by treachery, or mere accident, is uncertain, the Powder was blown up; and many, who ſtood neareſt, kill'd; and many more maim'd; among whom Sr *Ralph Hopton*, and Serjeant Major *Sheldon* were miſerably hurt; of which, Major *Sheldon*, who was thought to be in leſs danger than the other, died the next day, to the general grief of the whole Army, where he was wonderfully belov'd, as a Man of an undaunted Courage, and as great gentleneſs of Nature. Sr *Ralph Hopton*, having hardly ſo much life, as not to be number'd with the dead, was put into a Litter, and then the Army march'd to their old Quarters at *Marſfield*; exceedingly caſt down with their mornings misfortune (Sr *Ralph Hopton* being indeed the Soldiers darling) where they repoſed themſelves the next day, principally in care of Sr *Ralph Hopton*; who, though there were hope of his recovery, was not fit to travel. In this time many of the Horſe, which had been routed in the morning, before the Hill was wone, found the way to *Oxford*; and, according to the cuſtom of thoſe who run away, reported all to be loſt, with many particular accidents, which they fancied very like to happen when they left the Field; but the next day brought a punctual advertiſement from the Marquis, but, withal, a deſire of a Regiment or two of freſh Horſe, and a ſupply of Ammunition; whereupon the Earl of *Crawford* with his Regiment of Horſe, conſiſting of near five hundred, was directed to advance that way, with ſuch a proportion of Ammunition as was deſired.

AFTER a days reſt at *Marſfield*, it being underſtood that Sr *William Waller* was ſtill at *Bath* (his Army having been rather ſurpriſed and diſcomforted with the incredible boldneſs of the *Corniſh* Foot, than much weaken'd by the Number ſlain, which was no greater than on the King's part) and that he had ſent for freſh ſupply from *Briſtol*; it was concluded, rather to march to *Oxford*, and ſo to joyn with the King's Army, than to ſtay and attend the Enemy, who was ſo near his ſupplies:

And ſo they march'd towards *Chippenham*. But when Sr *William Waller* had Intelligence of the blowing up of the Powder, of which he well knew there was ſcarcely enough before, and of the hurt it had done, he infuſed new ſpirit into his Men; and verily believ'd, that they had no Ammunition, and that the loſs of Sr *Ralph Hopton* (whom the People took to be the Soul of that Army, the other Names being not ſo much ſpoken of, or ſo well known, and at this time believ'd to be dead) would be found in the Spirits of the Soldiers; and having gotten ſome freſh Men from *Briſtol*, and more from the inclinations of the three Counties of *Wilts*, *Gloceſter*, and *Somerſet*, which joyn'd about *Bath*, in the moſt abſolute diſaffected parts of all three, he follow'd the Marquis towards *Chippenham*; to which he was as near from *Bath*, as the other from *Marsfield*.

THE next day, early in the morning, upon notice that the Enemy was in diſtance, the Prince, and the Marquis drew back the Army through *Chippenham*, and preſented themſelves in Battalia to the Enemy; being very well contented to fight in ſuch a place, where the ſucceſs was to depend more on their Foot, who were unqueſtionably excellent, than on their Horſe, which were at beſt weary, though their Officers were, to Envy, forward and reſolute. But Sr *William Waller*, who was a right good chooſer of advantages, liked not that ground; relying as much upon his Horſe, who had gotten Credit, and Courage, and as little upon his Foot, who were only well Arm'd, and well Bodied, very vulgarly Spirited, and Officer'd: ſo that having ſtood all night in Battalia, and the Enemy not coming on, the Prince and Marquis, the next day, advanced towards the *Deviſes*; Sr *Nicholas Slanning*, with great Spirit and Prudence, ſecuring the Rear with ſtrong Parties of Muſqueteers; with which he gave the Enemy, who preſs'd upon them very ſmartly, ſo much Interruption, that Sr *William Waller*, deſpairing of overtaking, ſent a Trumpet to the Marquis, with a Letter; offering a pitch'd Field at a place of his own chooſing, out of the way. The which being eaſily underſtood to be only a Stratagem to beget a delay in the march, the Marquis carried the Trumpet three or four miles with him, and then ſent him back with ſuch an Anſwer as was fit. There were, all this day, perpetual and ſharp Skirmiſhes in the Rear; the Enemy preſſing very hard, and being always with loſs repulſed, till the Army ſafely reach'd the *Deviſes*.

THEN the caſe was alter'd for their retreat to *Oxford*, the Enemy being upon them with improvement of Courage, and improvement of Numbers; Sr *William Waller* having diſperſed his Warrants over the Country, ſignifying, "that he had beaten the Marquis, and requiring the People "to riſe in all places for the apprehenſion of his ſcatter'd, "and diſperſed Troops; which confidence, Men conceiv'd, could not proceed from leſs than a manifeſt Victory; and ſo they flock'd to Him as the Maſter of the Field. The Foot were no more now to make the retreat, the ſituation of the place they were now in, being ſuch as they could move no way towards *Oxford*, but over a Campagne of many miles, where the ſtronger in Horſe muſt needs prevail.

HEREUPON, it was unanimouſly adviſed, and conſented to, that the Lord Marquis and Prince *Maurice* ſhould that night break through, with all the Horſe, to *Oxford*; and that Sr *Ralph Hopton* (who, by this, was ſuppoſed paſt danger of death, and could hear and ſpeak well enough, though he could not ſee or ſtir) with the Earl of *Marlborough*, who was

General of the Artillery, the Lord *Mohun*, and other good Officers of Foot, ſhould ſtay there with their Foot, and Cannon, where it was hoped they might defend themſelves, for a few days, till the General might return with relief from *Oxford*; which was not above thirty miles off. This reſolution was purſued; and, the ſame night, all the Horſe got ſafe away into the King's Quarters, and the Prince, and Marquis, in the morning, came to *Oxford*; by which time, Sr *William Waller* had drawn all his Forces about the *Deviſes*. The Town was open, without the leaſt Fortification, or Defence, but ſmall Ditches and Hedges; upon which the Foot were placed, and ſome pieces of Cannon conveniently planted. The Avenues, which were many, were quickly Barricadoed to hinder the entrance of the Horſe, which was principally apprehended. Sr *William Waller* had ſoon notice of the remove of the Horſe; and therefore, intending that purſuit no farther, he brought his whole Force cloſe to the Town, and beleaguered it round; and having raiſed a Battery upon a Hill near the Town, he poured in his ſhot upon it without intermiſſion, and attempted to enter in ſeveral other places with Horſe, Foot, and Cannon; but was in all places more reſolutely reſiſted, and repulſed. At the ſame time, having Intelligence (as his Intelligence was always moſt exact in whatſoever concern'd him) of the Earl of *Crawford*'s marching with a ſupply of Powder, according to order, after the firſt Battle of *Lanſdown*, he ſent a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons to intercept him; who, before he knew of the alterations which had happen'd, and of the remove of the Horſe towards *Oxford*, was ſo far engaged, that he hardly eſcaped with the loſs of his Ammunition, and a Troop or two of his Horſe.

UPON this improvement of his ſucceſs, Sr *William Waller* reckon'd his Victory out of queſtion; and thereupon ſent a Trumpet into the Town to ſummon the beſieged, to let them know, "that he had cut off "their relief, and that their State was now deſperate: and therefore ad- "viſed them to ſubmit themſelves to the Parliament, with whom he "would mediate on their behalf. They in the Town were not ſorry for the Overture; not that they apprehended, it would produce any conditions they ſhould accept, but that they might gain ſome time of reſt by it: for the ſtreights they were in, were too great for any minds not prepared to preſerve their honour at any rates. When the Enemy came firſt before the Town, and the Guards were ſupplied with Ammunition for their duty, there was but one hundred and fifty weight of Match left in the Store; whereupon diligent Officers were directed to ſearch every Houſe in the Town, and to take all the Bed-cords they could find, and to cauſe them to be ſpeedily beaten, and boyled. By this ſuddain expedient, there was, by the next morning, provided fifteen hundred weight of ſuch ſerviceable Match, as very well endured that ſharp ſervice. The compaſs of the ground they were to keep, was ſo large, and the Enemy preſs'd ſo hard upon all places, that their whole Body were upon perpetual duty together, neither Officer, or Soldier having any time for reſt; and the activity of the Chief Officers was moſt neceſſary to keep up the Courage of the Common Men, who well enough underſtood the danger they were in, and therefore they were very glad of this Meſſage; and return'd, "that they would ſend an Officer to Treat, "if a Ceſſation were agreed to during the time of the Treaty; which was conſented to, if it were ſuddainly expedited.

ON the Party of the Beſieged were propoſed ſuch terms, as might take

take up moſt time in the Debate, and might imply Courage and Reſolution to hold out. Sr *William Waller*, on the other hand, offer'd only Quarter, and civil uſage to the Officers, and leave to the Common Soldiers to return to their Houſes without their Armes, except they would voluntarily chooſe to ſerve the Parliament. Theſe being terms many of the Officers would not have ſubmitted to in the laſt extreme, the Treaty ended; after thoſe in the Town had gain'd what they only look'd for, ſeven or eight hours ſleep, and ſo long time ſparing of Ammunition. The truth is, Sr *William Waller* was ſo confident that they were at his Mercy, that he had written to the Parliament, "that their work was "done, and that, by the next Poſt, he would ſend the Number, and "Quality of his Priſoners; neither did he imagine it poſſible, that any relief could have been ſent from *Oxford*; the Earl of *Eſſex*, to whom he had ſignified his ſucceſs, and the poſture he was in, lying with his whole Army at *Thame*, within ten miles of it. But the importance was too well underſtood by the King to omit any thing, that might, with the utmoſt hazard, be attempted for the redeeming thoſe Men, who had wrought ſuch wonders for him. And therefore, aſſoon as the Marquis, and Prince, arriv'd at *Oxford*, with the ſad and unexpected news, and relation of the diſtreſs of their Friends, though the Queen was then on her march towards *Oxford*, and the King had appointed to meet her two days Journey for her ſecurity, his Majeſty reſolv'd to take only his own Guards of Horſe, and Prince *Rupert*'s Regiment, for that expedition; and ſent the Lord *Wilmot* with all the reſt of the Horſe, to march that very day in which the advertiſement came to him, towards the *Deviſes*; ſo that the Marquis and the Prince coming to *Oxford* on the *Monday* morning, the Lord *Wilmot*, that night, moved towards the work; and Prince *Maurice* returning with him as a Voluntier, but the Lord *Wilmot* Commanding in Chief, appear'd, on the *Wedneſday* about noon, upon the plain within two miles of the Town.

THE Lord *Wilmot* had with him fifteen hundred Horſe, and no more, and two ſmall Field-pieces, which he ſhot off to give the Town notice of his coming; having it in his hopes, that, it being a fair Campagne about the Town, when the Enemy ſhould riſe from before it, he ſhould be able in ſpite of them to joyn with the Foot, and ſo to have a fair Field for it; which would be ſtill diſadvantageous enough, the Enemy being Superior by much in Horſe, very few of thoſe, who had broken away from the *Deviſes* (except the Prince himſelf, the Earl of *Carnarvon*, and ſome other Officers) being come up with them, becauſe they were tired, and diſperſed. The Enemy, careful to prevent the joyning of this Party of Horſe with the Foot, and fully advertiſed of their coming, drew off, on all parts, from the Town; and put themſelves in Battalia upon the top of a fair Hill, called *Roundway*-Down; over which the King's Forces were neceſſarily to march, being full two miles off the Town: they within conceiv'd it hardly poſſible, that the relief, they expected from *Oxford*, could ſo ſoon arrive; all the Meſſengers, who were ſent to give notice of it, having miſcarried by the cloſeneſs of the Siege; and therefore ſuſpected the warning pieces from the Plain, and the drawing off the Town by the Enemy, to be a Stratagem to couſen the Foot from thoſe Poſts they defended, into the open Field; and ſo, very reaſonably, being in readineſs to march, they waited a ſurer Evidence, that their Friends were at hand; which ſhortly arriv'd, and aſſured them, "that the Prince was near and expected them.

IT

IT will be eaſily conceiv'd, with what alacrity they advanced to meet him; but Sr *William Waller* had purpoſely choſe that ground to hinder that conjunction, and advanced ſo faſt on the Lord *Wilmot*, that without ſuch removes, and traverſes, as might give his Men ſome apprehenſion, that Lord could not expect the Foot from the Town; and therefore he put his Troops in order upon that ground to expect the Enemies Charge, who were ſomewhat more than Muſquet ſhot off in order of Battle.

HERE Sr *William Waller*, out of pure gayety, departed from an advantage he could not again recover; for being in excellent order of Battle, with ſtrong wings of Horſe to his Foot, and a good Reſerve placed, and his Cannon uſefully planted, apprehending ſtill the conjunction between the Horſe and the Foot in the Town, and gratifying his Enemy with the ſame contempt, which had ſo often brought inconveniences upon them, and diſcerning their number Inferior to that he had before (as he thought) maſter'd, he march'd, with his whole Body of Horſe, from his Foot, to Charge the Enemy; appointing Sr *Arthur Haſlerig* with his Cuiraſſiers apart, to make the firſt impreſſion; who was encounter'd by Sr *John Byron*, in whoſe Regiment the Earl of *Carnarvon* Charg'd as a Voluntier; and after a ſharp conflict, in which Sr *Arthur Haſlerig* receiv'd many wounds, that impenetrable Regiment was Routed, and, in a full Career, chaſed upon their other Horſe. At the ſame time, the Lord *Wilmot* Charging them from diviſion to diviſion, as they were ranged, in half an hour, ſo ſuddain Alterations the accidents of War introduce, the whole entire Body of the Triumphant Horſe were ſo totally Routed, and Diſperſed, that there was not one of them to be ſeen upon that large ſpacious Down; every Man ſhifting for himſelf with greater danger by the Precipices of that Hill, than he could have undergone by oppoſing his purſuer. But as it was an unhappy ground to fly, ſo it was as ill for the purſuer; and after the Rout, more periſh'd by falls and bruiſes from their Horſes, down the Precipices, than by the Sword. The Foot ſtood ſtill firm, making ſhew of a gallant Reſiſtance; but the Lord *Wilmot* quickly ſeiſed their Cannon, and turn'd them upon them, at the ſame time that the *Corniſh* Foot, who were by this come from the Town, were ready likewiſe to Charge them; upon which their hearts failed; and ſo they were Charg'd on all ſides, and either killed, or taken Priſoners, very few eſcaping; the *Corniſh* retaining too freſh a Memory of their late diſtreſſes, and revenging themſelves on thoſe who had contributed thereunto. Sr *William Waller* himſelf, with a ſmall Train, fled into *Briſtol*, which had ſacrificed a great part of their Garriſon in his Defeat; and ſo were even ready to expire at his entry into the Town, himſelf bringing the firſt news of his diſaſter.

The Battle of Roundway-*Down, where-in S^r* William Waller *is Routed.*

THIS glorious day, for it was a day of Triumph, redeem'd for that time the King's whole Affairs, ſo that all Clouds that ſhadow'd them ſeem'd to be diſpelled, and a bright light of ſucceſs to ſhine over the whole Kingdom. There were in this Battle ſlain, on the Enemies part, above ſix hundred on the place; nine hundred Priſoners taken, beſides two or three hundred retaken and redeem'd, whom they had gathered up in the Skirmiſhes, and purſuit; with all their Cannon, being eight pieces of Braſs Ordnance; all their Armes, Ammunition, Waggons, Baggage, and Victual; eight and twenty Foot Enſigns, and nine Cornets; and all this by a Party of fifteen hundred Horſe, with two ſmall Field-pieces (for the Victory was perfect, upon the matter, before the *Corniſh* came

came up; though the Enemies Foot were ſuffer'd to ſtand in a Body uncharged, out of ceremony, till They came; that they might be refreſh'd with a ſhare in the Conqueſt) againſt a Body of full two thouſand Horſe, five hundred Dragoons, and near three thouſand Foot, with an excellent Train of Artillery. So that the *Corniſh* had great reaſon to think their deliverance, and Victory at *Roundway*, more ſignal and wonderful, than the other at *Stratton*, ſave that the firſt might be thought the Parent of the latter, and the loſs on the King's Party was leſs; for in This there were ſlain very few; and, of name, none but *Dudley Smith*, an honeſt and valiant young Gentleman; who was always a Voluntier with the Lord *Wilmot*, and amongſt the firſt upon any action of danger.

BESIDES the preſent fruit of this Victory, the King receiv'd an advantage from the Jealouſy, that, from thence, grew among the Officers of the Parliament Armies. For Sr *William Waller* believ'd himſelf to be abſolutely betray'd, and ſacrificed by the Earl of *Eſſex*, out of envy at the great things he had done, which ſeem'd to eclipſe His Glories; and complain'd, "that he lying with his whole Army within ten miles of "*Oxford*, ſhould ſuffer the Chief ſtrength of that place to march thirty "miles to deſtroy him, without ſo much as ſending out a Party to fol-"low them, or to Alarm *Oxford*, by which they would have been pro-"bably recall'd. On the other hand, the Earl, diſdaining to be thought his Rival, reproach'd the other with "unſoldierly neglects, and want "of Courage, to be beaten by a handful of Men, and to have deſerted "his Foot and Cannon, without engaging his own Perſon in one Charge "againſt the Enemy. Wherever the fault was, it was never forgiven; but from the Enmity that proceeded from thence, the King often afterwards reaped very notable, and ſeaſonable advantages; which will be remember'd in their places.

THIS bleſſed Defeat happen'd to be upon the ſame day, and upon the ſame time of the day, when the King met the Queen upon the Field near *Keinton*, under *Edge-hill*, where the Battle had been fought in *October* before; and before their Majeſties came to *Oxford*, they receiv'd the happy news of it. It is eaſy to imagine the joy with which it was receiv'd, all Men raiſing their fallen Spirits to too great a height, as though they ſhould now go through all the work without farther oppoſition; and this tranſport to either extremes was too natural upon all the Viciſſitudes of the War; and it was ſome allay to the welcome News of the Victory to ſome Men, that it had been obtain'd under the Command and Conduct of *Wilmot*; who was very much in Prince *Rupert*'s diſeſteem, and not in any notable degree of favour with the King, but much belov'd by all the good fellowſhip of the Army; which was too great a Body. It was now time for the King's Army, Victorious in ſo many Encounters, to take the Field; upon what Enterpriſe, was the Queſtion. This overthrow of *Waller* had infinitely ſurpriſed, and encreaſed the diſtractions at *London*. They had ſeen the Copy of the Warrants, which his vanity had cauſed to be diſperſed, after the Action at *Lanſdown*; in which he declared, "that he had Routed the Marquis's Army, "and was in purſuit of them; and therefore Commanded the Juſtices "of Peace, and Conſtables, to give order for the apprehenſion of them, "as they fled diſperſed; and expected every day, that the Marquis would be ſent up Priſoner: and now to hear that his whole invincible Army was defeated, and himſelf fled, upon the matter, alone (for ill news is for the moſt part made worſe, as the beſt is reported to be better than

it is) brought them to their Wits end; ſo that they could little advance the recruiting the Earl of *Eſſex* his Army; who in his Perſon likewiſe grew more ſullen towards them, and reſented their little regard of him, and grew every day more converſant with the Earls of *Northumberland*, and *Holland*, and others who were moſt weary of the War, and would be glad of Peace upon eaſy terms.

The King meets the Queen near Keinton; *ſhe coming with a great Recruit.*

THE King's Army receiv'd a fair addition, by the conjuncture with thoſe Forces which attended the Queen; for her Majeſty brought with her above two thouſand Foot, well Arm'd, and one thouſand Horſe, and ſix pieces of Cannon, and two Mortars, and about one hundred Waggons: So that aſſoon as their Majeſties came to *Oxford*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had ſpent his time about *Thame*, and *Aylesbury*, without any Action after that Skirmiſh in which Mr *Hambden* was ſlain, ſave by ſmall Parties of which there was none of Name, or Note, but one handſome ſmart conflict between a Party of five hundred Horſe and Dragoons, Commanded by Colonel *Middleton*, a *Scots*-man, on the Parliament Party, and a Regiment of Horſe, Commanded by Sr *Charles Lucas*, on the King's, where, after a very Soldierly conteſt, and more blood drawn than was uſual upon ſuch Actions, the King's Party prevail'd, returning with ſome Priſoners of Name, and the ſlaughter of one hundred of the Enemy, not without ſome loſs of their own: The Earl, I ſay, retired with his Army broken, and diſhearten'd to *Uxbridge*, giving over any thought of fighting with the King, till he ſhould be recruited, with Horſe, Men, and Money; and ſuffering no leſs in the talk of the People (who began to aſſume a great freedom in diſcourſe) for not interpoſing to hinder the Queen's march to *Oxford*, and joyning with the King, than for ſitting ſtill ſo near *Oxford*, whilſt the Lord *Wilmot* went from thence to the ruin of Sr *William Waller*.

The Earl of Eſſex *retires from* Thame *with his Army to* Uxbridge.

AFTER which Defeat, the Lord *Wilmot* retired to *Oxford* to attend his Majeſty; and the *Corniſh* Army (for that name it deſervedly kept ſtill, though it receiv'd ſo good an encreaſe by the Marquis, and Prince's joyning with them) drew back, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Bath*, which was ſoon quitted to them, upon the overthrow of *Waller*; that Garriſon being withdrawn to reinforce *Briſtol*. At *Bath* they reſted, and refreſh'd themſelves, till they might receive new Orders from the King; who, upon full advice, and conſideration of the State he was in, and the broken condition of the Enemy, reſolv'd to make an attempt upon the City of *Briſtol*; to which Prince *Rupert* was moſt inclined, for his being diſappointed in a former deſign; and where there were many well affected to the King's Service from the beginning, and more ſince the execution of thoſe two eminent Citizens. And the diſeſteem generally had of the Courage of *Nathaniel Fiennes*, the Governour, made the deſign to be thought the more reaſonable; ſo the Marquis, and Prince *Maurice*, return'd to *Bath*, upon agreement to appear, on ſuch a day, with their whole ſtrength before *Briſtol*, on the *Somerſet-ſhire* ſide, when Prince *Rupert* with the *Oxford* Forces would appear before it, on *Glocester-ſhire* ſide.

Briſtol *Beſieg'd by* Prince Rupert:

ON the four and twentieth of *July*, both Armies ſat down before it; quartering their Horſe in that manner, that none could go out or in to the City, without great hazard of being taken; and the ſame day, with the aſſiſtance of ſome Seamen, who were prepared before, they ſeiſed all the Ships that were in *King-road*; which were not only laden with goods of great value, as Plate, Money, and the beſt ſort of all Commodities,

modities, which thoſe who ſuſpected the worſt had ſent aboard, but with many Perſons of Quality; who, being unwilling to run the hazard of a Siege, thought that way to have ſecured themſelves, and to have eſcaped to *London*; and ſo were all taken Priſoners. The next day, Prince *Rupert* came to his Brother, and the Marquis, and a general Council of all the principal Officers of both Armies being aſſembled, it was Debated, "in what Manner, they ſhould proceed, by Aſſault or "Approach.

THERE were in the Town five and twenty hundred Foot, and a Regiment of Horſe and Dragoons; the Line about the Town was finiſh'd; yet in ſome places the graff was wider, and deeper than in others. The Caſtle within the Town was very well prepared, and ſupplied with great ſtore of Proviſions to endure a Siege. The opinions were ſeveral: The Officers of the *Corniſh* were of opinion, "that it was beſt to proceed by "way of Approach; becauſe, the ground being very good, it would in "a very ſhort time be done; and ſince there was no Army of the Ene-"my in a poſſibility to relieve it, the ſecureſt way would be the beſt; "whereas the Works were ſo good, that they muſt expect to loſe very "many Men; and, if they were beaten off, all their Summer hopes would "be deſtroyed; it not being eaſy, again to make up the ſpirit of the Ar-"my for a new Action. Beſides, they alledg'd, "the well affected Party "in the City, which was believ'd to be very great, would, after they had "been cloſely Beſieged three or four days, have a greater influence upon "the Soldier, and be able to do more towards the Surrender, than they "could upon a Storm; when they would be equally ſenſible of the diſ-"order of the Soldier, and their own damage by plunder, as the other; "and the too late example of the executed Citizens, would keep Men "from offering at any inſurrection in the City.

ON the other hand, Prince *Rupert*, and all the Officers of His Army, very earneſtly deſired to aſſault it; alledg'd "the Work to be eaſy, and "the Soldiers fitter for any briſk attempt, than a dull patient deſign; "and that the Army would be more weaken'd by the latter, than the "former: that the City, not having yet recover'd the conſternation of "Sr *William Waller*'s Defeat, was ſo full of horror, that it would make "a very weak Defence: that there was no Soldier of experience in the "Town, and the Governour himſelf not like to endure the terror of a "Storm: whereas, if they gave them time to conſider, and look long "upon them with a Wall between, they would grow confirm'd and re-"ſolute, and courage would ſupply the place of skill; and having plen-"ty of all kinds of Proviſions within the Town, they would grow ſtrong, "and peremptory, whilſt the Beſiegers grew leſs vigorous, and diſ-"hearten'd. Theſe reaſons, and the Prince's importunity, with ſome inſinuations of knowing more than was fit to be ſpoken, as if ſomewhat would be done within the Town, that muſt not be mention'd, and a glorious contempt of danger, prevailed ſo far, that it was conſented to, on all parts, to Aſſault the Town the next morning at three places on the *Somerſet-ſhire* ſide, and at three places on the *Glocester-ſhire* ſide, at the break of day. The truth is, both opinions, with regard to their different circumſtances, were in themſelves reaſonable. For the *Glo-ceſter-ſhire* ſide, where Prince *Rupert* was, might be Storm'd, the graff being ſhallow, and the Wall, in ſome places, low, and weak; which could not be eaſily Approach'd, by reaſon the ground was rocky, and the re-doubts high and very ſtrong, which overlook'd the ground; on the other

ſide, the ground was very eaſy to Approach, and as inconvenient, and dangerous to Storm, by reaſon of a plain level before the Line, and a broad and deep graff, and the Line, throughout, better flanker'd than the other.

THE next morning, with little other Proviſions fit for ſuch a Work, than the Courage of the Aſſailants, both Armies fell on. On the Weſt ſide, where the *Corniſh* were, they aſſaulted the Line in three places; one diviſion led by Sr *Nicholas Slanning*, aſſiſted with Colonel *John Trevannion*, Lieutenant Colonel *Slingsby*, and three more Field Officers; too great a number of ſuch Officers to conduct ſo ſmall a Party as five hundred Men, if there had not been an immoderate diſdain of danger, and appetite of glory: Another diviſion, on the right hand, was led by Colonel *Buck*, aſſiſted by Colonel *Wagſtaffe*, Colonel *Bernard Aſtley*, who Commanded the Regiment of the Lord Marquis *Hertford*, with other Field Officers: And the third diviſion, on the left hand, led by Sr *Thomas Baſſet*, who was Major General of the *Corniſh*. Theſe three diviſions fell on together with that Courage, and Reſolution, as nothing but death could controul; and though the middle diviſion got into the graff, and ſo near filled it, that ſome mounted the Wall, yet by the prodigious diſadvantage of the ground, and the full defence the Beſieged made within, they were driven back with a great ſlaughter; the Common Soldiers, after their Chief Officers were kill'd, or deſperately wounded, finding it a bootleſs attempt.

ON Prince *Rupert*'s ſide, it was Aſſaulted with equal Courage, and allmoſt equal loſs, but with better ſucceſs; for though that diviſion led on by the Lord *Grandiſon*, Colonel General of the Foot, was beaten off, the Lord *Grandiſon* himſelf being hurt; and the other, led by Colonel *Bellaſis*, likewiſe had no better fortune, yet Colonel *Waſhington*, with a leſs Party, finding a place in the Curtain (between the places Aſſaulted by the other two) weaker than the reſt, enter'd, and quickly made room for the Horſe to follow. The Enemy, aſſoon as they ſaw the Line enter'd in one place, either out of fear, or by Command of their Officers, quit their Poſts; ſo that the Prince enter'd with his Foot and Horſe into the Suburbs; ſending for one thouſand of the *Corniſh* Foot, which were preſently ſent to ſecond him; and march'd up to *Fromegate*, loſing many Men, and ſome very good Officers, by ſhot from the Walls, and Windows; inſomuch as all Men were much caſt down to ſee ſo little gotten with ſo great a loſs; for they had ſtill a more difficult entrance into the Town, than they had yet paſſed, and where their Horſe could be of no uſe to them; when, to the exceeding comfort of Generals, and Soldiers, the City beat a Parley; which the Prince willingly embracing, and getting their Hoſtages into his hands, ſent Colonel *Gerrard* and another Officer to the Governour to Treat. The Treaty began about two of the Clock in the afternoon, and, before ten at night, theſe Articles were agreed on, and ſign'd by all Parties.

It is Surrender'd upon Articles.

I. "THAT the Governour, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, together with all "the Officers both of Horſe and Foot, now within, and about the City "of *Briſtol*, Caſtle, and Forts, may march out to morrow morning by "nine of the Clock, with their full Armes, Bag and Baggage, provided "it be their own Goods: And that the Common Foot Soldiers march "out without Armes, and the Troopers with their Horſes, and Swords, "leaving their other Armes behind them, with a ſafe Convoy to *Warmiſter*;

"*miſter*; and after, not to be moleſted in their march, by any of the "King's Forces, for the ſpace of three days.

2. "THAT there may be carriages allowed and provided to carry "away their Bag and Baggage, and ſick and hurt Soldiers.

3. "THAT the King's Forces march not into the Town, till the Par- "liament Forces are march'd out; which is to be at nine of the Clock.

4. "THAT all Priſoners in the City be deliver'd up; and that Cap- "tain *Eyres*, and Captain *Cookein*, who were taken at the *Deviſes*, be "releaſed.

5. "THAT Sr *John Horner*, Sr *John Seymour*, Mr *Edward Stevens*, "and all other Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, and other Perſons, that "are now in the City, may, if they pleaſe, with their Goods, Wives, "and Families, Bag, and Baggage, have free liberty to return to their "own homes, or elſewhere, and there to reſt in ſafety, or ride, and travel "with the Governour, and Forces: and ſuch of them, and their Fami- "lies, as ſhall be left behind, by reaſon of ſickneſs or other cauſe, may "have liberty, ſo ſoon as they can conveniently, to depart this Town "with ſafety; provided that all Gentlemen, and other Perſons, ſhall "have three days liberty to reſide here, or depart with their Goods, "which they pleaſe.

6. "THAT all the Inhabitants of the City ſhall be ſecured in their "Perſons, Families, and Eſtates, free from plundering, and all other vio- "lence, or wrong whatſoever.

7. "THAT the Charters, and Liberties of this City may be preſerv'd; "and that the Ancient Government thereof, and preſent Governours, "and Officers, may remain and continue in their former condition, ac- "cording to his Majeſty's Charters, and Pleaſure.

8. "THAT, for avoiding Inconveniences and Diſtractions, the quar- "tering of Soldiers be referr'd, or left to the Mayor, and Governour of "the ſame City for the time being.

9. "THAT all ſuch, as have carried any Goods into the Caſtle, may "have free liberty to carry the ſame forth.

10. "THAT the Forces, that are to march out, are to leave behind "them all Cannon, and Ammunition, with their Colours, and ſuch "Armes as is before expreſs'd.

THE next morning, if not before (for the truth is, from the time that the Treaty was firſt offer'd, they in the Town kept no Guards, nor obſerv'd any order; but Their Soldiers run away to the Prince, and many of His Soldiers went into the Town) his Highneſs was poſſeſs'd of *Briſtol*, the Enemy then marching away. Here the ill example of *Reading*, in the breach of the Articles, was remember'd, and unhappily followed; for all that Garriſon was now here. So that they, with ſome Colour of right, or retaliation, and the reſt, by Their example, uſed great Licence to the Soldiers, who ſhould have been ſafely conducted; which reflected much upon the Prince, though he uſed his utmoſt power to ſuppreſs it, and charged Colonel *Fiennes* to be acceſſary to his own wrong, by marching out of the Town an hour before his appointment; and thereby his Convoy was not ready; and at another Gate, than was appointed and agreed on. And as the Articles were thus unhappily violated to thoſe who went away, ſo they were not enough obſerv'd to thoſe who ſtayed, and to the City it ſelf: for many of Colonel *Fiennes* Soldiers taking conditions, and entering with the King's Army, inſtructed their new

Friends, Who were moſt diſaffected; ſo that one whole Street upon the Bridge, the Inhabitants whereof lay under ſome brand of Malignity, though, no doubt, there were many honeſt Men among them, was allmoſt totally plunder'd; which, becauſe there was but little Juſtice done upon the Tranſgreſſors, was believ'd to be done by connivance from the Officers, and more diſcredited the King's Forces, and his Cauſe, than was then taken notice of, or diſcover'd. It was a noble attribute given to the brave *Fabricius, qui aliquid eſſe crederet & in hoſtem nefas.* I wiſh I could excuſe thoſe ſwervings from Juſtice, and Right, which were too frequently practiced againſt Contracts, under the notion, that they, with whom they were made, were Rebels, and could not be too ill uſed; when, as the cauſe deſerv'd, ſo it needed all the ingenuity, and integrity, in the propugners of it, to keep deſpair from the Guilty, who were by much too numerous for the Innocent.

THIS reduction of *Briſtol* was a full tide of proſperity to the King, and made him Maſter of the ſecond City of his Kingdom, and gave him the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of one of the richeſt Counties of the Kingdom (for the Rebels had now no ſtanding Garriſon, or the leaſt viſible influence upon any part of *Somerſet-ſhire*) and render'd *Wales* (which was before well affected, except ſome Towns in *Pembroke-ſhire*) more uſeful to him; being freed of the fear of *Briſtol*, and conſequently of the charge, that allways attends thoſe fears; and reſtored to the Trade with *Briſtol*; which was the greateſt ſupport of thoſe parts. Yet the King might very well have ſaid, what King *Pyrrhus* heretofore did, after his ſecond Battle, by the City of *Aſculum*, with the *Romans*, where he wone the Victory; "If We win another at this price, We are utterly "undone. And truly his Majeſty's loſs before this Town, was ineſtimable, and very hard to be repaired. I am perſwaded there were ſlain, upon the ſeveral Aſſaults, of Common Men, but ſuch as were tryed and incomparable Foot, about five hundred; and abundance of excellent Officers, whereof many were of prime Command, and Quality.

ON the *Corniſh* ſide, fell, beſides Major *Kendall*, and many other Inferior Officers, excellent in their degree; Colonel *Buck*, a modeſt and a ſtout Commander, and of good experience in War; who having got over the Graff, and even to the top of the Wall, was knock'd down with a Halbert, and periſh'd in the Graff: Sr *Nicholas Slanning*, and Colonel *John Trevannion*, the Life and Soul of the *Corniſh* Regiments, whoſe memories can never be enough celebrated; who being led by no impulſion, but of Conſcience, and their own obſervation of the ill practices and deſigns of the great Conductors (for they both were of the Houſe of Commons) engaged themſelves with the firſt in the oppoſition; and aſſoon as Sr *Ralph Hopton*, and thoſe other Gentlemen came into *Cornwal*, joyn'd with them; and being both of ſingular Reputation, and good Fortunes there, the one in Poſſeſſion, the other in Reverſion after his Father, they engaged their Perſons and Eſtates in the Service; rather doing great things, than affecting that it ſhould be taken notice of to be done by them; applying themſelves to all infirmities, and condeſcending to all Capacities, for removing all obſtructions, which accidentally aroſe among thoſe who could only proſper by being of one mind. Sr *Nicholas Slanning* was Governour of *Pendennis*-Caſtle, upon the credit and ſecurity whereof, the King's Party in that Country firſt depended, and by the Command it had of the Harbour of *Falmouth*, was, or might be, ſupplied with all that was neceſſary. He was indeed a young

Man of admirable parts, a ſharp and diſcerning Wit, a ſtaid and ſolid Judgement, a gentle and moſt obliging Behaviour, and a Courage ſo clear and keen, as, even without the other ornaments, would have render'd him very conſiderable: They were both young, neither of them above eight and twenty, of entire friendſhip to one another, and to Sr *Bevil Greenvil*, whoſe body was not yet buried; they were both hurt almoſt in the ſame minute, and in the ſame place; both ſhot in the thigh with Muſquet Bullets; their bones broken, the one dying preſently, the other ſome few days after; and both had the Royal ſacrifice of their Soveraign's very particular ſorrow, and the concurrence of all good Mens; and, that which is a greater ſolemnity to their memories, as it fares with moſt great and virtuous Men, whoſe loſs is better underſtood long afterwards, they were as often lamented, as the accidents in the publick Affairs made the Courage, and Fidelity of the *Corniſh* of greateſt ſignification to the Cauſe.

ON the North ſide, of Prince *Rupert*'s Army, fell very many good Officers, the chief of whom was Colonel *Harry Lunsford*, an Officer of extraordinary Sobriety, Induſtry, and Courage; near whom, his excellent Lieutenant Colonel *Moyle* was likewiſe hurt, and died within few days, both ſhot out of a Window after they had enter'd the Suburbs: There were hurt, the Lord Viſcount *Grandiſon*, Nephew to the Great Duke of *Buckingham*, who was Colonel General of the King's Foot; Colonel *John Bellaſis*, ſince Lord *Bellaſis*; Colonel *Bernard Aſtley*; Colonel Sr *John Owen*; and many other Officers of name, of whom none of Quality died of their wounds but the Lord *Grandiſon*; whoſe loſs can never be enough lamented. He was a young Man of ſo virtuous a habit of mind, that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him; ſo great a Lover of Juſtice, and Integrity, that no example, neceſſity, or even the barbarity of this War, could make him ſwerve from the moſt preciſe Rules of it; and of that rare Piety and Devotion, that the Court, or Camp, could not ſhew a more faultleſs Perſon, or to whoſe example young Men might more reaſonably conform themſelves. His perſonal Valour, and Courage of all kinds (for he had ſometimes indulged ſo much to the Corrupt opinion of Honour, as to venture himſelf in Duels) was very eminent, inſomuch as he was accuſed of being too prodigal of his Perſon; his Affection, and Zeal, and Obedience to the King, was ſuch as became a branch of that Family. And he was wont to ſay, "that "if he had not underſtanding enough to know the uprightneſs of the "Cauſe, nor Loyalty enough to inform him of the Duty of a Subject, "yet the very obligations of Gratitude to the King, on the behalf of his "Houſe, were ſuch, as his life was but a due ſacrifice; and therefore, he no ſooner ſaw the War unavoidable, than he engaged all his Brethren, as well as himſelf, in the Service; and there were then three more of them in Command in the Army, where he was ſo unfortunately cut off.

ASSOON as the News of the taking of *Briſtol* came to the King at *Oxford*, after a ſolemn thankſgiving to God for the ſucceſs, which was immediately, and publickly perform'd, his Majeſty aſſembled his Privy Council, to conſider how this great Bleſſing in War might be applied to the procuring a happy Peace; and that this might be the laſt Town he ſhould purchaſe at the price of blood. It was evident, that, as this laſt Victory added great luſtre, and beauty to the whole face of his Affairs, ſo it would produce an equal paleneſs, and be an ominous preſage to the Parliament; where the Jealouſies and Apprehenſions between themſelves

ſelves ſtill grew higher, and new remedies ſtill propoſed, which were generally thought worſe than the diſeaſe.

The two Houſes ſend Commiſſioners into Scotland *for relief.*

UPON the News of the Lord *Fairfax*'s being Defeated in the North, which came about this time, they reſolv'd to ſend a Committee of the two Houſes into *Scotland*, "to deſire their Brethren of that Kingdom, "preſently to advance with an Army for their relief; which was thought ſo deſperate a Cure, that the Lords naming the Earl of *Rutland*, and Lord *Grey* of *Warke*, for that Embaſſy, the Earl upon indiſpoſition of Health procured a releaſe; and the other, who had never declined any employment they would confer on him, ſo peremptorily refuſed to meddle in it, that he was committed to the Tower; and in the end, they were compelled to depute only Commoners to that Service: and ſo Sr *William Armyne*, young Sr *Henry Vane*, and two more, aſſiſted with Mr *Marſhall* and Mr *Nye*, two of their powerful Clergy, were imbarked in that negotiation; upon which, they who ſent them, were ſo far from being confident, and ſo little ſatisfied, that they ſhould be driven to bring in Forreign Forces, with the purpoſe whereof they had ſo long traduced the King, that there was, ſome few deſperate Perſons only excepted, even a univerſal deſire of Peace; and the Earl of *Eſſex* Himſelf, writing to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, of the defects in his Army, and of his wants of Horſe, Men, and Money, adviſed, "that "they would think of ſending ſome reaſonable Propoſitions to the King, "for the procuring a ſafe Peace; which being the firſt intimation, he had ever given to that purpoſe, together with his familiarity, and correſpondence with thoſe Lords, who were known paſſionately to deſire an accommodation, gave them ſad apprehenſions; which were encreaſed by ſome ſevere Meſſages they receiv'd from him, for his vindication from the foul aſperſions, and calumnies, which were generally and publickly laid on him, for his unactivity after the winning *Reading*, whilſt the Queen march'd ſecurely to *Oxford*, and Sr *William Waller* was deſtroyed; as if "he would think of ſome way of righting Himſelf, "if They were not ſenſible on His behalf.

HOW to work upon theſe diſcompoſed humours, and to reduce them to ſuch temper, that they might conſent to the Kingdom's Peace, was the Argument of the King's conſultations: but by what expedient to promote this, was the Difficulty. After the breach of the laſt Treaty, and when the King had in vain labour'd to revive it, and could not procure any Anſwer from them to his laſt Meſſages; but inſtead thereof his Meſſenger impriſon'd, tryed before a Council of War for his Life, and ſtill in cuſtody, and a Declaration, "that whoſoever ſhould be em-"ployed by his Majeſty, on any Meſſage to them, without Their leave, "ſhould be proceeded againſt as a Spy (ſo that though they pretended to be his great Council, they upon the matter now proteſted againſt any relation to his Majeſty) he adviſed with his Council, "what might be fit "for him to do, to leſſen the Reverence and Reputation of them with "the People: for the ſuperſtition towards the name of a Parliament was ſo general, that the King had wiſely forborne to charge the two Houſes with the Treaſon, and Rebellion which was raiſed, but imputed it to particular Perſons, who were moſt viſibly and actually engaged in it. Some were of opinion, "that, all the Members who ſtaid there, and "ſate in either Houſe, being guilty of ſo many Treaſonable Acts, thereby "the Parliament was actually diſſolv'd, by the ſame reaſon, as a Cor-"poration, by great miſdemeanour and crime, might forfeit their "Charter;

"Charter; and therefore that the King ſhould, by his Proclamation, "declare the diſſolution of it, and then conſider whether it were fit to "call another: but this opinion was generally diſliked, both "becauſe "it was conceiv'd not to be juſt; for the Treaſon of thoſe who were pre- "ſent, could not forfeit the right of thoſe who were away; neither was "it evident, that all that were preſent, conſented to the ill that was "done; and the King's declaring a Parliament to be diſſolv'd, contrary "to an Act of Parliament, was believ'd, would prove an Act ſo ungra- "cious to the People, for the conſequences of it, that the King would "be an exceeding loſer by ſuch an attempt; and that many, in ſuch a "caſe, would return thither, who out of conſcience had withdrawn "from that Aſſembly.

IN concluſion, the advice was unanimous, "that his Majeſty ſhould "declare the Orders, and Proceedings of one or both Houſes to be void, "by reaſon the Members did not enjoy the Freedom and Liberty of "Parliament; and therefore ſhould require his good Subjects, no longer "to be miſled by them: and, to that purpoſe, the King had iſſued his Proclamation ſix Weeks before this happy turn in his Affairs, ſo that he could not now ſend a Meſſage to them, as to two Houſes of Parliament, leſt he might ſeem to retract his former judgement of them, which was concluded to be both regular and juſt. Upon the whole matter, leſt his Majeſty might be underſtood to be ſo much elated with his good ſucceſſes, and the encreaſe of his Strength, that he aimed at no leſs than a perfect Victory, and the ruin of thoſe who had incenſed him (by which inſinuations they who could not forgive themſelves, endeavour'd to make all other deſperate) he was reſolv'd to publiſh ſuch a Declaration to the whole Kingdom, that both Houſes, and their Army, could not but take notice of, and might, if they were inclined to it, thence take a riſe to make any Overtures to him towards an attonement. To that purpoſe, the next day after he receiv'd the aſſurance of the taking of *Briſtol*, his Majeſty publiſh'd this enſuing Declaration; which I ſhall enter in his own words.

His Majeſty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects, after his Victories over the Lord Fairfax *in the North, Sr* William Waller *in the Weſt, and the taking of* Briſtol *by his Majeſty's Forces.*

The King's Declaration after his late ſucceſſes.

"As the grievances and loſſes of no particular Perſons, ſince theſe "miſerable bloody diſtempers have diſquieted this poor Kingdom, can "be compared to the loſs and damage We our ſelf have ſuſtain'd, there "having been no Victory obtain'd but in the blood of our own Subjects, "nor no rapine or violence committed, but to the impoveriſhment and "ruin of our own People; ſo, a bleſſed and happy Peace cannot be ſo "acceptable and welcome to any Man, as to Us. Almighty God, to "whom all the ſecrets of Our heart are open, who hath ſo often and ſo "miraculouſly preſerv'd Us, and to whoſe power alone We muſt attri- "bute the goodneſs of our preſent condition (how unhappy ſoever it is "with reference to the publick Calamities) knows, with what unwilling- "neſs, with what anguiſh of Soul, We ſubmitted our ſelf to the Neceſ- "ſity of taking up Defenſive Armes. And the World knows with what "juſtice and bounty We have repaired our Subjects, for all the preſſures "and inconveniencies they had borne, by ſuch excellent Laws, as would "for ever have prevented the like; and with what earneſtneſs and im-

"portunity We desired to add any thing, for the establishment of the "Religion, Laws, and Liberty of the Kingdom. How all these have "been disturbed, invaded, and almost destroyed, by Faction, Sedition, "and Treason, by those, who have neither Reverence to God, nor Af- "fection to Men, but have sacrificed Both to their own ends and am- "bition, is now so evident, that We hope, as God hath wonderfully ma- "nifested his care of Us, and his defence of His and Our most just Cause; "so, he hath so far touch'd the hearts of our People, that their Eyes "are at last open'd to see how miserably they have been seduced, and "to abhor those Persons, whose malice and subtlety had seduced them "to dishonour Him, to rebel against Us, and to bring much misery and "calamity upon their native Country.

"WE well remember the Protestation voluntarily made by Us, in "the head of that small Army we were Master of in *September* last, to "defend and maintain the true Reform'd Protestant Religion: And if "it should please God, by his blessing upon that Army, to preserve Us "from this Rebellion, that We would maintain the just Privileges and "Freedom of Parliament, and govern by the known Laws of the Land; "for whose Defence, in truth, that Army was only raised, and hath been "since kept. And there cannot be a more seasonable time to renew that "Protestation than Now, when God hath vouchsafed Us so many victo- "ries and successes, and hath render'd the power of those, who seek to "destroy Us, less formidable than it hath been (so that We shall proba- "bly not fall under the scandalous imputation, which hath usually at- "tended Our Messages of Peace, that they proceed from the weakness "of our power, not love of our People) and when there is more free- "dom in many Counties, for our good Subjects to receive true infor- "mation of their own, and Our condition; the knowledge whereof hath "been, with equal industry and injustice, kept from them, as other Acts "of cruelty have been imposed on them.

"WE do therefore declare to all the world, in the presence of Al- "mighty God, to whom We must give a strict account of all our Profes- "sions and Protestations, that We are so far from intending any alteration "of the Religion establish'd (as hath been often falsely, scandalously, and "against the Conscience of the Contrivers themselves of that rumour, "suggested to our People) or from the least thought of invading the Li- "berty and Property of the Subject, or violating the just Privileges of "Parliament, that We call that God to witness, *who hath cover'd our "head in the day of Battle*, that We desire from our Soul, and shall al- "ways use our utmost endeavour to preserve, and advance the true Re- "form'd Protestant Religion establish'd in the Church of *England*; in "which We were born, have faithfully liv'd, and, by the grace of God, "shall resolutely die: That the preservation of the Liberty and Proper- "ty of the Subject, in the due observation of the known Laws of the "Land, shall be equally our care, as the maintenance of our own Rights; "We desiring to govern only by those good Laws, which, till they were "oppress'd by this odious Rebellion, preserv'd this Nation happy. And "We do acknowledge the just Privileges of Parliament to be an essen- "tial part of those Laws, and shall therefore most solemnly defend, and "observe them. So that, in truth, if either Religion, Law, or Liberty, "be precious to our People, they will, by their submission to Us, joyn "with Us in the defence of them; and thereby establish that Peace, by "which only they can flourish, and be enjoyed.

"WHE-

"WHETHER theſe Men, that be profeſs'd Enemies to the eſtabliſh'd "Eccleſiaſtical Government, who reproach and perſecute the Learned "Orthodox Miniſters of the Church, and into their places put ignorant, "ſeditious, and ſchiſmatical Preachers, who vilify the Book of Common "Prayer, and impiouſly prophane God's Worſhip with their ſcurrilous "and ſeditious demeanour, are like to advance that Religion; whether "thoſe Men, who boldly, and without the leaſt ſhadow or colour of "Law, impoſe inſupportable Taxes and odious Exciſes upon their fel- "low Subjects, impriſon, torment, and murther them, are like to pre- "ſerve the Liberty and Property of the Subject: And whether thoſe "Men, who ſeiſe and poſſeſs themſelves of our own unqueſtionable Re- "venue, and our juſt Rights, have denyed Us our Negative Voice, have, "by force and violence, awed and terrified the Members of both Houſes, "and laſtly have, as far as in Them lies, diſſolv'd the preſent Parliament, "by driving away and impriſoning the Members, and reſolving the "whole power thereof, and more, into a Committee of a few Men, con- "trary to all Law, Cuſtom, or Precedent, are like to vindicate, and up- "hold the Privileges of Parliament, all the world may judge.

"WE do therefore once more conjure our Good Subjects, by their "memory of that excellent Peace and firm Happineſs, with which it "pleaſed God to reward their Duty, and Loyalty in time paſt; by their "Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, which no Vow or Covenant, con- "triv'd, and adminiſter'd to, and by themſelves, can cancel or evade; "by whatſoever is dear and precious to them in this life, or hoped or "prayed for in the life to come, that they will remember their Duty, "and conſider their Intereſt, and no longer ſuffer Themſelves to be "miſled, their Prince diſhonour'd, and their Country waſted and un- "done by the malice and cunning of thoſe State Impoſtors; who, under "pretence of Reformation, would introduce whatſoever is monſtrous "and unnatural both to Religion, and Policy: But that they rather "chooſe quietly to enjoy their Religion, Property, and Liberty, found- "ed and provided for by the wiſdom and induſtry of former times, and "ſecured and enlarged by the bleſſings upon the preſent Age, than to "ſpend their Lives and Fortunes to purchaſe confuſion, and to make "themſelves liable to the moſt intolerable kind of Slavery, that is, to "be Slaves to their fellow Subjects; who, by their prodigious, unheard "of Acts of Oppreſſion and Tyranny, have given them ſufficient evi- "dence What they are to expect at their hands.

"AND let not our good People, who have been miſled, or, through "want of Underſtanding, or want of Courage, ſubmitted themſelves "to unwarrantable and diſloyal Actions, be taught, by theſe Seducers, "that their Safety now conſiſts in Deſpair; and that they can only ſe- "cure themſelves for the ill they have done, by a reſolute and perem- "ptory diſobedience. Revenge and Blood-thirſtineſs have never been "imputed to Us, by thoſe, who have not left either our Government, "or Nature, unexamin'd, with the greateſt Boldneſs, and Malice. And "all thoſe who, ſince theſe bloody diſtractions, out of Conſcience have "return'd from their evil ways to Us, have found that it was not ſo eaſy "for Them to repent as for Us to forgive. And whoſoever have been "miſled by thoſe whoſe hearts from the beginning have deſign'd all this "miſchief, and ſhall redeem their paſt crimes by their preſent Service "and Loyalty, in the apprehending, or oppoſing ſuch who ſhall con- "tinue to bear Armes againſt Us, and ſhall uſe their utmoſt endeavours

"to reduce thoſe Men to their due Obedience, and to reſtore this King-
"dom to it's wonted Peace, ſhall have cauſe to magnify our Mercy, and
"to repent the Treſpaſſes committed againſt ſo juſt and gracious a So-
"veraign. Laſtly, We deſire all our good Subjects who have really aſ-
"ſiſted, or really wiſh'd Us well, now God hath done ſuch wonderful
"things for Us, vigorouſly to endeavour to put an end to all theſe mi-
"ſeries, by bringing in Men, Money, Plate, Horſes, or Armes, to Our
"aid; and ſo We being not wanting to our ſelves, may with confidence
"expect the continuance of God's Favour, to reſtore Us all to that bleſſed
"harmony of Affections, which may eſtabliſh a firm Peace; without
"the ſpeedy obtaining of which, this poor Kingdom will be utterly un-
"done, though not abſolutely loſt.

WHAT effect this Declaration produced, at leaſt what accident fell out ſhortly after the publiſhing it, We ſhall have occaſion anon to remember, when We have firſt remember'd ſome unfortunate Paſſages, which accompanied this proſperity on the King's part; for the Sunſhine of his Conqueſt was ſomewhat clouded, not only by the Number and Quality of the ſlain, but by the jealouſies and miſunderſtandings of thoſe who were alive. There was not, from the beginning, that conformity of humour and inclinations between the Princes and the Marquis of *Hertford*, as had been to be wiſh'd between all Perſons of Honour, who were engaged in a Quarrel that could never proſper but by the Union of the Undertakers. Prince *Maurice*, and, on his behalf (or rather the other by his impulſion) Prince *Rupert* taking to heart, that a Nephew of the King's ſhould be Lieutenant General to the Marquis, who had neither been exerciſed in the profeſſion of a Soldier, nor even now punctually ſtudied the Office of a General: On the other hand, the Marquis, who was of the moſt gentle Nature to the gentle, and as rough and reſolute to the imperious, it may be liked not the Prince's aſſuming to himſelf more than became a Lieutenant General, and ſometimes croſſing Acts of his with relation to the governing, and diſpoſing the Affairs of the Country, in which he knew himſelf better verſed than the Prince; and when *Briſtol* was taken, where the Marquis took himſelf to Command in Chief, being a Town particularly within his Commiſſion, and of which he was beſides Lord Lieutenant, he thought himſelf not regardfully enough uſed, that Prince *Rupert* had not only enter'd into the Treaty without His advice, but concluded the Articles without ſo much as naming him, or taking notice that he was there. And therefore with as little ceremony to his Highneſs, or ſo much as communicating it to either of the Princes, the Marquis declared that he would give the Government of that City to Sr *Ralph Hopton*. Prince *Rupert* on the other hand conceiv'd the Town wone by him, being enter'd on that ſide in which he Commanded abſolutely, and the *Corniſh* on the other part abſolutely repulſed; and therefore that the diſpoſition of the Command and Government of it, wholely belonged to him. But when he heard the reſolution of the Marquis concerning Sr *Ralph Hopton*, who was not to be put into the Scale with any private Man, he gave over the deſign of conferring it upon any of the pretenders; and by the ſame Meſſenger, by whom he advertiſed his Majeſty of the good ſucceſs, he deſired, "that he would beſtow the Government of that City
"reduced by him, upon himſelf; the which the King readily conſented to; not ſuſpecting any diſpute to be about it. And ſhortly after an

Jealouſies ariſe among the King's principal Officers about the Government of Briſtol.

expreſs arriv'd likewiſe from the Marquis, with an account of all particulars, and that his Lordſhip had deſign'd Sr *Ralph Hopton* to be Governour of the new-got City.

THEN, and not before, the King underſtood what ſtreight he was in; and was exceedingly perplex'd to find an Expedient to compoſe the difference that he ſaw would ariſe. He had paſſed his word to his Nephew, of whom he was very tender, and did in truth believe that his Title to diſpoſe the Government was very juſt: he had likewiſe a very juſt eſteem of the Marquis, who had ſerv'd him with all fidelity, and had clearly declared himſelf for him, when the doing otherwiſe would have been moſt prejudicial to his Majeſty: and, it could not be denied, no Subject's Affection and Loyalty gave a greater Luſtre to the King's Cauſe, than that of the Marquis; and that which was a circumſtance of infinite Moment, was the nominating Sr *Ralph Hopton*; who as he was a Perſon of high merit from the King, ſo he was the moſt gracious and popular to that City, and the Country adjacent; and after ſo great ſervice, and ſuffering in the ſervice, to expoſe him to a refuſal, was both againſt the kindneſs and goodneſs of the King's Nature, and his Politick foreſight into his Affairs. And as a preſage how various the interpretation would be abroad, of whatſoever he ſhould determine, he found the Minds and Affections of his own Court and Council, with more paſſion than ordinary, ready to deliver their opinions. The Marquis was generally lov'd, and where he was not enough known to be ſo, his Intereſt and Reputation in the Kingdom was thought of wonderful conſideration in the King's buſineſs: and many were very much troubled to ſee Prince *Rupert*, whoſe Activity and Courage in the Field they thought very inſtrumental, incline to get the poſſeſſion of the ſecond City of the Kingdom into his hands, or to engage himſelf ſo much in the Civil Government, as ſuch a Command ſoberly executed muſt neceſſarily comprehend; and this as it were in contempt of one of the prime Noble Men of the Kingdom, to which Order the Prince had not expreſs'd himſelf very debonair. And theſe thought "the King was, by Counſel and "Precept, to reform and ſoften the Prince's underſtanding and humour; "and to perſwade him, in compliance with his Service, to decline the "Conteſt, and ſuffer the Marquis to proceed in his diſpoſition, which, "on all parts, was acknowledged to be moſt fitly deſign'd.

OTHERS again were of opinion, "that the right of diſpoſing the "Command to whomſoever he thought fit, entirely belonged to Prince "*Rupert*; and therefore (beſides that the King had, by the ſame Meſſen-"ger who brought the Suit, return'd his Conſent) that he could not be "reaſonably refuſed, when he deſired it for himſelf; which would take "away all poſſible imagination of diſreſpect to Sr *Ralph Hopton*, who "could not take it ill, that the Prince himſelf had taken a Command, "that was deſign'd to Him: That the Eyes of the Army were upon his "Highneſs, whoſe name was grown a terror to the Enemy, as his Cou-"rage and Conduct had been very proſperous to the King; and if, after "ſo happy and glorious an atchievement, he ſhould now receive a re-"pulſe in ſo reaſonable a pretence, though it would not leſſen his own "duty or alacrity in the Service, it might have an unhappy influence "upon his Reputation and Intereſt in the Army; which could receive "no diminution without apparent damage to his Majeſty: and therefore, "that ſome means ſhould be uſed to the Marquis, to wave his Title, "and to conſent that the Prince ſhould enjoy his deſires: ſo that they

who were only fit to be employed to perſwade and alter either Seem'd, and indeed Were, paſſionately engaged againſt the thing they were to perſwade. Whereupon the King diſcern'd that all depended upon his own Royal Wiſdom; and therefore reſolv'd to take a Journey in his own Perſon to *Briſtol*, and there to give ſuch a Rule as he ſhould find moſt neceſſary; to which, he preſumed, both Perſons would conform themſelves, as well cordially as obediently.

The King goes to Briſtol *to compoſe the difference.*

THAT which the King propoſed to himſelf, was to gratify his Nephew with the Name, and the Marquis, by making Sr *Ralph Hopton* enjoy the Thing; upon obliging whom the King's care was very particular. For though he knew his nature, as in truth it was, moſt exactly free from interrupting the leaſt publick Service by private ends or thoughts, other Men would be apt to conceive and publiſh a diſreſpect to be done to him, which himſelf apprehended not; and therefore his Majeſty was not only, in his own Princely mind, to retain a very gracious ſenſe of his Service, but to give Evidence to all Men, that he did ſo. And ſo after he had made a joyful entrance into *Briſtol*, which was perform'd with all decent Solemnity, and uſed all kind and obliging expreſſions to the Marquis, he deſired him in private to conſent, that he might perform his promiſe to his Nephew, which he had paſſed before he had any imagination that his Lordſhip otherwiſe had determin'd of it; without ſpeaking at all of any other Title his Highneſs had to it, but by his Majeſty's promiſe. He eſtabliſh'd Prince *Rupert* in the Government of *Briſtol*, who immediately ſent a Commiſſion to Sr *Ralph Hopton* (who was now ſo well recover'd, that he walked into the Air) to be his Lieutenant Governour; ſignifying likewiſe to him, by a Confident that paſſed between them, "that though he was now engaged for "ſome time, which ſhould not be long, to keep the Superior Title him-"ſelf, he would not at all meddle in the Government, but that he ſhould "be as abſolute in it, as if the Original Commiſſion had been granted "to Him.

Sr *Ralph Hopton*, who was exceedingly ſorry that His name was at all uſed, and expoſed, as an Argument of difference and miſunderſtanding between Perſons of ſuch eminent influence upon the publick, quickly diſcern'd that this expedient, though it ſeem'd plauſibly to leſſen the noiſe of the Debate, did in truth object him to the full Envy of one Party. For the Marquis (who by the King's perſwaſions was rather quieted, than ſatisfied) might, and he foreſaw would, be perſwaded to expect that he would refuſe the Commiſſion from Prince *Rupert*, both, as he might be thought to comply in an Injury done to the Marquis, to whom his devotion had been ancient, faſt, and unſhaken, and as the Command now given him, was inferior to what the Marquis, who had the power of diſpoſal, had conferr'd on him; and ſo that he ſhould vindicate the Title, which the King himſelf was loath to give a judgement upon. He was the more troubled, becauſe he found that by ſubmitting to this Charge, he ſhould by ſome be thought to have deſerted the Marquis out of a kind of Revenge for his having deſerted the Enterpriſe, when he choſe, the laſt year, rather to go into *Wales* than *Cornwal*, and for his deſerting him again now, when he brought all new Officers to Command the Army over Their heads who had raiſed it, and made the way for the new to come to them. Whereas the firſt, as is before remember'd, was done by his own advice, as well as his full conſent; and the latter, he well knew, was rather to be imputed to Prince *Maurice* than

to

to his Lordſhip, whoſe kindneſs and eſteem had been ever very real to him. On the other hand, he ſaw plainly, that if he refuſed to receive this Commiſſion, with what ſpecious Circumſtances of Duty and Submiſſion ſoever, it might produce (as without doubt unavoidably it would) notable diſturbances and interruptions in the King's Affairs; and that the Marquis, to common underſtandings, had, to obey the King, declined the Conteſt, and therefore that the reviving it, and the miſchief that attended it, would be imputed to his particular Account. Beſides that, he had always borne an avow'd and declar'd Reverence to the Queen of *Bohemia* and her Children, whom he had perſonally and actively ſerv'd in their Wars, whilſt they maintain'd any, and for whoſe Honour and Reſtitution he had been a Zealous and known Champion. And therefore he had no inclination to diſoblige a hopeful Prince of that Houſe, upon whom our own hopes ſeem'd ſo much to depend. He therefore reſolv'd, according to his rare temper throughout this War, to let him whom he profeſs'd to ſerve, chooſe in what kind he would be ſerv'd by him; and chearfully receiv'd the Commiſſion from Prince *Rupert*; upon which, all diſcourſe, or debate of difference, was for the preſent determin'd, what whiſperings or murmurings ſoever remain'd.

THE King found it now high time to reſolve, to what Action next to diſpoſe his Armies, and that their lying ſtill ſo long there (for theſe Agitations had kept the main work from going forward ten or twelve days, a time in that Seaſon unfortunately loſt) had more weaken'd, than refreſh'd them; having not loſt more Men by ſtorming the City, than afterwards by plundering it: thoſe Soldiers, who had warm'd themſelves with the burthen of Pillage, never quietly again ſubmitting to the Carriage of their Armes.

THE Queſtion was firſt, "whether both Armies ſhould be united, "and march in one, upon the next Deſign? and then, "What that De-"ſign ſhould be? Againſt the Firſt, there were many Allegations.

1. "THE condition of the Weſt: *Dorſet-ſhire* and *Devon-ſhire* were "entirely poſſeſs'd by the Enemy; for though Sr *John Berkley* with a "daring Party kept *Exeter*, and Colonel *John Digby* the North part "(which was notoriouſly diſaffected) from joyning with *Plymouth*, "which would elſe quickly have grown into an Army ſtrong enough to "infeſt *Cornwal*, yet they had no place to retire to upon diſtreſs; and "all the Ports upon the Weſtern Coaſts were Garriſon'd by the Parlia-"ment, which, upon the fame of the approach of the King's Forces, "and the loſs of *Briſtol*, might probably be, without much reſiſtance, "reduced.

2. "THE *Corniſh* Army was greater in Reputation, than Numbers; "having loſt many at *Lanſdown*, and the Aſſault of *Briſtol*, and, by "the death of their Chief Officers, very many were run away ſince: "beſides they pretended ſome promiſe made to their Country (which "they conceiv'd not to be enough ſecured againſt *Plymouth*) of return-"ing ſpeedily for the reduction of that Town; ſo that if they were com-"pelled to march Eaſtwards, to which they were not inclined, it was "to be doubted they would moulder away ſo faſt, that there would be "little addition of ſtrength by it. Whereas if they march'd Weſtward, "it would be no hard matter to gather up thoſe who were return'd, and "to be ſtrong enough in a very ſhort time, by new Levies, for any En-"terpriſe ſhould be thought reaſonable to be undertaken. To which was added, "that having loſt thoſe Officers, whom they lov'd and fear'd;

"and

"and whoſe Reverence reſtrain'd their Natural diſtempers, they were "too much inclined to mutiny; and had expreſs'd a peremptory aver- "ſion to the joyning, and marching with the King's Army. And the truth is, their humours then were not very gentle and agreeable, as being apt to think that their proweſs was not enough recompenced, or valued. For though the King affected to make all poſſible demonſtrations to them, of an extraordinary high eſteem he had of their wonderful Fidelity and Courage, yet he was able to procure very little Money for them; and they had then, by the diſcipline under which they had been train'd (which was moſt regular, and full of that ſobriety which promiſed good fortune) an honeſt pride in their own Natures, a great diſdain of plundering, or ſupplying themſelves by thoſe vile Arts, which they grew afterwards leſs tender to avoid.

3. "THE great number of the King's Horſe; which was ſo brave a "Body, that when that part of it, which was joyn'd to the *Corniſh* was "away, he ſhould march with at leaſt ſix thouſand Horſe, which were "as many as would be able to live on any Country within a due diſtance "of Quartering.

4. "LASTLY, ſome Correſpondence with the Chief Gentlemen of "*Dorſet-ſhire*, who were ready to joyn with any conſiderable Party for "the King, and had ſome probable hopes, that the ſmall Garriſons upon "the Coaſt would not make a tedious reſiſtance.

THERE was another reaſon, which was not given, that if both Armies had been kneaded into one, Prince *Maurice* could have been but a private Colonel: but there were enough beſides to ſatisfy the King to keep them divided; and ſo he gave Order to the Earl of *Carnarvon* to advance towards *Dorcheſter* (the Chief Town in that County, and one of the moſt Malignant in *England*, where the Rebels had a Garriſon) with the Horſe and Dragoons, and the next day to Prince *Maurice* to march after with the Foot and Cannon; his Majeſty keeping with him the Marquis of *Hertford* to attend his own Perſon; for though he well ſaw, he ſhould undergo ſome Inconveniences by withdrawing the Marquis from that employment, the opinion of the Soundneſs of his Religion, and Integrity of his Juſtice, rendring him by much the moſt popular Man in thoſe parts, and was exceedingly tender of giving the leaſt umbrage and diſtaſte to his Lordſhip, upon whoſe Honour and Affection he relied entirely, and would aſſoon have truſted his Crown upon His Fidelity, as upon any Man's in his three Kingdoms, yet he diſcern'd plainly that the Prince and the Marquis would never agree together; and that there were Perſons about them, who would foment their Indiſpoſitions to each other, with any hazard to His ſervice; and concluded, that he ſhould ſooner reduce his People by the Power of his Army, than by the perſwaſions of his Counſel; and that the roughneſs of the one's Nature, might prevail more than the lenity and condeſcenſion of the other: and therefore he ſent the Prince on that employment; uſing all imaginable means to remove any trouble, or jealouſy of his favour from the Marquis's mind; his Majeſty freely and clearly communicating to him all his Counſels, and the true grounds of his Reſolution; and declaring to him, "that he would make him a Gentleman "of his Bed-Chamber, and Groom of his Stole, and that he would al- "ways have his Company and Advice about him; with which the Marquis was ſatisfied; rather becauſe he reſolv'd not to diſobey him, than that he was well pleaſed with the price of the obligations.

Prince Maurice *ſent into the Weſt with an Army.*

AND truly many wiſe and honeſt Men, were ſorry for the King's Election; and though the Marquis's years, and a long indulgence to his eaſe, had ſuperinduced a kind of lazineſs and inactivity upon his Nature, that was neither agreeable to his primitive Conſtitution, nor the great Endowments of his mind (for he was a good Scholar, and had a good judgement) and leſs to the temper of this time, and the Office of a General, inſomuch, as he often reſign'd an excellent underſtanding to thoſe who had a very indifferent one, and follow'd the advice, and concluded upon the information of thoſe, who had narrower, and more vulgar thoughts than ſuited with his Honour, and were not worthy of ſuch a Truſt; yet they thought the Prince's inexperience of the Cuſtoms and Manners of *England*, and an averſion from conſidering them, muſt ſubject him to the information and advice of worſe Counſellors than the other, and which would not be ſo eaſily controuled: And I am of opinion, that if the Prince had waited on his Majeſty in that Army, and never interpoſed in any Command, not purely Martial, and the Marquis been ſent with thoſe Forces into the Weſt with the Lord *Hopton* (who was now to be left at *Briſtol* to intend his health, and to form that new Garriſon; which was to be a Magazine for Men, Armes, Ammunition, and all that was wanted) and ſome other ſteady Perſons, who might have been Aſſign'd to ſpecial Provinces, a greater tide of good fortune had attended that expedition.

THE next reſolution to be taken, was concerning the King's own motion with the other Army. There was not a Man, who did not think the reducing of *Glocester*, a City within little more than twenty miles of *Briſtol*, of mighty importance to the King, if it might be done without a great expence of time, and loſs of Men: "It was the only Gar- "riſon the Rebels had between *Briſtol* and *Lancaſhire*, on the North "part of *England*, and if it could be recover'd, his Majeſty would have "the River of *Severn* entirely within his Command; whereby his Gar- "riſons of *Worceſter*, and *Shrewsbury*, and all thoſe parts, might be "ſupplied from *Briſtol*; and the Trade of that City thereby ſo advanced, "that the Cuſtoms and Duty might bring a notable Revenue to the King, "and the Wealth of the City encreaſing, it might bear the greater Burthen "for the War: A rich and populous County, which hitherto rather "yielded Conveniences of Quarter, than a ſettled Contribution (that "ſtrong Garriſon holding not only the whole Forreſt diviſion, which "is a fourth part of the County of *Glocester*, abſolutely in obedience, "but ſo alarm'd all other parts, that none of the Gentry, who for the "moſt part were well affected, durſt ſtay at their own Houſes) might be "wholely the King's Quarters, and by how much it had offended, and "diſquieted the King, more than other Counties, by ſo much the more "Money might be raiſed upon them. Beſides the General weekly Contributions, the Yeomanry, who had been moſt forward and ſeditious, being very wealthy, and able to redeem their Delinquency at a high Price (and theſe Arguments were fully preſs'd by the well affected Gentry of the County, who had carried themſelves honeſtly, and ſuffer'd very much by doing ſo, and undertook great Levies of Men, if this Work were firſt done) there was another Argument of no leſs, if not greater Moment than all the reſt: If *Glocester* were reduced, there "would need no Forces to be left in *Wales*, and all thoſe Soldiers might "be then drawn to the marching Army, and the Contributions and "other Taxes aſſign'd to the payment of it. Indeed the King would

have had a glorious, and entire part of his Kingdom, to have contended with the reſt.

YET all theſe motives were not thought worth the engaging his Army in a doubtful Siege; whilſt the Parliament might both recover the fear that was upon them, and conſequently allay and compoſe the diſtempers (which, if they did not wholely proceed from, were very much ſtrengthen'd by thoſe fears) and recruit their Army; and therefore that it was better to march into ſome of thoſe Counties which were moſt oppreſs'd by the Enemy, and there wait ſuch advantage, as the diſtraction in and about *London* would adminiſter, except there could be ſome probable hope that *Gloceſter* might be got without much delay. And to that purpoſe there had been ſecret agitation, the effect whereof was hourly expected. The Governour of that Garriſon was one Colonel *Maſſy*, a Soldier of Fortune, who had, in the late Northern Expeditions prepared by the King againſt *Scotland*, been an Officer in the King's Army, under the Command of Colonel *William Leg*; and, in the beginning of theſe Troubles, had been at *York* with inclination to ſerve the King; but finding himſelf not enough known there, and that there would be little gotten, but the Comfort of a good Conſcience, he went to *London*, where there was more Money, and fewer Officers; and was eaſily made Lieutenant Colonel to the Earl of *Stamford*; and being quickly found to be a diligent and ſtout Officer, and of no ill parts of Converſation to render himſelf acceptable among the Common People, was by his Lordſhip, when he went into the Weſt, left Governour of that City of *Gloceſter*, where he had behaved himſelf actively, and ſucceſsfully. There was no reaſon to deſpair, that this Man (not intoxicated with any of thoſe fumes, which made Men rave, and frantick in the Cauſe) might not be wrought upon. And *Will. Leg*, who had the good opinion of moſt Men, and the particular kindneſs of Prince *Rupert*, had ſent a Meſſenger, who was like to paſs without ſuſpicion to *Glocester*, with ſuch a Letter of kindneſs and overture to *Maſſy*, as was proper in ſuch a caſe from one Friend to another. This Meſſenger return'd when the King's and the Army's motion was under Debate, and brought an Anſwer from the Governour to Colonel *Leg*, in a very high Style, and ſeeming to take it much unkindly, "that he ſhould endea-"vour to Corrupt him in his Honeſty, and Fidelity, and to perſwade him "to break a Truſt, which, to ſave his Life, he would never do; with much diſcourſe "of his Honour, and Reputation, which would be always "dear to him. But the Meſſenger ſaid withal, "that, after the Governour "had given him this Letter, and ſome ſharp Reproaches before Company, "he was brought again, a back way, to a place where the Governour was "by himſelf; and then he told him, "that it was moſt neceſſary he ſhould "write ſuch an Anſwer as he had done; which was communicated to "thoſe, who elſe would have been jealous what ſuch a Meſſenger ſhould "come to him about; but that he ſhould tell *Will. Leg*, that he was the "ſame Man he had ever been, his Servant; and that he wiſh'd the King "well; that he heard Prince *Rupert* meant to bring the Army before "that Town; if he did, he would defend it as well as he could; and his "Highneſs would find another work than he had at *Briſtol*; but if the "King himſelf came with his Army, and ſummon'd it, he would not hold "it againſt Him: For it would not ſtand with his conſcience to fight againſt "the Perſon of the King; beſides that in ſuch a caſe, he ſhould be able "to perſwade thoſe of the Town; which otherwiſe he could not do.

THIS

THIS Meſſage turn'd the Scale; for though it might be without purpoſe of being honeſt, yet there was no great objection againſt the King's marching that way with his Army; ſince it would be ſtill in his power to purſue any other Counſel, without engaging before it. And it was to ſome a ſign that he meant well, becauſe he had not hanged, or at leaſt impriſon'd the Meſſenger who came to him on ſuch an Errand. Hereupon the King reſolv'd for *Gloceſter*, but not to be engaged in a Siege; and ſo ſent his Army that way; and the next day (having firſt ſent Sr *Ralph Hopton* a Warrant to Create him Baron *Hopton* of *Stratton*, in Memory of the happy Battle fought there) with the remainder of his Forces march'd towards it. On *Wedneſday* the tenth of *Auguſt*, the King ranged his whole Army upon a fair Hill, in the clear View of the City, and within leſs than two miles of it; and then, being about two of the Clock in the Afternoon, he ſent a Trumpet with this Summons to the Town.

The King marches towards Gloceſter, *and Summons it*, Aug. 10. 1643.

"OUT of our tender Compaſſion to our City of *Gloceſter*, and that "it may not receive prejudice by our Army, which We cannot prevent "if We be compelled to aſſault it, We are Perſonally come before it to "require the ſame; and are graciouſly pleaſed to let all the inhabitants "of, and all other Perſons within that City, as well Soldiers as others, "know, that if they ſhall immediately ſubmit themſelves, and deliver "this Our City to Us, We are contented, freely and abſolutely to par"don every one of them, without exception; and do aſſure them, in "the word of a King, that they, nor any of them ſhall receive the leaſt "damage or prejudice by Our Army in their Perſons or Eſtates; but "that We will appoint ſuch a Governour, and a moderate Garriſon to "reſide there, as ſhall be both for the eaſe and ſecurity of that City, and "that whole County. But if they ſhall neglect this proffer of grace and "favour, and compel Us, by the power of Our Army, to reduce that "place (which, by the help of God, We doubt not, We ſhall be eaſily "and ſhortly able to do) they muſt thank Themſelves, for all the Cala"mities and Miſeries muſt befal them. To this Meſſage We expect a "clear and poſitive Anſwer, within two hours after the publiſhing hereof; "and by theſe preſents do give leave to any Perſons, ſafely to repair to "and return from Us, whom that City ſhall deſire to employ unto Us "in that buſineſs: And do require all the Officers, and Soldiers of our "Army, quietly to ſuffer them to paſs accordingly.

WITHIN leſs than the time preſcribed, together with the Trumpeter return'd two Citizens from the Town, with lean, pale, ſharp, and bad Viſages, indeed faces ſo ſtrange, and unuſual, and in ſuch a garb and poſture, that at once made the moſt ſevere Countenances merry, and the moſt chearful hearts ſad; for it was impoſſible ſuch Embaſſadours could bring leſs than a defiance. The Men, without any Circumſtances of Duty, or good Manners, in a pert, ſhrill, undiſmai'd accent, ſaid, "they had brought an Anſwer from the Godly City of *Glo*"*ceſter* to the King; and were ſo ready to give inſolent and ſeditious Anſwers to any Queſtion, as if their buſineſs were chiefly to provoke the King to violate his own ſafe conduct. The Anſwer they brought was in writing, in theſe very words.

Auguſt 10th 1643.

The Citizens and Garriſons Anſwer.

"WE the Inhabitants, Magiſtrates, Officers, and Soldiers, within "this Garriſon of *Gloceſter*, unto his Majeſty's gracious Meſſage return "this humble Anſwer: That We do keep this City, according to our "Oaths and Allegiance, to and for the uſe of his Majeſty, and his Royal "Poſterity: And do accordingly conceive our ſelves wholely bound to "obey the Commands of his Majeſty, ſignified by both Houſes of Par-"liament: And are reſolv'd, by God's help, to keep this City accordingly.

10

THIS Paper was ſubſcribed by *Wiſe* the Mayor, and *Maſſy* the Governour, with thirteen of the Aldermen and moſt ſubſtantial Citizens, and eleven Officers of the Garriſon; and aſſoon as their Meſſengers return'd, who were quickly diſmiſs'd, without attending to ſee what the King reſolv'd, all the Suburbs of the City, in which were very large and fair buildings, well inhabited, were ſet on fire; ſo that there was no doubt, the King was to expect nothing there but what could not be kept from him. Now was the time for new Debates, and new Reſolutions; to which Men came not ſo unbiaſſed, or unſwayed, as they had been at *Briſtol*. This indignity and affront to the King prompted thoughts of Revenge; and ſome thought the King ſo far engaged, that in Honour he could not do leſs, than ſit down before the Town, and force it: and theſe Inclinations gave Countenance, and Credit to all thoſe plauſible informations "of ſmall Proviſions in the Town, either of Victual, or "Ammunition; that, where the Town was ſtrongeſt, there was nothing "but an old Stone Wall, which would fall upon an eaſy Battery; that "there were many well affected People in the Town, who, with thoſe "who were incenſed by the burning of the Suburbs, and the great loſſes "they muſt ſuſtain thereby, would make ſuch a Party, that aſſoon as "they were diſtreſſed, the ſeditious Party would be forced to yeild. It was alledged, "that the Enemy had no Army; nor, by all Intelligence, "was like to form any ſoon enough to be able to relieve it; and if they "had an Army, that it was much better for his Majeſty to force them "to that diſtance from *London*, and to fight there, where he could be "ſupplied with whatſoever he wanted, could chooſe his own ground, "where his brave Body of Horſe would be able to Defeat any Army they "could raiſe, than to ſeek them in their own Quarters.

ABOVE all, the confidence of the Soldiers of the beſt experience moved his Majeſty; who upon riding about the Town, and taking a near view of it, were clear of opinion, that they ſhould be able in leſs than ten days by Approach, for all thoughts of Storming were laid aſide upon the loſs at *Briſtol*, to win it. This produced a Reſolution in his Majeſty, not one Man in the Council of War diſſwading it. So the King preſently ſent to *Oxford* for his General the Earl of *Brentford* "to come "to him, with all the Foot that could be ſpared out of that Garriſon, "and his pieces of Battery, to govern that Action: Prince *Rupert* wiſely declining that Province, and retiring himſelf into the Generalſhip of the Horſe, that he might not be thought accountable for any Accidents which ſhould attend that Service. At the ſame inſtant, Orders were diſpatched to Sr *William Vavaſour*, who Commanded all the Forces in South *Wales* (the Lord *Herbert* having been perſwaded, ſo far to comply with the indiſpoſition of that People, as to decline that Command, or at leaſt for a time to diſſemble it) "to draw all his Men to the Forreſt

"ſide of the Town; where the Bridges being broken down, a ſmall ſtrength would keep Them in, and any from going to them, which within two days was done. Thus the King was engaged before *Glocester*; and thereby gave reſpite to the diſtracted Spirits at *London*, to breath, and compoſe themſelves; and, more methodically than they had hoped to have done, to prepare for their preſervation, and accompliſhing their own ends; which at that time ſeem'd allmoſt deſperate, and incurable. *The King Beſieges the Town.*

THE direful News of the Surrender of *Briſtol*, which was brought to the two Houſes on the 31ſt of *July*, ſtruck them to the heart, and came upon them as a Sentence of Death, after a vaſt Conſumption of Money, and confident promiſes of deſtroying all the King's Forces by a day, every Tax and Impoſition being declared to be the laſt; and for finiſhing the work, the Earl of *Eſſex* was at the ſame time return'd to *Kingſton*, within ten Miles of them, with his broken and diſmayed Troops, which himſelf would not endure ſhould have the Title of an Army. So that the War ſeem'd to be even at an end in a ſenſe very contrary to what they had undertaken; their General talking more, and preſſing for reparation, and vindication of his Honour from imputations, and aſperſions, than for a Recruit of Forces, or providing an Army to defend them. Every Man reproach'd his Neighbour with his want of inclination to Peace, when good conditions might be had, and magnified his own wiſdom, for having fear'd "it would come to This. The King's laſt Declaration had been read by all Men, and was magnified "as "a moſt gracious and undeniable inſtance of his Clemency and Juſtice, "that he was ſo far from being elated with his good Succeſſes, and Power "allmoſt to have what he would, that he renew'd all thoſe Promiſes, "and Proteſtations for the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the King-"dom; and Privileges of Parliament; which had been out of their per-"verſneſs diſcredited before, as proceeding from the low condition he "was in; and whereas they had been frighted with their repreſentation "of their own guilt, and the implacableneſs of the King's Nature, as if "he meant an utter conqueſt of them, his Majeſty had now offer'd all "that could be honeſtly deſired, and had expreſs'd himſelf a Prince not "delighted with blood and revenge, but an indulgent Father to the moſt "diſobedient Children. In this Reformation of Underſtanding, the Lords in their Houſe debated nothing but expedients for Peace: there were not of that Body above five, at the moſt, who had any inclination to continue the War; and the Earl of *Eſſex* had ſufficiently declared, "that He was weary of it, and held cloſeſt and ſtricteſt Correſpondence with thoſe who moſt paſſionately preſſed an Accommodation. So that, on the fifth of *Auguſt*, they deſired a Conference with the Commons; and declared to them, "that they were reſolv'd to ſend Propoſitions to "the King, and they hoped, They would concur in them: the particulars propoſed by them were,

Propoſitions for Peace given by the Houſe of Lords to the Houſe of Commons in a Conference.

1. "THAT both Armies might be preſently disbanded, and his Ma-"jeſty be entreated to return to his Parliament, upon ſuch ſecurity as "ſhould give him ſatisfaction.

2. "THAT Religion might be ſettled with the advice of a Synod of "Divines, in ſuch a manner as his Majeſty, with the conſent of both "Houſes of Parliament, ſhould appoint.

3. THAT the Militia, both by Sea and Land, might be ſettled by "a Bill; and the Militia, Forts, and Ships of the Kingdom, put into

"ſuch hands as the King ſhould appoint, with the approbation of both "Houſes of Parliament: and his Majeſty's Revenue to be abſolutely, "and wholely reſtored unto him; only deducting ſuch part, as had been "of neceſſity expended for the maintenance of his Children, and not "otherwiſe.

4. "THAT all the Members of both Houſes who had been expelled "only for abſenting themſelves, or meer compliance with his Majeſty, "and no other matter of Fact againſt them, might be reſtored to their "Places.

5. THAT all Delinquents, from before the tenth day of *January* "1641, ſhould be deliver'd up to the Juſtice of Parliament, and a Ge- "neral Pardon for all others on both ſides.

6. AND laſtly, that there might be an Act of Oblivion for all by- "gone Deeds, and Acts of Hoſtility.

WHEN this Conference was reported in the Houſe of Commons, it begot a wonderful long, and hot Debate, which laſted till ten of the Clock that night, and continued a day or two more; the violent Party (for there were yet many among them of more moderate Conſtitutions, who did, and ever had heartily abhorr'd their proceedings, though out of fear, and indiſpoſition of Health, or not knowing elſe well what to do, they continued there) inveighed furiouſly againſt the deſign it ſelf of ſending to the King at all, and therefore would not have the particular Propoſitions ſo much as conſider'd: "They had receiv'd much pre- "judice by the laſt Treaty at *Oxford*, and therefore muſt undergo more "now their condition was much lower: The King had ſince that, upon "the matter, declared them to be no Parliament; for if they were not "free, they could not be a Parliament; ſo that till that point were vin- "dicated, they could not Treat in any ſafe Capacity, but would be look'd "upon under the notion of Rebels, as his Majeſty had declared them. "They had ſent Members into *Scotland* to require Aſſiſtance, which that "Kingdom was preparing with all Brotherly affection, and forwardneſs, "and after ſuch a diſcovery, to Treat for Peace, without the privity of "the *Scots*, was to betray them; and to forfeit all hopes hereafter of re- "lief from thence, what neceſſities ſoever they might be reduced to. "That the City of *London* had expreſs'd all imaginable readineſs to raiſe "Forces for Sr *William Waller*; and the Counties near *London* were "ready to riſe as one Man, whereby the Earl of *Eſſex* would be ſpeedily "enabled to march, with a better Army than ever he had, to give the "King Battle, except this diſcourſe of Peace did extinguiſh the Zeal that "was then flaming in the hearts of the People.

BUT notwithſtanding theſe reaſons, and the paſſion in the delivery, the terror of the King's Succeſſes ſuggeſted Anſwers enough. "They "had been puniſh'd for breaking off the Treaty of *Oxford*, when they "might have had better terms than now they could expect; and if they "omitted this opportunity, they ſhould fare much worſe; that they "were not ſure of aid from *Scotland*, neither was it allmoſt poſſible it "ſhould come time enough to preſerve them from the Ruin at hand. "And for the City of *London*, though the common and meaner ſort of "People, who might promiſe themſelves advantage by it, deſired the "continuance of the diſtractions, yet it was evident the moſt Subſtan- "tial and Rich Men deſired Peace, by their refuſal to ſupply Money for "the carrying on the War; and if they ſhould judge of the Common

"People

"People by their forwardneſs to engage their own Perſons, they had "reaſon to believe they had no mind to the War neither; for their Ge- "neral was forced to retire even under their own Walls, for want of "Men to recruit his Army. However, the ſending reaſonable Propoſi- "tions to the King, would either procure a Peace, and ſo they ſhould "have no more need of an Army; or, being refuſed, would raiſe more "Men and Money than all their Ordinances without it. Theſe reaſons and arguments prevailed; and after the Debate had laſted till ten of the Clock at night, it was reſolv'd upon the Queſtion, and carried by nine and twenty Voices, "that they ſhould inſiſt upon the Propoſitions, and "ſend to his Majeſty.

AND without doubt, if they had then ſent (as if the Power had been in the two Houſes of Parliament, they had done) a firm Peace had immediately enſued: For beſides that if a Treaty and Ceſſation had been in that Conjuncture enter'd upon, no extravagant demand would have been preſſed, only a ſecurity for thoſe who had been faulty, which the King would gladly have Granted, and moſt Religiouſly obſerv'd; the fourth Propoſition, and Conſent to reſtore all Members to their places in Parliament, would have prevented the kindling any more fire in thoſe Houſes. But this was too well known to be ſuffer'd to paſs; and therefore the next day, being *Sunday*, the ſeditious Preachers filled all the Pulpits with Alarms of "Ruin and Deſtruction to the City, if a Peace "were now offer'd to the King; and printed Papers were ſcatter'd through the Streets, and fixed upon Gates, Poſts, and the moſt publick places in the City and Suburbs, requiring "all Perſons well affected, to riſe as one "Man, and to come to the Houſe of Commons next morning; for that "twenty thouſand *Iriſh* Rebels were landed; which information was likewiſe given that day in many Pulpits by their Preachers; and in other Papers likewiſe ſet up, it was declared, "that the Malignant Party had "over-voted the Good, and if not prevented, there would be a Peace.

WHEN the minds of the People were thus prepared, *Pennington*, their own Lord Mayor though on *Sunday* (on which they before complain'd the King uſed to ſit in Council) call'd a Common Council; where a Petition was framed to the Houſe of Commons, taking notice "of Propoſitions paſſed by the Houſe of Peers for Peace, which if con- "ſented to, and allow'd, would be deſtructive to Religion, Laws, and "Liberties; and therefore deſired that Houſe to paſs an Ordinance, ac- "cording to the Tenour of an Act of their Common Council (which they appointed to be annex'd to their Petition) "which was for the vi- "gorous proſecuting the War, and declining all thoughts of Accommo- "dation. With this Petition, and ſuch an Attendance as thoſe prepa- ratives were like to bring, the Lord Mayor himſelf, who, from the time of his Mayoralty, had forborne ſitting in the Houſe as a Member, came to the Houſe of Commons, and deliver'd it, with ſuch farther Inſinuations of the temper of the City, as were fit for the purpoſe; the People at the door behaving themſelves as imperiouſly, telling the Members of both Houſes, as they paſs'd by them, "that if they had not a good Anſwer, "they would be there the next day with double the Number. The Lords complain'd of the Tumults, and ſent to the Commons to joyn with them in their Suppreſſion; inſtead whereof the Commons (many of their Body withdrawing for fear, and others by fear converted, or it may be by hope of prevailing) gave the City thanks "for their Petition, Advice, and "Courage; and rejected the Propoſitions for Peace.

A Petition of the Common Council of London againſt Peace

Whereupon the Houſe of Commons rejected the Propoſitions of the Lords.

THIS

THIS raiſed a new conteſt in the City, which was not willing to lie under the perpetual brand of reſiſting and oppoſing Peace, as they did of firſt raiſing the War. And therefore the Wiſe and Sober part of it, would gladly have diſcover'd how averſe they were from the late Act of the Common Council. But the late Execution of *Tomkins*, and *Chaloner*, and the advantage which was preſently taken againſt any Man who was moderately inclined, frighted all Men from appearing in Perſon to deſire thoſe things, upon which their hearts were moſt ſet. In the end, the Women expreſs'd greater Courage than the Men; and having a Precedent of a Rabble of that Sex, appearing in the beginning of theſe Diſtractions with a Petition to the Houſe of Commons, to foment the Diviſions, with acceptance and approbation, a great Multitude of the Wives of Subſtantial Citizens came to the Houſe of Commons with a Petition for Peace. Thereupon a Troop of Horſe, under the Command of one *Harvey*, a decayed Silk-man, who from the beginning had been one moſt confided in, were ſent for; who behaved themſelves with ſuch inhumanity, that they Charged among the ſilly Women, as an Enemy worthy of their Courage, and killed, and wounded many of them, and eaſily diſperſed the reſt. When they were by this means ſecured from farther vexation of this kind, ſpecial notice was taken of thoſe Members who ſeem'd moſt importunate, and deſirous of Peace, that ſome advantage might be taken againſt them. Whereupon, they well diſcerning the danger they were in, many both of the Peers, and the Commons, firſt abſented themſelves from the Houſes, and then remov'd into thoſe Quarters where they might enjoy the Protection of the King; and ſome of them came directly to *Oxford*.

HAVING diverted this Torrent, which would have brought Peace upon them before they were aware, they conſider'd their ſtrength, and applied themſelves to the recovery of the Spirits of their General; whoſe indiſpoſition troubled them more, than any other diſtreſs they were in. To this cure they applied remedies of contrary Natures, which would yet work to the ſame end. Firſt they careſſed Sr *William Waller* with wonderful kindneſs and eſteem; and as he was met upon his return to *London*, after the moſt total Defeat that could almoſt be imagin'd (for though few of his Horſe were kill'd upon the place, they were ſo ruinouſly diſperſed, that of above two thouſand, there were not three hundred gotten together again for their Service) with all the Train'd-bands and Militia of *London*, and receiv'd as if he had brought the King Priſoner with him, ſo he was immediately choſen Governour and Commander in Chief of the Forces and Militia of *London*, for the Defence of the City; and it was now declared, "that they would forthwith ſupply him "with a good Body of Horſe, and Foot, to take the Field again, and "relieve their diſtreſſed Friends in the Weſt. Then another Ordinance was paſſed to raiſe a great Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Mancheſter* (who had been always ſteady to his firſt Principles, and never a friend to any Overture of accommodation) in order to oppoſing the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, and to take charge of all the aſſociated Counties; which were *Eſſex*, *Hertford*, *Cambridge*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Huntington*, and (by a new addition) *Lincoln*; and for the ſpeedy raiſing Men to joyn to thoſe who would voluntarily liſt themſelves under theſe two beloved Generals, there was an Ordinance paſſed both Houſes for the Preſſing of Men; which ſeem'd ſomewhat to diſcredit their Cauſe, that, after ſo much pretence to the hearts of the People, they ſhould be now

An Ordinance for raiſing an Army under the Earl of Mancheſter.

compell'd to Fight whether they would or no; and was the more wonder'd at, becauſe they had themſelves procured the King's Conſent to an Act this Parliament, that declared it to be unlawful to preſs, or compel any of the freeborn Subjects, to march out of the County in which they liv'd, if he were not willing ſo to do; and direction was given by other Ordinances to preſs great Numbers of Men, to ſerve both under the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and Sr *William Waller*; and having thus provided for the worſt, and let the Earl of *Eſſex* diſcern, that they had another Earl to truſt to, and more Generals than one at their Devotion, they ſent a formal Committee of both Houſes to him, to uſe all imaginable Art, and Application to him, to recover him to his former Vigour, and Zeal in their Cauſe. They told him "the high Value the "Houſes had of the Service he had done, and the hazards, dangers, and "loſſes, he had for their ſakes undergone: That he ſhould receive as "ample a Vindication for the Calumnies, and Aſperſions raiſed on him, "as he could deſire, from the full Teſtimony, and Confidence of the two "Houſes; and if the infamous Authors of them could be found, their "puniſhment ſhould be as notorious as their Libels: That no other "Forces ſhould be recruited till His were made up; and that all his Sol-"diers Arrears ſhould be paid, and Cloaths preſently ſent for his Foot.

WHETHER theſe Reaſons, with the Jealouſy of the Earl of *Mancheſter*, upon whom he plainly ſaw the Violent Party wholely depended, or the infuſions pour'd into him by the Lord *Say* and Mr *Pym*, of the deſperateneſs of his own condition, with an opinion, upon the differences between the two Princes, and the Marquis of *Hertford*, that the Marquis's Services were not enough valued by the King (which many deſired ſhould be thought to have then ſome influence upon the Earl) or whether he had not ſteadineſs enough, to engage in ſo hazardous an Enterpriſe, he grew inſenſibly alter'd from his moderate inclinations, and deſire of Peace; for it is moſt certain, that as the confidence in him gave many Lords the ſpirit to appear Champions for Peace, who had been before as ſollicitous againſt it, ſo the deſign was then the ſame, which hath been ſince proſecuted, with effect, to a worſe purpoſe, that is, for the Members of both Houſes who were of one mind, upon that ſignal Ryot, and compelling the Houſe of Commons to renounce their former Reſolution of Propoſitions to the King, to have gone to the Earl of *Eſſex*, and there, under the ſecurity of their own Army, to have proteſted againſt the violence which was offer'd, the breach of their Privileges by the Common Council's taking notice of their Counſels, and overruling their concluſions, and to have declared their want of freedom: by means whereof, they made no doubt to have drawn the Houſes to Conſent to ſuch an Agreement as the King would well have approv'd of; or to have enter'd upon ſuch a Treaty themſelves with the King, as all the moderate part of the Kingdom would have been glad to be comprehended under.

BUT this ſtaggering in their General fruſtrated that deſign, and put them to other Reſolutions; and ſo, having render'd themſelves very ungracious in the Houſes, and poſſibly ſuſpecting, the Earl of *Eſſex* might diſcover ſome of their Overtures, many of the Lords left the Town, and went either directly to *Oxford*, or into the King's Quarters; the Earl of *Portland*, and the Lord *Lovelace* (of whoſe good Affections to his Service the King had always aſſurance, and who had only ſtaid there, as at a place where they might do him more Service, than any

where elſe) directly to *Oxford*; and the Lord *Conway* ſhortly after them; the Earl of *Clare* into *Worceſter-ſhire*, and from thence, by the King's free acceptation, to *Oxford*; there being no other objection againſt his Lordſhip, than his ſtaying ſo long at *London*; but his total differing with them in all their extravagances, he having no manner of relation to the Court, render'd him to his Majeſty's opinion under a very good Character. The Earls of *Bedford*, and *Holland*, not without ſome difficulty, their purpoſe being diſcover'd or ſuſpected, got into the King's Garriſon at *Wallingford*, from whence the Governour gave Advertiſement of their Arrival; the Earl of *Northumberland*, with the leave of the Houſe, retired for his health to his Houſe at *Petworth* in *Suſſex*; which though it was in a County entirely then at the Parliament's devotion, yet it was near enough to be infeſted from ſome of the King's Quarters, if he had not ſome aſſurance of being ſafe there.

The Earls of Bedford, *and* Holland, *put themſelves into the King's Quarters, as likewiſe ſome other of the Parliament Lords.*

THE Violent Party carried now all before them; and were well contented with the abſence of thoſe who uſed to give them ſome trouble, and vexation. For the better ſtrengthning themſelves with the People, they order'd the Divines of the Aſſembly, to repair into the Country to their Cures, eſpecially in the Counties of the Aſſociation under the Earl of *Mancheſter*, to ſtir up the People, with all their Eloquence, to riſe as one Man againſt their Soveraign; and omitted nothing within their power, which might contribute to the raiſing Men or Money; being not a little joyed, when they underſtood the King had given them more time than they expected, to compoſe all diſorders and diviſions among themſelves, by his ſtaying with his Army before *Gloceſter*; which they took to be the greater bleſſing, and preſervation to them, becauſe at the ſame time there were ſuddain Inſurrections in *Kent* againſt their Ordinances and Juriſdiction, in Defence of the known Laws, and eſpecially of the Book of Common Prayer; which, if the King's Army had been at any diſtance to have countenanced, they would never have been able to ſuppreſs.

THE fame of all theſe diſtractions and diſorders at *London*, exceedingly diſpoſed Men in all places to reproach his Majeſty's ſtay before *Gloceſter*; his Friends at *London* deſiring that his Majeſty ſhould march directly thither, to take the advantage of thoſe diſtractions; and the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, upon the intelligence and advice from thence, were very ſollicitous that the King would take that reſolution, to which he was himſelf enough inclined. But his condition was believ'd to be, in both places, better than it was; and that he had now a victorious Army, without an Enemy to reſtrain his motion; whereas, in truth, his was a weak Army, leſſen'd exceedingly by the loſſes it ſuſtain'd before *Briſtol*: and when that part of it was march'd with Prince *Maurice* into the Weſt, and which could not have march'd any other way, the King had not much above ſix thouſand Foot to march with, though he left none at *Briſtol*, but obliged my Lord *Hopton* to Garriſon it as he could, which he ſhortly did; and that would have appear'd a very ſmall Army to have march'd towards *London*; though it is true the Horſe was a noble Body, and Superior in number to that of the Foot.

THERE was likewiſe another circumſtance, that few Men were then acquainted with: Upon the firſt News of the taking of *Briſtol*, his Majeſty, before he left *Oxford*, had ſent an Expreſs to the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, who was then engaged before *Hull*, "that if he found the buſineſs

"of

"of *Hull* to be more difficult than he expected, he ſhould leave it "block'd up at a diſtance, which might reſtrain excurſions into the Coun- "try, and march with his Army into the Aſſociated Counties; which comprehended *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridge-ſhire*, and *Eſſex*, &c. which had Aſſociated themſelves, by ſome Agreement, to ſerve the Parliament; though the better part of all thoſe Counties, eſpecially of the two greater, were moſt affected to the King, and wiſh'd for an opportunity to expreſs it; and if the Earl would bring his Army through thoſe Counties towards *London*, his Majeſty would then reſolve, with his own, to march towards it on the other ſide. And in the very time that his Majeſty came before *Gloceſter*, and before he took the Reſolution to ſit down before it, that Expreſs return'd from the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, who inform'd him, "that it was impoſſible for him to com- "ply with his Commands, in marching with his Army into the Aſſo- "ciated Counties, for that the Gentlemen of the Country, who had the "beſt Regiments, and were among the beſt Officers, utterly refuſed to "march, except *Hull* were firſt taken; and that he had not ſtrength "enough to march and to leave *Hull* ſecurely blocked up: which ad- vertiſement, with the conſideration before mention'd, of the enlarging his Quarters by the taking of *Gloceſter*, and the Concurrence of all the Officers, that it would ſpeedily be taken, produced that reſolution of attempting it, notwithſtanding that the Queen her ſelf writ ſo impor- tunately againſt it, that his Majeſty thought it neceſſary to make a Journey himſelf to *Oxford*, to convince her Majeſty, and to compoſe ſome diſtempers which were riſen among his Council there, upon the News of the Arrival of ſome of the Lords mention'd before in thoſe Quarters.

Debates in the council at Oxford how thoſe Lords ſhould be receiv'd.

THE King was newly ſat down before *Gloceſter*, when the Go- vernour of *Wallingford* ſent notice to *Oxford*, of the Arrival of thoſe two Earls; to whom the Lords of the Council return'd direction, "that "they ſhould ſtay there, till the King's pleaſure was underſtood; to whom the Secretary had ſent the information, and deſired his Majeſty's will concerning their reception. The King well knew, any Order he ſhould give in it, would be liable to many objections, and he had not ſo good an inclination to either of them, as to run any inconvenience for their ſakes; the Earl of *Bedford* having ſerv'd in Perſon againſt him, as the General of the Rebels Horſe; and the Earl of *Holland*, in the King's opinion, having done worſe. And therefore his Majeſty Com- manded, "that his Privy Council ſhould Debate the matter among "themſelves, and preſent their opinion and advice to him, and he would "then determine what kind of Entertainment they ſhould have. The opinions at the board were ſeveral; ſome thought, "that his Majeſty "ſhould receive them very graciouſly, and with all outward expreſſions "of his acceptance of their return to his Service, and that the demeanour "of all others to them ſhould be ſuch, as might make them think them- "ſelves very welcome, without the leaſt taking notice of any thing for- "merly done amiſs by them; which would be a great encouragement "to others to come away too: So that the Numbers, and Quality of "thoſe who ſtayed behind, would probably in a ſhort time be ſo ſmall, "that they would have no reputation in the Kingdom to continue the "War. Many differ'd diametrically from this; and were ſo far from thinking this advice agreeable to the dignity, or ſecurity of the King, that they thought it not fit "to admit them preſently to the King's or

"Queen's preſence, till by their good carriage and demeanour, they "ſhould give ſome teſtimony of their Affections: They had both taken "the late Covenant, of which one Clauſe was, to aſſiſt the Forces raiſed "by the Parliament, againſt the Army raiſed by the King; with many "reproaches, and known ſcandals upon that Army. If they had felt a "true remorſe of Conſcience for the ill they had done, they would have "left that Party, when that Covenant was to be impoſed upon them; "which, ſince they did not, that they came now was to be imputed ra- "ther to the King's ſucceſs, and the weakneſs of that power which they "had hitherto ſerv'd, than to any reformation of their underſtanding, "or improvement of their Allegiance: and that it was great reaſon, "that they who had given ſuch Arguments of juſt jealouſy and ſuſpicion "of themſelves, ſhould raiſe a confidence in their Loyalty and Affection "by ſome Act equal to the other; and therefore none who had taken "that Covenant, ſhould be admitted to the preſence of the King, Queen, "or Prince, before he had taken ſome other Oath or Covenant, declaring "an equal hatred, and abhorring of the Rebellious Armes which were "taken up againſt his Majeſty, and the Counſels by which they were "taken up.

IT was ſaid, "that the good, or ill reception of theſe Lords, could "have no influence upon the Actions, or Deliberations at *Weſtminſter*, "or *London*, or any conſiderable Perſons there: that they were but "ſingle Men, without any conſiderable dependence upon them: Whilſt "they had Reputation, and Intereſt enough to do good or hurt, and the "King's condition needed their attendance, they choſe to be engaged "againſt him; but Now, when they were able to do him no more harm, "they came to receive benefit and advantage from him: That it was a "common Argument Men uſed to alledge to themſelves for their com- "pliance with, and ſubmiſſion to, the Commands of the Parliament; "that, if they did otherwiſe, their ſeverity, and rigour was ſo great, that "They and their Families were ſure to be ruined; but, if the King pre- "vailed, He was gracious and merciful, and would remit their Offences "whenſoever they caſt themſelves at his feet; which preſumption if "they ſhould ſee confirm'd in this example, it would make the obſer- "vation of Conſcience and Loyalty of no price; and encourage thoſe "who were riſen againſt him, and exceedingly diſhearten thoſe who had "been honeſt and faithful from the beginning: That there could enſue "no inconvenience from any reſervedneſs and coldneſs towards them; "for they durſt not return to *London*, having now made themſelves "odious to that Party, and having no hope but from the acceptance of "his Majeſty; which they ſhould merit before they found. There was a third opinion between theſe extremes, "that they ſhould be neither "Courted nor Neglected, but be admitted to kiſs the King's and Queen's "hands, and to diſpoſe themſelves as they thought fit; and ſo to leave "the reſt to their future demeanour: and to reſolve which of theſe opinions to follow, was another motive for his Majeſty's ſuddain Journey to *Oxford*.

The King comes to Oxford to conſult about it.

THE King found greater alterations in the minds and ſpirits at *Oxford*, than he expected after ſo much ſucceſs as had befallen him; and that ſucceſs was it, that had made the alteration; it being the unlucky temper of that place, and that Company, to be the ſooneſt and the moſt deſperately caſt down upon any misfortune or loſs, and to be again, upon any Victory, the moſt elated, and the moſt apt to undervalue any

difficulties which remain'd. The taking *Briſtol* had ſo poſſeſs'd them with joy, that they thought the War even at an end, and that there was nothing left to be done, but to take poſſeſſion of *London*; which they were aſſured would be delivered to them upon demand: many Members of both Houſes were come to *Oxford*, which aſſured them, "the "violent People there, were even in deſpair; and after the News came "of the Surrender of *Briſtol*, that they had only kept up their ſpirits "in hopes that the King would engage his Army in the Siege of *Glo-"ceſter*, which ſome of them had ſeem'd to promiſe their Friends would "be the Caſe: from whence they would infer, "that the King was be-"trayed, and that they who had perſwaded him to undertake that de-"ſign, were corrupted by the Parliament. And the Envy and jealouſy of all this fell upon Sr *John Colepepper*, who was indeed of the opinion for the Siege, but, without doubt, how much ſoever he ſuffer'd at that time, and afterwards, under that reproach, he believ'd there was very good reaſon for the Engagement, and was moſt free from any corrupt end, and of moſt ſincere fidelity.

THIS diſcourſe and imagination had made wonderful impreſſion upon the Queen, who was inflamed with a jealouſy that there was a deſign to leſſen her Intereſt in the King, and that Prince *Rupert* was Chief in that Conſpiracy, and meant to bring it to paſs by keeping the King ſtill in the Army, and by hindring his coming to *Oxford*: and out of this apprehenſion the Queen had written ſo warmly and concernedly to the King, who was the moſt incapable of any ſuch apprehenſions, and had her Majeſty in ſo perfect an adoration, that aſſoon as he receiv'd that Letter, without delay he came to *Oxford*, and quickly compoſed thoſe miſtakes; though the being engaged before *Glocester* was ſtill very grievous, and reproaches were publickly caſt upon thoſe who gave the advice.

BUT that which took up moſt of the time of that one day that the King ſtayed at *Oxford*, was concerning the two Lords who were retain'd at *Wallingford*; which had been agitated in the Council with great paſſion before the King's coming. The King cauſed the Council to meet the next morning, and asked their advice, whether the Earls of *Bed-"ford*, and of *Holland*, ſhould be admitted to come into *Oxford*, or "obliged to return from whence they came? or, if admitted, how they "ſhould be receiv'd, or countenanced by their Majeſties? And it cannot be enough wonder'd at, that there ſhould be any difference of opinion in that matter; but it cannot be expreſs'd, with how much earneſtneſs and unreaſonableneſs the whole was debated, and how warmly even they, who in all other debates ſtill expreſs'd all moderation and temper, did now oppoſe the receiving theſe Lords with any grace, with more paſſion, and other reaſons, than had been offer'd in their former Conferences; ſo that there was ſcarce known ſuch an union in opinion at that board, in any thing, where diſunion was very inconvenient.

ALL exaggerated "the Carriage and foul Ingratitude of the Earl of "*Holland*, from the beginning of the Parliament; and the Earl of *Bed-"ford*'s being General of the Horſe in the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army; and "now when the Parliament was low, and They had loſt their credit and "intereſt There, they were come to the King, whom they had ſo much "offended; and expected to be as much, it may be, more made of, than "they who had born the heat of the day; which would ſo much reflect "upon the King's Honour, that Men would be exceedingly diſcouraged

"to ſerve him. Some moved, "that they might be detain'd, and kept "Priſoners of War, ſince they came into the King's Quarters without "any Paſs; others, as plainly, and more vehemently preſſed, "that "they might not be ſuffer'd to come to *Oxford*, or where the King or "Queen ſhould be; but permitted to live in ſome other place within "the King's Quarters, untill they ſhould manifeſt their Affections by ſome "Service. They who thought this too ſevere and unpolitick, propoſed "that they might be ſuffer'd to come to *Oxford*, that thereby they might "be kept from returning to the Parliament (which appear'd to moſt to be liable to many exceptions) "but that being at *Oxford*, they ſhould "not come to Court; and that no Privy Counſellor ſhould viſit them.

IN this whole Debate, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who ſeldom ſpoke without ſome earneſtneſs, was the only Man (except another, who brought no credit to the opinion, the Lord *Savil*) who adviſed confidently, "that they might be very graciouſly receiv'd by "both their Majeſties, and civilly be viſited, and treated by every Body; "that other Men might, by the entertainment they receiv'd, be en- "couraged to deſert the Parliament too. He ſaid, "it would be too "great a diſadvantage to the King, and to his Cauſe, that whilſt the "Parliament uſed all the induſtry and artifices, to corrupt the Duty and "Affection of the Subject, and had their Armes open to receive and "embrace all, who would come to them, his Majeſty ſhould admit none "to return to him, who had been faulty, or not come ſo ſoon as they "ought to have done; that if the King had a mind to gratify, and oblige "the Parliament, he could not do it more to their hearts deſire, than "by rejecting the application of theſe Lords, or ſuffering it to paſs un- "regarded. There was one Argument againſt their admiſſion urged very loudly, "that it would diſturb the Peace of the place; the Earl of *Bedford* had Commanded that part of the Army, which infeſted the Marquis of *Hertford*, at his being at *Sherborne*, when the Marquis had ſent *Harry Seymour*, as is mention'd before, with a Challenge to the Earl to fight with him; which the Earl reaſonably declined at that time; and ſaid, "he would be ready, when the buſineſs of the Parlia- "ment ſhould be over, to wait upon the Marquis when he ſhould re- "quire it. And ſome Men, who were near enough to the Marquis's Counſels, undertook to know, that if the Earl of *Bedford* ſhould be in *Oxford*, the Marquis, who was every day expected, would exact the performance of his promiſe; which ſure he was too wiſe to do.

THE King, during the whole Debate, did not expreſs any thing of his own ſence, ſave that he ſeem'd well pleaſed with any ſharpneſs that was expreſs'd towards the Earl of *Holland*. He ſaid, "that he was bound "to his good behaviour, by being under the common reproach of in- "climing too much to thoſe who had uſed him worſt; of which he would "not be guilty: However, he did not think, at this time, that it would be good to make any Perſons deſperate; and therefore gave order, "that the Governour of *Wallingford* ſhould permit them to continue "their Journey to *Oxford*; where all men might uſe what civilities they "pleaſed to them; and that Himſelf, and the Queen, would do that "towards them, which upon their application and addreſs, they ſhould "think fit: and though this determination was given, without the leaſt diſcovery of grace towards the Perſons of thoſe Lords, and not without ſome reflections of prejudice towards them, it was not grateful to the Table; which was evident enough by their Countenance. The next morning, the King return'd to the Army.

THERE

THERE had been as is ſaid, very great diviſions in the Councils at *Weſtminſter*, from the time of the Treaty, and the very abrupt breaking it off; and the Earl of *Northumberland*, reſenting the Affront done to him by *Martin*, had encreaſed thoſe diviſions; and the ill ſucceſſes afterwards in the Defeat of *Waller*, and the taking of *Briſtol*, had given every Man Courage to ſay what he would. And then the proceeding upon Mr *Waller*'s diſcovery, and obliging all Men to take a deſperate Engagement, which they durſt not refuſe, for fear of being declared guilty of the Plot, as many of them were, incenſed very many: But above all, the proſperity of the King's Affairs made every Body wiſh to come into his Quarters. A great Number of the Houſe of Commons, who were known always to wiſh well, came to *Oxford*: and of the Peers, the Earl of *Portland*, who was always very faithful to the King, and had ſtayed in the Houſe of Peers by his Majeſty's leave, and had been accuſed by Mr *Waller* to be privy to that deſign, upon which he had endured a long impriſonment, came at this time to *Oxford*, as is ſaid before, together with the Lord *Conway*, and the Lord *Lovelace*; the former of which had been likewiſe queſtion'd, and impriſon'd, and the latter had been as knowing of the matter, and of conſtant duty to the King; and all three had gotten liberty, and opportunity to come away by ſwallowing that Vow, and Oath, which could only ſet them free, and which they made haſt to Anſwer for to the King. The Return of the Earl of *Eſſex* to *London* in ill humour, had given opportunity to the Earl of *Holland*, and the reſt, who were weary of the work in hand, to inflame him to reſentment of the neglects which had been put upon him, and the jealouſies which were entertain'd of him. The Earl of *Bedford* had given up his Commiſſion of General of the Horſe, and quitted the Service, and never had any Affection to their ways in his Judgement. The Earl of *Clare* had been with the King at *York*, and had his leave to return to *London*, to intend his own particular Affairs; and, during his ſtay, had never concurr'd in any malicious Counſel againſt the King, but was look'd upon as a Man, not only firm to the Principles of Monarchy, but of Duty to the Perſon of the King. He was a Man of Honour, and of Courage, and would have been an excellent Perſon, if his heart had not been ſet too much upon the keeping, and improving his Eſtate; he was weary of the Company he kept, and eaſily hearken'd to the Earl of *Holland*, in any conſultation how to recover the King's Authority, and to put an end to the War. The Earl of *Eſſex* was, as is ſaid before, enough provoked, and incenſed, and willingly heard all the Lords, and others, who inveigh'd againſt the violent Proceedings of thoſe who ſway'd the Parliament, and differ'd not with them in his judgement of the Men, and the Matter: ſo that they believ'd that he would as readily be diſpoſed to agree upon the Remedy, as he did upon the Diſeaſe.

THEIR end and deſign was, as I ſaid, if they could draw him to a concurrence, that They, and all the reſt of thoſe who were accounted moderate Men, that is who deſired a Peace, and to return to their duty to the King (which were much the Major part of both Houſes that remain'd at *Weſtminſter*, after ſo many of both were gone to the King) might all go to the Army; and thereupon the General, and They, to write to the Parliament together, and to ſend ſuch Propoſitions to them, as the Parliament ſhould tranſmit to the King, as the conditions of Peace. If the King ſhould refuſe to conſent to them, it would be an infallible

infallible way to unite all People to compel him to it: but if the Parliament would refuſe to tranſmit thoſe Propoſitions to the King, or to conſent to a Peace upon thoſe conditions, they would then declare againſt them, for not adhering to the grounds upon which the War was firſt begun, and would joyn themſelves to the King to force them to it. If this had been done in that conjuncture, when the authority and credit of the Earl of *Eſſex* was not yet eclipſed, and before an Independent Army was raiſed, which was ſhortly after done, it could not probably have failed of the ſucceſs deſired. But the Earl was too ſcrupulous and too punctual to that which he called a Truſt; and this was too barefaced a ſeparation for him to engage in; Beſides that he did believe, that he ſhould be able to ſuppreſs that violent Party by the Parliament it ſelf, and he thought that would bring all about which he deſired; and ſo he did not only reject what was propoſed to him, but expreſs'd ſuch a diſlike of the Earl of *Holland* for propoſing it, that he thought it high time to get himſelf out of his reach. The Earl of *Holland*, who always conſider'd Himſelf in the firſt place, had, from the time of the Queen's landing, privately made offer of his Service to the Queen, and renew'd his old confidence and friendſhip with Mr *Jermyn*; and knowing well to enhance the value of his own Service, made great promiſes of notable Service; and Mr *Jermyn* eaſily perſwaded her Majeſty, "that it was "much better for her to reſtore an old Servant, whom ſhe knew ſo well, "to her confidence (though he had ſtepped out of the way) than to rely "upon the fidelity of any of thoſe, who were now about the King, and "who were all upon the matter ſtrangers to her, at leaſt not enough "known by her; and then, "that by laying hold upon this opportunity, "ſhe would, at her firſt coming to the King, carry his Reſtoration with "her, poſſeſs her ſelf of the whole frame of his buſineſs, becauſe all "other deſigns would be laid aſide; and ſo all the good, that would re"dound to the King and Kingdom from this new Negotiation, muſt, by "the conſent of all the world, be attributed to her Majeſty's Wiſdom "and Conduct. This appearing hopeful to her Majeſty, and all that had any thing of Hope was by the other always looked upon as Certain, the correſpondence was embraced; and the Earl aſſured not only to be reſtored to his former Station in all reſpects, but to a Title to new Intereſts. And upon this encouragement and obligation, when he found he could not prevail with the Earl of *Eſſex*, that the King's Affairs proſper'd, and that *Briſtol* was now taken, and the Queen come to *Oxford*, he reſolv'd Himſelf to go thither, and prevail'd with the Earls of *Bedford*, and *Clare*, to do the like; he aſſuring them, that they ſhould be very well receiv'd. The Earl of *Clare* made his Journey by himſelf, out of the common Road, and came without any interruption into *Oxford*, at the time appointed: the Earls of *Bedford*, and *Holland*, came together to *Wallingford*, as is mention'd. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was naturally ſuſpicious, went to his own Houſe at *Petworth* in *Suſſex*; by which he thought he ſhew'd averſion enough to the Counſels at *Weſtminſter*, and would keep it in his own power to return, if he found that the reception of the other Lords at *Oxford* was not anſwerable to their expectation; beſides that he would expect the reſult of the Lord *Conway*'s Negotiation, who was more truſted by him than any other.

THE leave for the two Earls to come from *Wallingford* to *Oxford*, was declared but the night before the King return'd to the Army; and

was not ſent thither till the next day. So that the Lords came not to *Oxford* till two days after, much mortified with the time they had been forced to ſpend at *Wallingford*, and with the diſputation, they heard, had been held concerning them; of which they had receiv'd ſo particular information, that the Earl of *Holland* writ a very civil Letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer before he came to *Oxford*, taking notice of "the Affection he had ſhew'd to him in his advice to the King. Both of them had Friends enough there to provide for their accommodation in convenient Lodgings, ſo that the one had a Lodging at *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, of which Houſe he had formerly been a Member; the other lay in *Baliol* College, where he had a Daughter, who ſpared him part of her Lodgings. But for any application to them by the Lords, or Perſons in Authority there, they had no reaſon to think themſelves very welcome. They went, in the firſt place, to do their Duties to the Queen; who receiv'd them coldly enough, not out of diſinclination, or unwillingneſs to ſhew them any countenance, but pure compliance with the ill humour of the Town, which ſhe deteſted: nor did Mr *Jermyn*, who ſtill valued himſelf upon the impoſſible faculty to pleaſe All, and diſpleaſe None, think fit to deal clearly with them in that point (having, probably, ſaid more in his Letters of correſpondence and advice, than he had Authority to do; it being his cuſtom to write, and ſpeak, what was moſt grateful to the Perſons) ſo that the Earl of *Holland*, with whom alone the correſpondence had been, began to think himſelf betrayed, and invited to *Oxford* only to be expoſed to contempt. He came one morning to viſit the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when there were the Lord *Cottington*, and two or three other Privy Counſellors with him, who all went preſently away, without ſo much as ſaluting him; which offended the Chancellor as much as it did Him, and in truth obliged the Chancellor to more ceremony and civility, than, it may be, he would otherwiſe have practiced: ſo that he did viſit him again, and made all profeſſions and offers of kindneſs and ſervice to him; which he did very heartily; and complyed therein, not only with his own inclinations, but with his judgement, as very important to the King's Service; and did all he could to induce others to be of the ſame opinion; in which he had no great ſucceſs.

THE Intelligence from *London* brought, every day, the Reſolution of the Parliament, "to relieve *Gloceſter*; and that, if their Levies did not ſupply them with Men ſoon enough, the Train'd-bands of the City would march out with the General for that Service: whereupon the three Earls *Bedford*, *Holland*, and *Clare*, after ſome days ſtay in *Oxford*, thought it neceſſary to offer their Service to the King in the Army, and to bear their part in any danger that might happen by an engagement between the Armies; and ſo went together to *Gloceſter*; where the King receiv'd them without any diſreſpect, and ſpoke with them as they gave him occaſion.

The King's Affairs in the Weſt.

WHILST the King continued before *Gloceſter*, his Forces in the Weſt moved with a full gale and tide of ſucceſs. The Earl of *Carnarvon* march'd with the Horſe and Dragoons, being near two thouſand, into *Dorſet-ſhire*, two days before Prince *Maurice* moved with his Foot and Cannon from *Briſtol*, and had made a fair entrance upon the reduction of that whole County, before his Highneſs overtook him; and it was thought then, that if the Prince had march'd more ſlowly, the Earl had perfected that work. Upon the Surrender of *Briſtol*, many of the

Gentlemen, and others of that County, who were engaged in that City for the Parliament, had visited their Houses, and Friends, in their Journey to *London*, whither by their Safe Conduct they went, and had made such prodigious discourses of the fierceness and courage of the Cavaliers (as most Men who run away, or are beaten, extol the power of the Enemy which had been too hard for them) that resisting them begun to be thought a matter impossible. One Mr *Strode*, a Man much relied on in those parts and of a good Fortune, after he had visited his House, took *Dorchester* in his way to *London*, and being desired by the Magistrates, "to view their Works and Fortifications, and to give his Judge- "ment of them; after he had walked about them, he told them, "that "those Works might keep out the Cavaliers about half an hour; and then told them strange stories of the manner of Assaulting *Bristol*; "and "that the King's Soldiers made nothing of running up Walls twenty "foot high, and that no Works could keep them out; which he said not out of any purpose to betray them (for no Man wish'd the King's Army worse success) but had really so much horror, and consternation about him, and the dreadful Image of the Storm of *Bristol* imprinted in his mind, that he did truly believe, they had scaled all those Forts and Places which were deliver'd to them; and he propogated this fear and trepidation so fruitfully where he came, that the Earl of *Carnarvon* came no sooner near *Dorchester* with his Horse and Dragoons (which, it may be, was understood to be the Van of the Victorious Army which had taken *Bristol*) but the Town sent Commissioners to him to Treat; and upon Articles of Indemnity, that they should not be plunder'd, and not suffer for the ill they had done, deliver'd up the Town (which was strongly Situated, and might very well have been Defended by the spirits of these People, if they had Courage equal to their Malice; for a place more entirely disaffected to the King, *England* had not) with all their Armes, Ammunition, and Ordnance. The fame of the Earl's coming had before frighted Sr *Walter Earl*, who had for a long time Besieged *Corfe*-Castle (the House of the Lord Chief Justice *Banks*, defended by his Lady with her Servants, and some few Gentlemen, and Tenants, who betook themselves thither for Her assistance, and their own security) from that Siege; and he making more hast to convey himself to *London*, than Generals use to do, who have the care and charge of others, his Forces were presently dispersed. And now the Surrender of *Dorchester* (the Magazine from whence the other places were supplied with principles of Rebellion) infused the same spirit into *Weymouth*, a very convenient Harbour and Haven: and that example again prevailed on the Island and Castle of *Portland* (a place not enough understood, but of wonderful importance) to all which the Earl granted fair conditions, and receiv'd them into his Majesty's Protection.

Dorchester *Surrender'd.*

Weymouth, *and* Portland *Surrender'd to the King's Forces.*

HITHER Prince *Maurice* came now up with Foot and Cannon, and neglecting to follow the Train of the Enemies fears to *Lyme*, and *Poole*, the only two Garrisons then left in their possession, staid with his Army about *Dorchester* and *Weymouth* some days, under the Notion of settling and disposing the Government of those Garrisons. Here the Soldiers, taking advantage of the famous Malignity of those places, used great licence; neither was there care taken to observe those Articles which had been made upon the Surrender of the Towns; which the Earl of *Carnarvon*, who was full of Honour and Justice upon all Contracts, took so ill, that he quitted the Command he had with those Forces,

and

and return'd to the King before *Gloceſter*; which publiſh'd the injuſtice with the more ſcandal. Whether this Licence, which was much ſpoken of, and, no doubt, given out to be greater than it was, aliened the Affections of thoſe parts, or whether the abſence of the Marquis of *Hertford* from the Army, which was not till then taken notice of, begot an apprehenſion that there would not be much Lenity uſed towards thoſe who had been high, and pertinacious Offenders, or whether this Army, when it was together, ſeem'd leſs formidable than it was before conceiv'd to be, or that the terror which had poſſeſs'd and ſeiſed upon their ſpirits, was ſo violent that it could not continue, and ſo Men grew leſs amazed, I know not: but thoſe two ſmall Towns, whereof *Lyme* was believ'd inconſiderable, return'd ſo peremptory a refuſal to the Prince's Summons, that his Highneſs reſolv'd not to attack them; and ſo march'd to *Exeter*, where he found all things in better order, and that City more diſtreſſed, than he had reaſon to expect, by the diligence and dexterity of Sr *John Berkley*, who being ſent from *Wells* by the Marquis of *Hertford*, as is before remember'd, to govern the Affairs of *Devon-ſhire*, with one Regiment of Horſe, and another of new levied and half-arm'd Foot, had ſo encreaſed his Numbers by the concurrence of the Gentlemen of that County, that he fixed ſtrong Quarters within leſs than a mile of the City, and kept his Guards even to the Gates; when the Earl of *Stamford* was within, with a ſtrength, at leaſt equal in number to the Beſiegers.

Prince Maurice comes before Exeter with his Army.

THE Parliament commended the relief of this place, by ſpecial inſtructions, to their Admiral the Earl of *Warwick*; after whoſe having made ſhew of Landing Men in ſeveral places upon the Coaſt, and thereby compell'd Sr *John Berkley* to make quick and weariſome marches with Horſe and Dragoons from place to place, the wind coming fair, the Fleet left thoſe who attended their Landing about *Totneſs*, turn'd about, and with a freſh Gale made towards the River, that leads to the Walls of *Exeter*, and having the Command of both ſides of the River, upon a flat, by their Cannon, the Earl preſumed that way he ſhould be able to ſend relief into the City; but the diligence, and providence of Sr *John Berkley* had fortunately caſt up ſome ſlight works upon the advantageous nookes of the River, in which his Men might be in ſome ſecurity from the Cannon of the Ships; and made great haſt with his Horſe to hinder their Landing; and ſo this attempt was not only without ſucceſs, but ſo unfortunate, that it diſcouraged the Seamen from endeavouring the like again. For after three or four hours pouring their great ſhot, from their Ships, upon the Land Forces, the tide falling, the Earl of *Warwick* fell off with his Fleet, leaving three Ships behind him, of which one was burnt, and the other two taken from the Land, in view of his whole Fleet; which no more looked after the Relief of *Exeter* that way.

The Earl of Warwick with his Fleet attempts the relief of it, but ſucceeds not.

WHILST all the King's Forces were employed in the blocking up the Town, and attending the Coaſt, to wait upon the Earl of *Warwick*, the Garriſon of *Plymouth* encreaſed very faſt, into which the Fleet diſburthen'd themſelves of all they could ſpare; and the North parts of *Devon-ſhire* gathered apace into a head for the Parliament; *Barnſtable*, and *Bediford*, being Garriſon'd by them; which having an uninterrupted line of Communication with *Plymouth*, reſolv'd to joyn their whole ſtrength, and ſo to compel the Enemy to draw off from the Walls of *Exeter*, which had been very eaſy to have been done, if they in the

City had been as active for their own preſervation. Sr *John Berkley* having notice of this preparation and reſolution, ſent Colonel *John Digby* (who had from their firſt entrance into *Cornwal*, Commanded the Horſe) with his own Regiment of Horſe, and ſome looſe Troops of Dragoons, into the North of *Devon*, to hinder the joyning of the Rebels Forces. He choſe *Torrington* for his Quarter, and within few days drew to him a Troop of new raiſed Horſe, and a Regiment of Foot, raiſed by his old Friends in *Cornwal*; ſo that he had with him above three hundred Horſe, and ſix or ſeven hundred Foot. Thoſe of *Bediford* and *Barnſtable*, being ſuperior in number, and apprehending that the King's Succeſſes Eaſtward, might encreaſe his ſtrength and power There, and weaken Theirs, reſolv'd to try their Forrunes; and joyning themſelves together, to the Number of above twelve hundred Foot, and three hundred Horſe, under the Command of Colonel *Bennet*, hoped to ſurpriſe Colonel *John Digby* at *Torrington*; and he was upon the matter ſurpriſed: for albeit he had notice in the night from *Barnſtable*, "that the Forces drew out thence to *Bediford* in the night, "and that they intended to fall on his Quarters early in the morning; and thereupon put himſelf into a poſture to receive them, and drew up all his Forces together out of the Town, upon ſuch a piece of ground, as, in that incloſed County, could be moſt advantageous for his Horſe, having, through all the little Incloſure, cut Gaps, through which his Horſe might enter; yet, after he had attended their coming till Noon, and heard no more of them, and his ſmall Parties, which were ſent out to enquire, return'd with aſſurance, that there was no appearance of an Enemy, he believ'd they had given over their deſign; and ſo diſmiſſed his Horſe to their ſeveral Quarters, reſerving only one hundred and fifty upon their Guard, and return'd himſelf into the Town with the Foot.

BUT, within leſs than an hour, he receiv'd the Alarm, "that the "Enemy was within half a Mile of the Town. The confuſion was very great, ſo that he reſolv'd not to draw the Foot out of the Town; but having placed them in the beſt manner he could, upon the Avenues, himſelf went to the Horſe out of the Town, reſolving to wait upon the Rear of the Enemy: who were drawn up on the ſame piece of ground, on which he had expected them all the morning. The Colonel, whoſe courage, and vivacity upon Action, was very eminent, and commonly very fortunate, intended rather to look upon them, than to engage with them, before his other Troops came up; but having divided his ſmall Party of Horſe, the whole conſiſting but of one hundred and fifty, into ſeveral Parties, and diſtributed them into ſeveral little Cloſes, out of which there were gaps into the larger ground, upon which the Enemy ſtood, a forelorne hope of fifty Muſqueteers advanced towards that ground where himſelf was, and if they had recover'd the Hedge, they would eaſily have driven him thence. And therefore, as the only expedient left, himſelf taking four or five Officers into the Front with him, Charged that forelorne hope; which immediately threw down their Armes, and run upon their own Body, and carried ſo infectious a fear with them, that without making a Stand, or their Horſe offering once to Charge, the whole Body Routed themſelves, and fled; Colonel *Digby* following the execution with his Horſe, till their Swords were blunted with ſlaughter, and his Numbers over-burthen'd with Priſoners; though the Foot out of the Town haſten'd to the chaſe, aſſoon as they ſaw what terror had poſſeſſed their Enemies.

Sr John Digby *Routs the Parliament's Forces at* Torrington.

IN

IN this Action (for it cannot be called a Battle; hardly a Skirmiſh; where no reſiſtance was made) there were near two hundred killed, and above two hundred taken Priſoners, and thoſe that fled contributed more to the Victory, than the Priſoners, or the ſlain, for they were ſcatter'd and diſperſed over all the Country, and ſcarce a Man without a cut over the face and head, or ſome other hurt; that wrought more upon the Neighbours towards their converſion, than any Sermon could be Preach'd to them. Some of the Principal Officers, and of their Horſe, got into *Bediford*, and *Barnſtable*; and not conſidering the inconvenience of acknowledging, that God was extraordinary propitious to the Cavaliers, told ſtrange ſtories of "the horror and fear that ſeiſed upon "them, and that no body ſaw above ſix of the Enemy, that Charged "them; which proved a greater diſmay to their Friends, than their Deſeat.

AT this time came Prince *Maurice* to *Exeter*, the fame of whoſe arrival brought a new terror, ſo that the Fort at *Appledore*, which commanded the River to *Barnſtable* and *Bediford*, being deliver'd to Colonel *Digby*, within two or three days after his Victory, thoſe two Towns ſhortly after ſubmitted to his Majeſty, upon promiſe of Pardon, and ſuch other Articles as were of courſe; which Colonel *Digby* ſaw preciſely obſerv'd, as far as concern'd the Towns in point of plunder, or violence towards the Inhabitants. And this ſucceſs ſo wrought upon the Spirits, and temper of that People, that all the Perſons of eminent diſaffection withdrawing themſelves, according to their liberty by the Articles; Colonel *Digby*, within very few days, encreaſed his ſmall Party to the Number of three thouſand Foot, and eight hundred Horſe; with which he was by Prince *Maurice* order'd to march to *Plymouth*, and to block up that place from making incurſions into the Country.

Barnſtable *and* Bedford *yielded to him.*

THE loſs of all their Garriſons on the North Coaſt, and deſpair of ſuccour or relief from any other place, prevail'd with the Earl of *Stamford*, and that Committee in *Exeter* (to whom the Earl was not ſuperior) to Treat with the Prince; and thereupon Articles were agreed to; and that rich and pleaſant City was deliver'd on the fourth of *September*, which was within fourteen or ſixteen days after Prince *Maurice* came thither, into the King's protection, after it had ſuffer'd no other diſtreſs, or impreſſion from the Beſiegers, than the being kept from taking the Air without their own Walls, and from being ſupplied from the Country Markets.

Exeter *deliver'd to the Prince upon Articles,* Septemb 4.

THERE was an accident fell out a little before this time, that gave new Argument of trouble to the King, upon a difference between Prince *Maurice* and the Marquis. It hath been ſaid, that the Earl of *Carnarvon*, who was General of the Horſe of the Weſtern Army, had march'd from *Briſtol* the day before the Prince, and had taken *Dorcheſter*, and *Weymouth*, before his Highneſs came up to the Army, both conſiderable places, and the Seats of great Malignity. The former was not thought neceſſary to be made a Garriſon, but the latter was the beſt Port Town of that Country, and to be kept with great care. The Marquis had made ſome promiſe of the Government thereof, when it ſhould be taken (of which they made no doubt) to Sr *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, a young Gentleman of that Country, of a fair and plentiful Fortune, and one, who in the opinion of moſt Men, was like to advance the place by being Governour of it, and to raiſe Men for the defence of it, without leſſening the Army; and had, in expectation of it, made ſome proviſion

of Officers and Soldiers, when it ſhould be time to call them together. Prince *Maurice*, on the other ſide, had ſome other Perſon in his view, upon whom he intended to confer that charge, when it ſhould fall. In the moment that the Town was taken, and before the Prince came thither, Sr *Anthony*, hearing that the Marquis came not with the Army, but remain'd ſometime at *Briſtol*, made all the haſt he could to him, and came thither the ſame day the King left it; and applied himſelf to the Marquis, who remember'd his promiſe, and thought himſelf obliged to make it good, and that it was in his power ſo to do, ſince it appear'd, that the Town was taken before the King had declared to him, that he ſhould not go to the Army; till when he ought to be looked upon as General of it. He conferr'd with the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon it, as a matter in which his Honour was concern'd, and on which his heart was ſet. Sr *Anthony* came likewiſe to him, who was of his acquaintance, and deſired his aſſiſtance, "that, after ſo much "charge he had been put to, in the expectation of it, and to prepare "for it, he might not be expoſed to the Mirth, and Contempt of the "Country. It was evident that if he return'd with the Commiſſion from the Marquis (which he was moſt inclined to give him) both He and the Commiſſion would be affronted, and the Town would not be ſuffer'd to ſubmit to him. Therefore the Chancellor was of opinion, that there was no way but to appeal to the King, and deſire his Favour, as well as his Juſtice, in giving his Commiſſion to the Perſon deſign'd by the Marquis; which would remove that part of the exception, which would moſt trouble the Prince; and he offer'd to write himſelf very earneſtly to the King. Beſides his deſire to gratify the Marquis, he did in truth believe it of great importance to his Majeſty's Service, to engage a Perſon of ſuch a Fortune and Intereſt, ſo throughly in his quarrel, as he then believ'd ſuch an obligation muſt needs do; the flexibility and inſtability of that Gentleman's nature, not being then underſtood, or ſuſpected.

HE did write, with all the skill and importunity he could uſe, to the King; and writ to the Lord *Falkland*, "to take Sr *John Colepepper* "with him, if he found any averſion in the King, that they might to-"gether diſcourſe, and prevail with him. But his Majeſty poſitively and obſtinately refuſed to grant it; and ſaid, "he would not, to pleaſe the "Marquis in an unjuſt pretence, put a publick diſobligation and affront "upon his Nephew. So the expreſs return'd without effect, and the Marquis was as ſenſibly touched as could be imagin'd; and ſaid, "that "he was fallen from all credit with the King, and was made incapable "of doing him farther Service; that his Fidelity ſhould never be leſſen'd "towards him (as in truth he was incapable of a diſloyal thought) "but "ſince he was become ſo totally uſeleſs to the King, and to his Friends, "he hoped his Majeſty would give him leave to retire to his own Houſe; "where, he doubted not, he ſhould be ſuffer'd to live privately, and "quietly, to pray for the King. The Chancellor knew well the nature of the Marquis, that would never give him leave to purſue any Reſolution which he found might prove inconvenient to his Majeſty, for whom he had all poſſible duty; yet he knew too, that the miſchief was not ſmall, from the obſervation that the Marquis thought himſelf ill uſed, and that there were too many who would take the opportunity to foment thoſe jealouſies and diſcontents; and therefore reſolv'd (having diſpatch'd all things which were incumbent on him at *Briſtol*, and uſed

all freedom with the Marquis, for the diſpelling all troubleſome imaginations) to go himſelf to the King, and to repreſent that affair to him, and the probable conſequences of it, with new Inſtances. And at laſt, with very great difficulty, he did ſo far prevail with his Majeſty, that he gave a Commiſſion to Sr *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, to be Governour of *Weymouth*; which he was the more eaſily perſwaded to, out of ſome prejudice he had to the Perſon, who, he underſtood, was deſign'd to that Government. However, the Marquis receiv'd it as a ſeaſonable Act of favour to himſelf, and in a ſhort time after, came from *Briſtol* to *Oxford*, to attend upon his Majeſty according to his Command.

The proſecution of the Siege of Gloceſter.

AT *Gloceſter* the buſineſs proceeded very ſlowly: for though the Army encreaſed wonderfully there, by the acceſs of Forces from all Quarters, yet the King had neither Money, nor materials requiſite for a Siege, and they in the Town behaved themſelves with great Courage and Reſolution, and made many ſharp and bold Sallies upon the King's Forces, and Did more hurt commonly than they Receiv'd; and many Officers of Name, beſides common Soldiers, were ſlain in the Trenches, and Approaches; the Governour leaving nothing unperform'd that became a vigilant Commander. Sometimes, upon the Sallies, the Horſe got between the Town and Them, ſo that many Priſoners were taken, who were always drunk; and, after they were recover'd, they confeſs'd, "that the Governour always gave the Party that made the Sally, as "much Wine and ſtrong Water as they deſired to drink: ſo that it ſeems their mettle was not purely natural; yet it is very obſervable, that, in all the time the King lay there with a very glorious Army, and after the taking of a City of much greater name, there was no one Officer run from the Town to him, nor above three common Soldiers, which is a great Argument, the diſcipline within was very good. Beſides the loſs of Men before the Town, both from the Walls, and by ſickneſs (which was not greater than was to be reaſonably expected) a very great Licence broke into the Army both among Officers, and Soldiers; the malignity of thoſe parts being thought excuſe for the exerciſe of any rapine, or ſeverity among the Inhabitants. Inſomuch as it is hardly to be credited, how many thouſand Sheep were in a few days deſtroyed, beſides what were brought in by the Commiſſaries for a regular proviſion; and many Country Men impriſon'd by Officers without Warrant, or the leaſt knowledge of the King's, till they had paid good Sums of Money, for their Delinquency; all which brought great clamour upon the Diſcipline of the Army, and Juſtice of the Officers, and made them likewiſe leſs prepared for the Service they were to expect.

IN the mean time nothing was left at *London* unattempted, that might advance the preparation for the relief of *Gloceſter*. All Overtures of Peace were ſuppreſs'd, and the City purely at the Devotion of thoſe who were moſt Violent, who put one compliment upon them at this time, that is not to be paſſed over. It is remember'd before, that, at the beginning of theſe diſtractions, before the King's going into the North, his Majeſty had, upon the reiterated importunity of the two Houſes, made Sr *John Conyers* Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*; who was a Soldier of very good eſtimation, and had been the Lieutenant General of his Horſe in that laſt preparation againſt the *Scots*, and Governour of *Berwick*. The Parliament thought, by this obligation, to have made him their own Creature, and deſired to have engaged him in ſome active Command in their Armies, having the Reputation of one

one of the beſt Officers of Horſe of that time. But he warily declined that engagement, and contain'd himſelf within the limits of that place, which, by the multitude of Priſoners, ſent to the Tower by the two Houſes, and the exceſſive Fees they paid, yielded him a vaſt profit; in the adminiſtration whereof, he was ſo impartial, that thoſe Priſoners who ſuffer'd moſt for his Majeſty, found no more favour or indulgence from him, than the reſt. About this time, either diſcerning that they grew to Confide leſs in him, than they had done, and that he muſt engage himſelf in their Service, or ſhould ſhortly loſe the benefit of their good opinion, or really abhorring to be ſo near thoſe Actions he ſaw every day committed, and to lie under the ſcandal of keeping his Majeſty's only Fort which he could not apply to his Service, he deſired leave from the Houſes "to go into *Holland*, where his Education had been, and his Fortune was, without obliging himſelf to a time of return. The Propoſition was not unwelcome to the Houſes; and thereupon they immediately committed that charge, the Cuſtody of the Tower of *London*, to the Lord Mayor *Pennington*; that the City might ſee they were truſted to hold their own Reines, and had a juriſdiction committed to them which had always juſtled with their own. This compliment ſerv'd to a double purpoſe; for thereby, as they made the City believe they had put themſelves under their protection, ſo they were ſure, they had put the City under the power, or under the apprehenſion of the power of him, who would never forſake them out of an Appetite to Peace.

The Cuſtody of the Tower committed by the two Houſes to the Lord Mayor Pennington.

THE Earl of *Eſſex* now declared, that he would himſelf undertake the relief of *Glocester*, whereas before Sr *William Waller* was deſign'd to it, and, whenceſoever it proceeded, was return'd to his old full alacrity againſt the King, and recover'd thoſe Officers and Soldiers again to him, who had abſented by his Connivance, or upon an opinion that he would march no more; yet his Numbers encreaſed not ſo faſt as the occaſion required: for Colonel *Maſſy* found means to ſend many Meſſengers out of the Town, to advertiſe the ſtreights he was in, and the time that he ſhould be able to hold out. Their Ordinance of Preſſing, though executed with unuſual rigour, inſomuch as Perſons of good Fortunes, who had retired to *London*, that they might be leſs taken notice of, were ſeiſed on, and detain'd in Cuſtody, till they paid ſo much Money, or procured an able Man to go in their places, brought not in ſuch a ſupply as they expected; and ſuch as were brought in, and deliver'd to the Officers, declared ſuch an averſneſs to the work to which they were deſign'd, and ſuch a Peremptory reſolution not to Fight, that they only encreaſed their Numbers, not their Strength, and run away upon the firſt opportunity. In the end, they had no other reſort for Men, but to thoſe who had ſo conſtantly ſupplied them with Money, and prevailed with their true Friends, the City, which they ſtill alarm'd with the King's irreconcilableneſs to them, to ſend three or four of their Train'd-band Regiments, or Auxiliaries, to Fight with the Enemy at that diſtance, rather than to expect him at their own Walls, where they muſt be aſſured to ſee him aſſoon as *Glocester* ſhould be reduced; and then they would be as much perplexed with the Malignants within, as with the Enemy without their City.

UPON ſuch Arguments, and the power of the Earl of *Eſſex*, ſo many Regiments of Horſe and Foot as he deſired, were aſſign'd to march with him; and ſo, towards the end of *Auguſt*, he march'd out

of *London*; and having appointed a Rendezvous near *Aylesbury*, where he was met by the Lord *Grey*, and other Forces of the Aſſociated Counties, from thence he march'd by eaſy Journeys towards *Gloceſter*, with an Army of above eight thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe. It would not at firſt be credited at the Leaguer, that the Earl of *Eſſex* could be in a condition to attempt ſuch a work; and therefore they were too negligent upon the Intelligence, and ſuſpected rather that he would give ſome Alarm to *Oxford*, where the Queen was, and thereby hope to draw the Army from *Gloceſter*, than that in truth he would venture upon ſo tedious a march, where he muſt paſs over a Campagne near thirty miles in length, where half the King's Body of Horſe would diſtreſs, if not deſtroy his whole Army, and through a Country eaten bare, where he could find neither Proviſion for Man nor Horſe; and if he ſhould, without interruption, be ſuffer'd to go into *Gloceſter*, he could neither ſtay there, nor poſſibly retire to *London*, without being deſtroyed in the Rear by the King's Army, which ſhould nevertheleſs not engage it ſelf in the hazard of a Battle. Upon theſe concluſions they proceeded in their works before *Gloceſter*, their Galleries being near finiſh'd, and viſibly a great want of Ammunition in the Town; yet the Lord *Wilmot* was appointed, with a good Party of Horſe, to wait about *Banbury*, and to retire before the Enemy, if he ſhould advance towards *Gloceſter*, and to give ſuch impediments to their march, as in ſuch a Country might be eaſy to do; Prince *Rupert* himſelf ſtaying with the Body of Horſe, upon the Hills above *Gloceſter*, to joyn, if the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould be ſo hardy as to venture.

The Earl of Eſſex *marches out of* London *to relieve* Gloceſter.

THE Earl came to *Brackly*, and having there taken in from *Leiceſter*, and *Bedford*, the laſt recruits upon which he depended, he march'd ſteadily over all that Campagne, which they thought he fear'd, towards *Gloceſter*; and though the King's Horſe were often within view, and entertain'd him with light Skirmiſhes, he purſued his direct way; the King's Horſe ſtill retiring before him, till the Foot was compelled to raiſe the Siege, in more diſorder and diſtraction, than might have been expected; and ſo with leſs loſs, and eaſier Skirmiſhes, than can be imagined, the Earl, with his Army and Train, march'd to *Gloceſter*; where he found them reduced to one ſingle Barrel of Powder; and all other Proviſions anſwerable. And it muſt be confeſs'd, that Governour gave a ſtop to the Career of the King's good ſucceſs, and from his pertinacious defence of that place, the Parliament had time to recover their broken Forces, and more broken Spirits; and may acknowledge to this riſe, the greatneſs to which they afterwards aſpired.

The Siege of Gloceſter *raiſed.*

THE Earl of *Eſſex* ſtaid in that joyful Town (where he was receiv'd with all poſſible demonſtrations of honour) three days; and in that time, which was as wonderful as any part of the Story, cauſed all neceſſary Proviſions to be brought in to them, out of thoſe very Quarters in which the King's Army had been ſuſtain'd, and which they conceiv'd to be entirely ſpent: So ſollicitous were the People to conceal what they had, and to reſerve it for Them; which, without a Connivance from the King's Commiſſaries, could not have been done. All this time, the King lay at *Sudley*-Caſtle, the Houſe of the Lord *Chandois*, within eight miles of *Gloceſter*, watching when that Army would return; which, they conceiv'd, ſtaid rather out of deſpair than election, in thoſe eaten Quarters; and, to open them a way for their retreat, his Majeſty removed to *Eveſham*, hoping the Earl would chooſe to go back the ſame

way he came; which, for many reaſons, was to be deſired; and thereupon the Earl march'd to *Tewkesbury*, as if he had no other purpoſe. The King's Horſe, though bold, and vigorous upon Action, and Execution, were always leſs patient of duty, and ill accommodation than they ſhould be; and at this time, partly with wearineſs, and partly with the indiſpoſition that poſſeſs'd the whole Army upon this relief of the Town, were leſs vigilant towards the motion of the Enemy: ſo that the Earl of *Eſſex* was march'd with his whole Army and Train from *Tewkesbury*, four and twenty hours before the King heard which way he was gone: for he took the advantage of a dark night, and having ſure Guides, reach'd *Cirenceſter*, before the breaking of the day; where he found two Regiments of the King's Horſe quarter'd ſecurely; all which, by the negligence of the Officers (a common and fatal crime throughout the War, on the King's part) he ſurpriſed, to the number of above three hundred; and which was of much greater value, he found there a great quantity of Proviſions, prepared, by the King's Commiſſaries, for the Army before *Gloceſter*, and which they neglected to remove after the Siege was raiſed, and ſo moſt ſottiſhly left it for the relief of the Enemy, far more apprehenſive of hunger than of the Sword; and indeed this wonderful ſupply ſtrangely exalted their Spirits, as ſent by the ſpecial care and extraordinary hand of providence, even when they were ready to faint.

The Earl of Eſſex *in his return ſeiſes upon* Cirenceſter.

FROM hence the Earl, having no farther apprehenſion of the King's Horſe, which he had no mind to encounter upon the open Campagne, and being at the leaſt twenty miles before him, by eaſy marches, that his ſick and wearied Soldiers might overtake him, moved, through that deep and encloſed County of North *Wiltſhire*, his direct way to *London*. Aſſoon as the King had ſure notice which way the Enemy was gone, he endeavour'd, by expedition and diligence, to recover the advantage, which the ſupine negligence of thoſe he truſted, had robbed him of; and Himſelf, with matchleſs induſtry, taking care to lead up the Foot, Prince *Rupert*, with near five thouſand Horſe, march'd day and night over the Hills, to get between *London* and the Enemy before they ſhould be able to get out of thoſe encloſed deep Countrys, in which they were engaged between narrow Lanes, and to entertain them with Skirmiſhes till the whole Army ſhould come up. This deſign, purſued and executed with indefatigable pains, ſucceeded to his wiſh; for when the Van of the Enemies Army had almoſt march'd over *Awborne* Chaſe, intending that night to have reach'd *Newbury*, Prince *Rupert*, beyond their fear, or expectation, appear'd with a ſtrong Body of Horſe ſo near them, that before they could put themſelves in order to receive him, he Charged their Rear, and routed them with good execution; and though the Enemy perform'd the Parts of good Men, and applied themſelves more dexterouſly to the relief of each other, than on ſo ſuddain and unlook'd for an occaſion was expected, yet with ſome difficulty, and the loſs of many Men, they were glad to ſhorten their Journey, and the night coming on, took up their Quarters at *Hungerford*.

IN this conflict, which was very ſharp for an hour or two, many fell of the Enemy, and of the King's Party none of Name, but the Marquis of *Vieu Ville*, a Gallant Gentleman of the *French* Nation, who had attended the Queen out of *Holland*, and put himſelf as a Voluntier, upon this Action, into the Lord *Jermyn*'s Regiment. There were hurt many Officers, and among thoſe the Lord *Jermyn* receiv'd a ſhot in his

Arm with a Piſtol, owing the preſervation of his Life from other ſhots to the excellent temper of his Armour; and the Lord *Digby* a ſtrange hurt in the face, a Piſtol being diſcharged at ſo near a diſtance upon him, that the Powder fetch'd much blood from his face, and for the preſent blinded him, without farther miſchief; by which it was concluded, that the Bullet had dropped out before the Piſtol was diſcharged: And may be reckon'd among one of thoſe eſcapes, of which that Gallant Perſon hath paſſed a greater number, in the courſe of his Life, than any Man I know.

By this expedition of Prince *Rupert*, the Enemy was forced to ſuch delay, that the King came up with his Foot and Train, though his numbers, by his exceeding long and quick marches, and the Licence which many Officers and Soldiers took whilſt the King lay at *Eveſham*, were much leſſen'd, being above two thouſand fewer, than when he raiſed his Siege from *Glocester*. And when the Earl, the next day, advanced from *Hungerford*, hoping to recover *Newbury*, which Prince *Rupert* with his Horſe would not be able to hinder him from; when he came within two miles of the Town, he found the King poſſeſſed of it. For his Majeſty, with his whole Army, was come thither two hours before; this put him to a neceſſity of ſtaying upon the Field that night; it being now the ſeventeenth day of *September*.

It was now thought by many, that the King had recover'd whatſoever had been loſt by former Overſights, Omiſſions, or Neglects, and that by the deſtroying the Army which had reliev'd *Glocester*, he ſhould be fully recompenced for being diſappointed of that purchaſe. He ſeem'd to be poſſeſs'd of all advantages to be deſired, a good Town to refreſh his Men in, whilſt the Enemy lodged in the Field, his own Quarters to friend, and his Garriſon of *Wallingford* at hand, and *Oxford* it ſelf within diſtance for ſupply of whatſoever ſhould be wanting; when the Enemy was equally tired with long marches, and from the time that the Prince had attacked them, the day before, had ſtood in their Armes in a Country where they could not find Victual. So that it was conceiv'd, that it was in the King's power, whether he would fight or no, and therefore that he might compel them to notable diſadvantages, who muſt make their way through, or ſtarve; and this was ſo fully underſtood, that it was reſolv'd, over night, not to engage in Battle, but upon ſuch grounds as ſhould give an Aſſurance of Victory. But, contrary to this reſolution, when the Earl of *Eſſex* had, with excellent conduct, drawn out his Army in Battalia, upon a Hill called *Bigg*'s-Hill, within leſs than a mile of the Town, and order'd his Men in all places to the beſt advantage, by the precipitate Courage of ſome young Officers, who had good Commands, and who unhappily allways undervalued the Courage of the Enemy, ſtrong Parties became ſucceſſively ſo far engaged, that the King was compelled to put the whole to the hazard of a Battle, and to give the Enemy at leaſt an equal game to play.

The Battle of Newbury.

It was diſputed, on all parts, with great Fierceneſs and Courage; the Enemy preſerving good Order, and ſtanding rather to keep the ground they were upon, than to get more; by which they did not expoſe themſelves to thoſe diſadvantages, which any motion would have offer'd to the Aſſailants. The King's Horſe, with a kind of contempt of the Enemy, Charged with wonderful boldneſs, upon all grounds of inequality; and were ſo far too hard for the Troops of the other ſide, that they Routed them in moſt places, till they had left the greateſt part

of their Foot without any guard at all of Horſe. But then the Foot behaved themſelves admirably on the Enemies part, and gave their ſcatter'd Horſe time to Rally, and were ready to aſſiſt and ſecure them upon all occaſions. The *London* Train'd-bands, and Auxiliary Regiments (of whoſe inexperience of danger, or any kind of Service, beyond the eaſy practice of their Poſtures in the Artillery Garden, Men had till then too cheap an eſtimation) behaved themſelves to wonder; and were, in truth, the preſervation of that Army that day. For they ſtood as a Bulwark and Rampire to defend the reſt; and when their wings of Horſe were ſcatter'd, and diſperſed, kept their ground ſo ſteadily, that, though Prince *Rupert* himſelf led up the choice Horſe to Charge them, and endured their ſtorm of ſmall ſhot, he could make no impreſſion upon their ſtand of Pikes, but was forced to wheel about: of ſo Soveraign benefit and uſe, is that readineſs, order, and dexterity in the uſe of their Armes, which hath been ſo much neglected.

IT was fought all that day without any ſuch notable turn, as that either Party could think they had much the better. For though the King's Horſe made the Enemie's often give ground, yet the Foot were ſo immoveable, that little was gotten by the other; and the firſt entrance into the Battle was ſo ſuddain, and without Order, that during the whole day, no uſe was made of the King's Cannon, though that of the Enemy was placed ſo unhappily, that it did very great execution upon the King's Party, both Horſe and Foot. The night parted them, when nothing elſe could; and each Party had then time to revolve the overſights of the day. The Enemy had fared at leaſt as well as they hoped for; and therefore, in the morning early, they put themſelves in order of marching, having an obligation in neceſſity to gain ſome place, in which they might eat and ſleep. On the King's ſide there was not that caution which ſhould have been the day before, and though the Number of the ſlain was not ſo great, as, in ſo hot a day, might have been looked for; yet very many Officers and Gentlemen were hurt: ſo that they rather choſe to take advantage of the Enemies motion, than to Charge them again upon the old ground, from whence they had been, by order, called off the night before, when they had recover'd a Poſt, the keeping of which would much have prejudiced the Adverſary. The Earl of *Eſſex* finding his way open, purſued his main deſign of returning to *London*, and took that way by *Newbury*, which led towards *Reading*; which Prince *Rupert* obſerving, ſuffer'd him, without interruption or diſturbance, to paſs, till his whole Army was enter'd into the narrow Lanes; and then with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, and one thouſand Muſqueteers, followed his Rear with ſo good effect, that he put them into great diſorder, and killed many, and took many Priſoners. However the Earl, with the groſs of his Army, and all his Cannon, got ſafe into *Reading*; and, after a night or two ſpent there to refreſh and reſt his Men, he moved in a ſlow and orderly march to *London*, leaving *Reading* to the King's Forces; which was preſently poſſeſs'd by Sr *Jacob Aſtley*, with three thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe, and made again a Garriſon for the King: his Majeſty and Prince *Rupert*, with the remainder of the Army, retiring to *Oxford*, and leaving a Garriſon under the Command of Colonel *Boys* in *Donnington*-Caſtle (a Houſe of *John Packer*'s, but more famous for having been the Seat of *Geoffery Chaucer*, within a mile of *Newbury*) to Command the great Road, through which the Weſtern Trade was driven to *London*.

The Earl of Eſſex gets into Reading; *thence, to* London.

AT this time Sr *William Waller* was at *Windſor*, with above two thouſand Horſe, and as many Foot; as unconcern'd for what might befall the Earl of *Eſſex*, as the Earl had formerly been on His behalf at *Roundway*-Hill: otherwiſe, if he had advanced upon the King to *Newbury* (which was not above twenty miles) when the Earl was on the other ſide, the King had been in great danger of an utter Defeat; and the apprehenſion of this, was the reaſon, or was afterwards pretended to be, for the haſty engagement in Battle.

THE Earl of *Eſſex* was receiv'd at *London*, with all imaginable demonſtrations of Affection, and Reverence; Publick, and Solemn Thankſgiving was appointed for his Victory; for ſuch they made no ſcruple to declare it. Without doubt, the Action was perform'd by him with incomparable Conduct and Courage; in every part whereof, very much was to be imputed to his own Perſonal Virtue; and it may be well reckon'd among the moſt Soldierly Actions of this unhappy War. For he did the buſineſs he undertook, and, after the Relief of *Gloceſter*, his next care was to retire with his Army to *London*; which, conſidering the length of the way, and the difficulties he was to contend with, he did with leſs loſs than could be expected; on the other hand, the King was not without ſigns of a Victory. He had followed, and compelled the Enemy to Fight, by overtaking him, when he defired to avoid it. He had the ſpoil of the Field, and purſued the Enemy the next day after the Battle, and had a good execution upon them, without receiving any loſs; and, which ſeem'd to Crown the Work, fixed a Garriſon again at *Reading*, and thereby ſtreighten'd their Quarters as much as they were in the beginning of the year; his own being enlarged by the allmoſt entire Conqueſt of the Weſt, and his Army much ſtronger, in Horſe and Foot, than when he firſt took the Field. On which ſide ſoever the Marks and publick Enſigns of Victory appear'd moſt conſpicuous, certain it is, that according to the unequal fate, that attended all Skirmiſhes and Conflicts with ſuch an Adverſary, the loſs on the King's ſide was in Weight much more conſiderable, and penetrating; for whilſt ſome obſcure, unheard of Colonel or Officer, was miſſing on the Enemies ſide, and ſome Citizen's Wife bewailed the loſs of her Husband, there were on the other, above twenty Officers of the Field, and Perſons of Honour, and publick Name, ſlain upon the place, and more of the ſame Quality hurt.

The Earl of Sunderland *ſlain in this Battle.*

HERE fell the Earl of *Sunderland*, a Lord of great Fortune, tender years (being not above three and twenty years of Age) and an early Judgement; who, having no Command in the Army, attended upon the King's Perſon, under the obligation of Honour; and putting himſelf that day in the King's Troop a Voluntier, before they came to Charge, was taken away by a Cannon Bullet.

And the Earl of Carnarvon; *his Character.*

THIS day alſo fell the Earl of *Carnarvon*, who, after he had Charged, and Routed a Body of the Enemies Horſe, coming careleſsly back by ſome of the ſcatter'd Troopers, was, by one of them who knew him, run through the Body with a Sword; of which he died within an hour. He was a Perſon, with whoſe great Parts and Virtue the world was not enough acquainted. Before the War, though his Education was adorn'd by Travel, and an exact obſervation of the manners of more Nations, than our Common Travellers uſe to viſit (for he had, after the View of *Spain*, *France*, and moſt parts of *Italy*, ſpent ſome time in *Turky*, and thoſe Eaſtern Countries) he ſeem'd to be wholely delighted with thoſe

looſer Exerciſes of pleaſure, hunting, hawking, and the like; in which the Nobility of that time too much delighted to excel. After the Troubles begun, having the Command of the firſt or ſecond Regiment of Horſe, that was raiſed for the King's Service, he wholely gave himſelf up to the office and duty of a Soldier; no Man more diligently Obeying, or more dexterouſly Commanding; for he was not only of a very keen Courage in the expoſing his Perſon, but an excellent Diſcerner and Purſuer of Advantage upon his Enemy. He had a mind and underſtanding very preſent in the Article of danger, which is a rare benefit in that profeſſion. Thoſe Infirmities, and that Licence, which he had formerly indulged to himſelf, he put off with ſeverity, when others thought them excuſable under the notion of a Soldier. He was a great lover of Juſtice, and practiſed it then moſt deliberately, when he had power to do wrong: and ſo ſtrict in the obſervation of his word, and promiſe, as a Commander, that he could not be perſwaded to ſtay in the Weſt, when he found it not in his power to perform the Agreement he had made with *Dorcheſter*, and *Weymouth*. If he had lived, he would have proved a great Ornament to that profeſſion, and an excellent Soldier, and by his death the King found a ſenſible weakneſs in his Army.

And the Lord Viſcount Falkland: *his Character.*

BUT I muſt here take leave a little longer to diſcontinue this Narration: and if the celebrating the memory of eminent, and extraordinary Perſons, and tranſmitting their great Virtues, for the imitation of Poſterity, be one of the principal ends and duties of Hiſtory, it will not be thought impertinent, in this place, to remember a loſs which no time will ſuffer to be forgotten, and no ſucceſs or good fortune could repair. In this unhappy Battle, was ſlain the Lord Viſcount *Falkland*; a Perſon of ſuch prodigious parts of Learning and Knowledge, of that inimitable ſweetneſs and delight in Converſation, of ſo flowing and obliging a humanity and goodneſs to Mankind, and of that primitive ſimplicity and integrity of Life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accurſed Civil War, than that ſingle loſs, it muſt be moſt infamous, and execrable to all Poſterity.

Turpe mori, poſt te, ſolo non poſſe dolore.

BEFORE this Parliament, his condition of life was ſo happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to be twenty years of Age, he was Maſter of a Noble Fortune, which deſcended to him by the gift of a Grandfather, without paſſing through his Father or Mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented, to find themſelves paſſed by in the deſcent. His Education for ſome years had been in *Ireland*, where his Father was Lord Deputy; ſo that, when he return'd into *England*, to the poſſeſſion of his Fortune, he was unintangled with any Acquaintance or Friends, which uſually grow up by the cuſtom of Converſation; and therefore was to make a pure Election of his Company; which he choſe by other Rules than were preſcribed to the young Nobility of that time. And it cannot be denied, though he admitted ſome few to his Friendſhip for the agreeableneſs of their Natures, and their undoubted Affection to him, that his familiarity and friendſhip, for the moſt part, was with Men of the moſt eminent and ſublime parts, and of untouched Reputation in point of Integrity; and ſuch Men had a Title to his Boſome.

HE was a great Cheriſher of Wit, and Fancy, and good Parts, in any Man; and, if he found them clouded with Poverty or Want, a moſt liberal

liberal and bountiful Patron towards them, even above his Fortune; of which, in thoſe adminiſtrations, he was ſuch a Diſpenſer, as if he had been truſted with it to ſuch Uſes, and if there had been the leaſt of Vice in his expence, he might have been thought too prodigal. He was conſtant and pertinacious in whatſoever he reſolv'd to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were neceſſary to that end. And therefore having once reſolv'd not to ſee *London*, which he lov'd above all places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek Tongue, he went to his own Houſe in the Country, and purſued it with that indefatigable Induſtry, that it will not be believ'd in how ſhort a time he was Maſter of it, and accurately read all the Greek Hiſtorians.

IN this time, his Houſe being within little more than ten miles of *Oxford*, he contracted familiarity and friendſhip with the moſt polite and accurate Men of that Univerſity; who found ſuch an immenſneſs of Wit, and ſuch a ſolidity of Judgement in him, ſo infinite a Fancy, bound in by a moſt Logical ratiocination, ſuch a vaſt knowledge, that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet ſuch an exceſſive humility, as if he had known nothing, that they frequently reſorted, and dwelt with him, as in a College ſituated in a purer Air; ſo that his Houſe was a Univerſity in a leſs Volume; whither they came not ſo much for Repoſe as Study; and to examine and refine thoſe groſſer Propoſitions, which lazineſs and conſent made current in vulgar Converſation.

MANY attempts were made upon him by the inſtigation of his Mother (who was a Lady of another perſwaſion in Religion, and of a moſt Maſculine underſtanding, allayed with the paſſion and infirmities of her own Sex) to pervert him in his Piety to the Church of *England*, and to reconcile him to that of *Rome*; which they proſecuted with the more confidence, becauſe he declined no opportunity or occaſion of conference with thoſe of that Religion, whether Prieſts, or Laicks; having diligently ſtudied the controverſies, and exactly read all, or the choiceſt of the Greek, and Latin Fathers, and having a Memory ſo ſtupendious, that he remember'd, on all occaſions, whatſoever he read. And he was ſo great an Enemy to that paſſion and uncharitableneſs, which he ſaw produced, by difference of opinion, in matters of Religion, that in all thoſe diſputations with Prieſts, and others of the Roman Church, he affected to manifeſt all poſſible Civility to their Perſons, and eſtimation of their Parts: which made them retain ſtill ſome hope of his reduction, even when they had given over offering farther reaſons to him to that purpoſe. But this charity towards them was much leſſen'd, and any correſpondence with them quite declined, when, by ſiniſter Arts, they had corrupted his two younger Brothers, being both Children, and ſtolen them from his Houſe, and tranſported them beyond Seas, and perverted his Siſters: upon which occaſion he writ two large diſcourſes againſt the principal poſitions of that Religion, with that ſharpneſs of Style, and full Weight of Reaſon, that the Church is deprived of great Jewels in the concealment of them, and that they are not publiſh'd to the world.

HE was ſuperior to all thoſe paſſions and affections, which attend Vulgar minds, and was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a Lover of all good Men; and that made him too much a contemner of thoſe Arts, which muſt be indulged in the tranſactions of human Affairs. In the laſt ſhort Parliament, he was a Burgeſs in the Houſe of Commons; and, from the Debates which were there managed

managed with all imaginable gravity and ſobriety, he contracted ſuch a reverence to Parliaments, that he thought it really impoſſible they could ever produce miſchief or inconvenience to the Kingdom; or that the Kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermiſſion of them. And from the unhappy and unſeaſonable diſſolution of that Convention, he harbour'd, it may be, ſome jealouſy and prejudice to the Court, towards which he was not Before immoderately inclined; his Father having waſted a full Fortune there, in thoſe offices and employments by which other Men uſe to obtain a greater. He was choſen again this Parliament to ſerve in the ſame place, and, in the beginning of it, declared himſelf very ſharply and ſeverely againſt thoſe exorbitances, which had been moſt grievous to the State; for he was ſo rigid an obſerver of eſtabliſh'd Laws and Rules, that he could not endure the leaſt breach, or deviation from them; and thought no miſchief ſo intolerable as the preſumption of Miniſters of State, to break poſitive Rules, for reaſons of State; or Judges to tranſgreſs known Laws, upon the Title of Conveniency, or Neceſſity; which made him ſo ſevere againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Lord *Finch*, contrary to his Natural gentleneſs, and temper: inſomuch as they, who did not know his compoſition to be as free from Revenge, as it was from Pride, thought that the ſharpneſs to the Former, might proceed from the Memory of ſome unkindneſſes, not without a mixture of Injuſtice, from him towards his Father. But without doubt he was free from thoſe temptations, and in both caſes was only miſled by the Authority of thoſe, who, he believ'd, underſtood the Laws perfectly; of which, himſelf was utterly ignorant; and if the aſſumption, which was then ſcarce controverted, had been true, "that "an Endeavour to overthrow the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom "was Treaſon, a ſtrict underſtanding might make reaſonable concluſions to ſatisfy his own judgement, from the exorbitant parts of their ſeveral Charges.

THE great opinion he had of the uprightneſs, and integrity of thoſe Perſons who appear'd moſt active, eſpecially of Mr *Hambden*, kept him longer from ſuſpecting any deſign againſt the Peace of the Kingdom; and though he differ'd from them commonly in concluſions, he believ'd long their purpoſes were honeſt. When he grew better inform'd what was Law, and diſcern'd in them a deſire to controul that Law by a Vote of one, or both Houſes, no Man more oppoſed thoſe attempts, and gave the adverſe Party more trouble by reaſon and argumentation; inſomuch as he was, by degrees, look'd upon as an Advocate for the Court, to which he contributed ſo little, that he declined thoſe addreſſes, and even thoſe Invitations which he was obliged almoſt by civility to entertain. And he was ſo jealous of the leaſt imagination that he ſhould incline to Preferment, that he affected even a moroſeneſs to the Court, and to the Courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent, and divert the King's or Queen's Favour towards him, but the deſerving it. For when the King ſent for him once or twice to ſpeak with him, and to give him thanks for his excellent comportment in thoſe Counſels, which his Majeſty graciouſly term'd "doing him Service, his Anſwers were more negligent, and leſs ſatisfactory, than might be expected; as if he cared only, that his Actions ſhould be Juſt, not that they ſhould be Acceptable, and that his Majeſty ſhould think that they proceeded only from the impulſion of Conſcience, without any ſympathy in his Affections; which, from a Stoical and Sullen Nature, might not have been

been misinterpreted; yet, from a Person of so perfect a habit of generous, and obsequious complyance with all good Men, might very well have been interpreted by the King as more than an ordinary averseness to his Service: so that he took more pains, and more forced his Nature to Actions unagreeable, and unpleasant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the Court, than most Men have done to procure an Office there. And if any thing but not doing his duty, could have kept him from receiving a Testimony of the King's Grace and Trust at that time, he had not been called to his Council; not that he was in truth averse from receiving publick Employment; for he had a great devotion to the King's Person, and had before used some small endeavour to be recommended to him for a Forreign Negotiation, and had once a desire to be sent Embassadour into *France*; but he abhor'd an imagination or doubt should sink into the thoughts of any Man, that in the discharge of his trust and duty in Parliament, he had any biass to the Court, or that the King himself should apprehend, that he looked for a reward for being Honest.

FOR this reason, when he heard it first whispered, "that the King "had a purpose to make him a Privy Counsellor, for which there was, "in the beginning, no other ground, but because he was known sufficient (*haud semper errat fama, aliquando & eligit*) he resolv'd to decline it; and at last suffered himself only to be overruled, by the advice and perswasions of his Friends, to submit to it. Afterwards, when he found that the King intended to make him Secretary of State, he was positive to refuse it; declaring to his Friends, "that he was most unfit for it, "and that he must either do that which would be great disquiet to his "own Nature, or leave that undone which was most necessary to be "done by one that was honoured with that place; for the most just and "honest Men did, every day, that which he could not give himself leave "to do. And indeed he was so exact, and strict an Observer of Justice and Truth, that he believ'd those necessary condescensions and applications to the weakness of other Men, and those Arts and Insinuations which are necessary for discoveries, and prevention of ill, would be in Him a declension from his own rules of life; though he acknowledged them fit, and absolutely necessary to be practiced in those employments. He was in truth, so precise in the practick principles he prescribed Himself (to all others he was as indulgent) as if he had lived *in Republica Platonis, non in fæce Romuli.*

TWO reasons prevailed with him to receive the Seales, and but for those he had resolutely avoided them. The first, the consideration that his refusal might bring some blemish upon the King's Affairs, and that Men would have believ'd, that he had refused so great an Honour and Trust, because he must have been with it obliged to do somewhat else not justifiable. And this he made matter of Conscience, since he knew the King made choice of him, before other Men, especially because he thought him more honest than other Men. The other was, lest he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the House of Commons, who were sorely troubled at the displacing Sr *Harry Vane*, whom they looked upon as removed for having done them those Offices they stood in need of; and the disdain of so popular an incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other. For as he had a full appetite of fame by just and generous Actions, so he had an equal contempt of it by any servile expedients: and he so much the more consented

to, and approved the Juſtice upon Sr *Harry Vane*, in his own private judgement, by how much he ſurpaſſed moſt Men in the Religious obſervation of a Truſt; the violation whereof he would not admit of any excuſe for.

FOR theſe reaſons, he ſubmitted to the King's Command, and became his Secretary, with as humble and devoted an acknowledgement of the greatneſs of the obligation, as could be expreſſed, and as true a ſenſe of it in his heart. Yet two things he could never bring himſelf to, whilſt he continued in that Office, that was to his death; for which he was contented to be reproached, as for omiſſions in a moſt neceſſary part of his place. The one, employing of Spies, or giving any countenance, or entertainment to them. I do not mean ſuch Emiſſaries, as with danger would venture to view the Enemies Camp, and bring Intelligence of their Number, or quartering, or any particulars that ſuch an obſervation can comprehend; but thoſe, who by communication of Guilt, or Diſſimulation of manners, wind themſelves into ſuch Truſts and Secrets, as enable them to make diſcoveries. The other, the Liberty of opening Letters, upon a ſuſpicion that they might contain matter of dangerous conſequence. For the firſt, he would ſay, "ſuch "Inſtruments muſt be void of all Ingenuity, and common Honeſty, be- "fore they could be of uſe; and afterwards they could never be fit to "be credited: and that no ſingle preſervation could be worth ſo general "a wound, and corruption of humane ſociety, as the cheriſhing ſuch "Perſons would carry with it. The laſt, he thought, "ſuch a violation "of the Law of Nature, that no qualification by Office could juſtify him "in the treſpaſs; and though he was convinced by the neceſſity, and iniquity of the time, that thoſe advantages of information were not to be declined, and were neceſſarily to be practiced, he found means to put it off from himſelf; whilſt he confeſſed he needed excuſe and pardon for the omiſſion: ſo unwilling he was to reſign any part of good Nature to an obligation in his Office.

IN all other particulars he fill'd his place with great ſufficiency, being well verſed in Languages, to underſtand any that are uſed in buſineſs, and to make himſelf again underſtood. To ſpeak of his Integrity, and his high diſdain of any bait that might ſeem to look towards corruption, *in tanto viro, injuria virtutum fuerit*. Some ſharp expreſſions he uſed againſt the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and his concurring in the firſt Bill to take away the Votes of Biſhops in the Houſe of Peers, gave occaſion to ſome to believe, and opportunity to others to conclude, and publiſh, "that he was no friend to the Church, and the eſtabliſh'd "Government of it; and troubled his very Friends much, who were more confident of the contrary, than prepared to Anſwer the Allegations.

THE truth is, he had unhappily contracted ſome prejudice to the Arch-Biſhop; and having obſerv'd his Paſſion, when, it may be, multiplicity of buſineſs, or other indiſpoſition had poſſeſs'd him, did wiſh him leſs intangled and engaged in the buſineſs of the Court, or State: though, I ſpeak it knowingly, he had a ſingular eſtimation and reverence of his great Learning, and confeſſed Integrity; and really thought his own letting himſelf looſe to thoſe expreſſions which implied a diſeſteem of the Arch-Biſhop, or at leaſt an acknowledgment of his Infirmities, would enable him to ſhelter him from part of the ſtorm he ſaw raiſed for his deſtruction; which he abominated with his Soul.

THE

THE giving his conſent to the firſt Bill for the diſplacing the Biſhops, did proceed from two grounds: The firſt, his not underſtanding Then the Original of their Right and Suffrage there: the other, an opinion, that the combination againſt the whole Government of the Church by Biſhops, was ſo violent and furious, that a leſs compoſition than the diſpenſing with their intermedling in Secular Affairs, would not preſerve the Order. And he was perſwaded to this by the profeſſion of many Perſons of Honour, who declared, "they did deſire the one, and "would not then preſs the other; which, in that particular, miſled many Men. But when his obſervation and experience made him diſcern more of their Intentions, than he before ſuſpected, with great frankneſs he oppoſed the ſecond Bill that was preferr'd for that purpoſe; and had, without ſcruple, the order it ſelf in perfect reverence; and thought too great Encouragement could not poſſibly be given to Learning, nor too great Rewards to Learned Men. He was never, in the leaſt degree, ſwayed or moved by the objections which were made againſt that Government in the Church (holding them moſt ridiculous) or affected to the other, which thoſe Men fancied to themſelves.

HE had a Courage of the moſt clear and keen temper, and ſo far from fear, that he ſeem'd not without ſome Appetite of danger; and therefore, upon any occaſion of Action, he always engaged his Perſon in thoſe Troops which he thought, by the forwardneſs of the Commanders, to be moſt like to be fartheſt engaged; and in all ſuch Encounters, he had about him an extraordinary chearfulneſs, without at all affecting the execution that uſually attended them; in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it, where it was not, by reſiſtance, made neceſſary: inſomuch that at *Edge-hill*, when the Enemy was Routed, he was like to have incurr'd great Peril, by interpoſing to ſave thoſe who had thrown away their Armes, and againſt whom, it may be, others were more fierce for their having thrown them away: ſo that a Man might think, he came into the Field chiefly out of Curioſity to ſee the face of Danger, and Charity to prevent the ſhedding of Blood. Yet in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profeſſion of a Soldier; and ſhortly after he came to his Fortune, before he was of Age, he went into the Low Countries, with a reſolution of procuring Command, and to give himſelf up to it; from which he was diverted by the compleat inactivity of that Summer: So he return'd into *England*, and ſhortly after enter'd upon that vehement courſe of Study we mention'd before, till the firſt Alarm from the North; then again he made ready for the Field, and though he receiv'd ſome repulſe in the Command of a Troop of Horſe, of which he had a promiſe, he went a Voluntier with the Earl of *Eſſex*.

FROM the Entrance into this unnatural War, his natural chearfulneſs and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of ſadneſs, and dejection of Spirit ſtole upon him, which he had never been uſed to: yet being one of thoſe who believ'd that one Battle would end all differences, and that there would be ſo great a Victory on one Side, that the Other would be compelled to ſubmit to any conditions from the Victor (which ſuppoſition and concluſion generally ſunk into the minds of moſt Men, and prevented the looking after many advantages that might then have been laid hold of) he reſiſted thoſe indiſpoſitions, *& in luctu, bellum inter remedia erat.* But after the King's return from *Brentford*, and the furious reſolution of the two Houſes not to admit any Treaty for

Peace, thoſe indiſpoſitions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of unchearfulneſs; and He, who had been ſo exactly eaſy, and affable to all Men, that his face and countenance was always preſent, and vacant to his Company, and held any cloudineſs, and leſs pleaſantneſs of the viſage, a kind of rudeneſs or incivility, became, on a ſuddain, leſs communicable; and thence, very ſad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the Spleen. In his Cloaths and Habit, which he had minded before always with more neatneſs, and induſtry, and expence, than is uſual to ſo great a Soul, he was now not only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of Suitors, and the neceſſary, or caſual Addreſſes to his place, ſo quick, and ſharp, and ſevere, that there wanted not ſome Men (ſtrangers to his nature and diſpoſition) who believ'd him proud and imperious; from which no mortal Man was ever more free.

IT is true, that as he was of a moſt incomparable gentleneſs, application, and even ſubmiſſion to good, and worthy, and entire Men, ſo he was naturally (which could not but be more evident in his Place, which objected him to another converſation, and intermixture, than his own election would have done) *adverſus malos injucundus*; and was ſo ill a diſſembler of his diſlike, and diſinclination to ill Men, that it was not poſſible for Such not to diſcern it. There was once, in the Houſe of Commons, ſuch a declared acceptation of the good Service an eminent Member had done to Them, and, as they ſaid, to the whole Kingdom, that it was moved, he being preſent, "that the Speaker might, "in the name of the whole Houſe, give him thanks; and then, that "every Member might, as a teſtimony of his particular acknowledg-"ment, ſtir or move his hat towards him; the which (though not order'd) when very many did, the Lord *Falkland* (who believ'd the Service it ſelf not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous Perſon could not have ſtooped to it for any recompence) inſtead of moving his hat, ſtretched both his Armes out, and claſped his hands together upon the Crown of his hat, and held it cloſe down to his head; that all Men might ſee, how odious that flattery was to him, and the very approbation of the Perſon, though at that time moſt popular.

WHEN there was any Overture, or hope of Peace, he would be more erect, and vigorous, and exceedingly ſollicitous to preſs any thing which he thought might promote it; and ſitting among his Friends, often, after a deep ſilence, and frequent ſighs, would, with a ſhrill and ſad accent, ingeminate the word *Peace*, *Peace*; and would paſſionately profeſs, "that the very agony of the War, and the view of the calamities "and deſolation the Kingdom did, and muſt endure, took his ſleep from "him, and would ſhortly break his heart. This made ſome think, or pretend to think, "that he was ſo much enamoured on Peace, that he "would have been glad, the King ſhould have bought it at any price; which was a moſt unreaſonable Calumny. As if a Man that was himſelf the moſt punctual, and preciſe in every circumſtance that might reflect upon Conſcience, or Honour, could have wiſh'd the King to have committed a treſpaſs againſt either. And yet this ſenſeleſs ſcandal made ſome impreſſion upon him, or at leaſt he uſed it for an excuſe of the daringneſs of his Spirit; for at the Leaguer before *Gloceſter*, when his Friend paſſionately reprehended him for expoſing his Perſon unneceſſarily to danger (for he delighted to viſit the Trenches, and neareſt approaches, and to diſcover what the Enemy did) as being ſo much beſide

the duty of his place, that it might be underſtood rather to be againſt it, he would ſay merrily, "that his Office could not take away the Pri-"vilege of his Age; and that a Secretary in War might be preſent at "the greateſt ſecret of danger; but withal alledged ſeriouſly, "that it "concern'd Him to be more active in enterpriſes of hazard, than other "Men; that all might ſee, that his impatiency for Peace proceeded not "from puſillanimity, or fear to adventure his own Perſon.

IN the morning before the Battle, as always upon Action, he was very chearful, and put himſelf into the firſt rank of the Lord *Byron*'s Regiment, then advancing upon the Enemy, who had lined the Hedges on both ſides with Muſqueteers; from whence he was ſhot with a Muſquet in the lower part of the Belly, and in the inſtant falling from his Horſe, his Body was not found till the next morning; till when, there was ſome hope he might have been a Priſoner; though his neareſt Friends, who knew his temper, receiv'd ſmall comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young Man, in the four and thirtieth year of his Age, having ſo much diſpatch'd the true buſineſs of life, that the Eldeſt rarely attain to that immenſe Knowledge, and the Youngeſt enter not into the world with more Innocency: Whoſoever leads ſuch a life needs be the leſs anxious upon how ſhort warning it is taken from him.

NOW to go on with the Courſe of our Hiſtory: the Earl of *Eſſex* enter'd into *London* on the 25th of *September* (a day we ſhall have occaſion to remember upon another ſolemnity) and was the next day viſited, at *Eſſex* Houſe, by the Speaker and the whole Houſe of Commons, who declared to him, "that they came to congratulate his notable ſucceſs, "and to render the thanks of the Kingdom to him, for his incomparable "Conduct and Courage; and that they had cauſed their acknowledge-"ment to be enter'd in their Journal Book, as a monument and record "of His Virtue, and Their Gratitude. A day or two after, ſolemn thanks were render'd to thoſe Members of both Houſes who had Command in the Army, and ſome extraordinary ſignification of reſpect derived to the Superior Officers throughout the Army. A gaudy Letter of kindneſs and value, was ſent to Colonel *Maſſy*, and, which made the Letter of more Value, a thouſand pounds was ſent him as a gratuity or preſent for his Service, over and above what was due to him for his Pay, and ſome largeſs to all the Inferior Officers, and a Months Pay, over and above their Arrears, to the Soldiers of that Garriſon. *The Earl of Eſſex returns to London.*

LEST the diſcourſe and apprehenſion of the jealouſy between the Earl of *Eſſex*, and Sr *William Waller*, might adminiſter hope or ſuſpicion, that ſome diviſion might grow amongſt themſelves, and, from thence, that the King might receive any Advantage, great care was taken to make, and greater to publiſh, a reconciliation between them; in which, Sr *William* was all ſubmiſſion and humility, and his Excellence full of grace and courteſy. The Paſſion and Animoſity which difference of opinion had produced between any Members, was totally laid aſide and forgotten, and no artifice omitted to make the world believe, that they were a People newly incorporated, and as firmly united to one and the ſame end, as their Brethren the *Scots*; of whoſe concurrence and aſſiſtance they were now aſſured, and ſatisfied that it would come ſoon enough for their preſervation; of which, they had not before a full confidence.

THOUGH the King's Army had all the Trophies of Victory in, and

after this Battle, as is before related (It kept the Field, and had the ſpoil of it; It took ſome Pieces of the Enemy's Cannon, who march'd off in the Night, and were purſued with ſome conſiderable loſs beyond *Reading*, where a Garriſon was again placed for his Majeſty, under the Command of Sr *Jacob Aſtley*, Major General of the Army, an excellent Officer; ſo that the Parliament was in ſo much a worſe State than they were in the Spring, as the loſs of *Briſtol*, and moſt of the Weſt amounted to; for by this time *Exeter* was likewiſe reduced by Prince *Maurice*) yet, notwithſtanding all this, the Earl of *Eſſex*, as is ſaid before, was receiv'd at *London* with all imaginable Gratulation and Triumph; he had done all that was expected from him, with many circumſtances of great, Soldierly, and notable Courage, and the heart and ſpirit of the Parliament was viſibly much exalted, and their impatience for Peace quite abated.

The Temper of the Army, and the Court at Oxford, *upon the return of the King thither.*

ON the contrary, upon the King's return to *Oxford*, there appear'd nothing but dejection of mind, diſcontent, and ſecret Mutiny in the Army, Anger and Jealouſy among the Officers, every one accuſing another of want of Courage and Conduct in the Actions of the Field; and they who were not of the Army, blaming them all for their ſeveral failings and groſs overſights. The Siege of *Gloceſter* was not believ'd to have been well conducted, and that it might have been taken in half the time they were before it, if it had been skilfully gone about. The not engaging the Earl of *Eſſex* in all the march over ſo open a Country, was thought unexcuſable, and was imputed to the want of Courage in *Wilmot*; whom Prince *Rupert* did in no degree favour: nor was the Prince himſelf without ſome reproaches, for ſuffering the Earl of *Eſſex*, after all the Horſe was joyn'd, to march down a long ſteep Hill into the Vale of *Gloceſter*, without any diſturbance; and that the whole Army, when it was found neceſſary to quit the Siege, had not been brought to Fight in that Vale, and at ſome diſtance from the Town, when the King's Men were Freſh, and the other Side tired with ſo long a March.

BUT then all Men renew'd their execrations againſt thoſe who adviſed the ſitting down before *Gloceſter*; the Officers, who had been preſent, and conſenting to all the Counſels, diſclaiming as much as any, the whole deſign; and all conſpired to lay the whole reproach upon the Maſter of the Rolls, who ſpoke moſt in thoſe Debates, and was not at all gracious to the Soldiers: and this clamour againſt that Engagement was ſo popular, and univerſal, that no Man took upon himſelf to ſpeak in Defence of it; though, beſides the reaſons which have been formerly alledged for it, what happen'd in this laſt Action, in the relief of *Gloceſter*, might well ſeem to juſtify it; for ſince it appear'd, that the City was ſo much united to the Parliament, that it ſupplied their Army with ſuch a Body of their Train'd-bands (without which it could never have march'd) with what ſucceſs could his Majeſty have approached *London*, after the taking of *Briſtol*, with his haraſſed Army? and would not the whole Body of the Train'd-bands have defended That, when ſo conſiderable a part of them could be perſwaded to undertake a March of two hundred Miles? for leſs they did not March, from the time they went out, to that in which they return'd. But no reaſon could ever convert thoſe, who look'd upon that undertaking at *Gloceſter* as the ruin of the King's Affairs.

THE temper of the Court was no better than that of the Army; and the King was ſo much troubled with both, that he did not enjoy the quiet

quiet his condition required. They who had forborne to be importunate for Honours, or Offices, becauſe they knew they ſhould not be able to obtain their deſires from the King, made their Modeſty an argument of their Merit to the Queen; and aſſured her, "that they had "forborne to ask any thing in Her abſence, becauſe they had always re- "ſolv'd never to receive any thing, but by Her bounty. Many pretended former promiſes and engagements for Creations of Honour, aſſoon as any thing ſhould be done of that kind. And it is true enough, that both their Majeſties had given themſelves eaſe from preſent importunities, by making promiſes, with reference to a time, which they imagined, and, at that time, reſolv'd ſhould not be ſoon: and now there was no ſooner mention of conferring Honour upon one or two whom they had a mind to gratify, but the reſt who had that promiſe, were very importunate and clamorous for the ſame Juſtice. By this means they were, upon the matter, compell'd to gratify ſome Men to whom they bore no good will; and ſo, they who receiv'd the favours were no more pleaſed, than they were who conferr'd them; and they who were without Ambition before, when they ſaw Honours and Offices conferr'd upon Men, who, they thought, did not merit them better than themſelves, thought their Service undervalued if they did not receive the ſame reward. And it was a uſual Prologue to ſuites of that kind, "that "they did not deſire it out of their own ambition, but purely to ſatisfy "their Friends; who withdrew their kindneſs from them, out of an "opinion that they had offended the King, who would not otherwiſe "put ſo great a difference between Them and other Men. Whence it may be obſerv'd, that Princes ſhould not confer publick rewards in a ſeaſon when they can only gratify Few, and ſo Many ſtand upon the ſame level in pretences, that they are apt to reſent the preferring of One, as an affront and diſobligation to the reſt.

THERE was no particular that gave the King more unquietneſs, than the pretence of my Lord of *Holland*. The three Earls I before mention'd, had attended the King before he roſe from *Gloceſter*, and had waited upon him throughout that march, and had Charged the Enemy, in the King's Regiment of Horſe, at the Battle of *Newbury*, very bravely; and had behaved themſelves, throughout, very well; and return'd to *Oxford* with his Majeſty; and now expected to be well look'd upon: and the other Two had no cauſe to complain; the King, upon all occaſions, ſpoke very graciouſly to them, and particularly ſent the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Earl of *Clare*, "that he had liberty, "and might be preſent at the Councils of War; where the Peers uſually were, and where the general matters of contribution, and ſuch things as concern'd the Country, were uſually debated. But the Earl of *Holland* was not pleaſed; he thought nothing of former Miſcarriages ought to be remember'd; that all thoſe were cancell'd by the Merit of coming to the King Now, and bringing ſuch conſiderable Perſons with him, and diſpoſing others to follow; and expected, upon his firſt appearance, to have had his Key reſtored to him; to have been in the ſame condition he was in the Bed-Chamber, and in the Council, and in the King's Grace and Countenance; of all which he had aſſurance from the Queen before he came, at leaſt from Mr *Jermyn*, who, no doubt, did exceed his Commiſſion; and the very deferring of this, was grievous to him; and the more, becauſe he found the ſame diſreſpect from all others, as he had done when he came firſt to *Oxford*.

HE

HE came frequently in the afternoon to *Merton* College; where the Queen lay, and where the King was for the moſt part at that time of the day, and both their Majeſties look'd well upon him, and ſpoke to him in publick as occaſion was adminiſter'd. Sometimes the King went aſide with him to the Window, in the ſame Room, where they ſpoke a quarter or half an hour together, out of the hearing of any body; which the Queen did often in the ſame manner; and Mr *Jermyn*, who was about this time made a Baron, was very frequently with him. The King was always upon his guard towards him, and did not, in truth, abate any thing of his former rigour or prejudice, and continued firm to his former reſolutions. But the Queen, whether from her inclination, or promiſe, or diſlike of moſt other People, who were not ſo good Courtiers (as ſure none was equal to Him in that function and myſtery) did in truth heartily deſire, that he might receive ſatisfaction in all things, according to his own deſire; and would have truſted him her ſelf as much as formerly. Yet ſhe complied ſo far with the King's averſion, that ſhe yet forbore to preſs it, or to own the encouragement ſhe had given him; nor had ſhe a willingneſs to oppoſe ſo great a torrent of prejudice, as ſhe ſaw evidently run againſt him; ſo that ſhe appear'd not to wiſh, what without doubt ſhe would have been very glad of. However the Marquis of *Hertford* was now come to *Oxford*, and expected the performance of the King's promiſe to him, and to be admitted into the Office of Groom of the Stole; of which the King took not the leaſt notice to him ſince his return; which made it the more ſuſpected, that the intention was to readmit the old Officer; and this apprehenſion was confirm'd by the Queen's looking leſs graciouſly upon the Marquis, than ſhe had uſed to do. And it is true, though it may be ſhe did not intend to make any ſuch diſcovery by her looks, ſhe was not pleaſed that any ſuch promiſe was made, both becauſe it was without Her Conſent, and as it croſſed what ſhe deſign'd; and much deſired that the Marquis could have been perſwaded to have releaſed it; towards which the Lord *Jermyn*, with ſome paſſion, ſpoke to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "how unreaſonable a thing it was for the Marquis, who "was Maſter of ſo great a Fortune, to affect ſuch a low preferment (as he term'd it) "and how generous a thing it would be to quit his pre-"tence: but he quickly diſcover'd him not to be willing to engage in any ſuch Propoſition. All this wonderfully indiſpoſed the other Lords, and the Perſons of Quality in the Town, who did not wiſh to ſee the Court juſt filled as it had been, or the Queen Her ſelf poſſeſſed of ſo abſolute a power, as ſhe had been formerly; though they looked upon her Perſon with all Duty and Reverence.

THE Earl of *Holland* did not act his own part with that art and dexterity, which might have been expected from his cunning and experience; nor had ever made the leaſt apology to the King for any thing he had formerly done; nor appear'd to have the leaſt ſenſe that he had committed any error, as his Majeſty himſelf declared to thoſe, who he knew were his Friends; and ſaid, "that he behaved himſelf with the "ſame Confidence, and Aſſurance, as he had done when he was moſt in "his favour; and that he retain'd ſtill the old Artifice at Court, to be "ſeen to whiſper in the King's and Queen's ear, by which People thought "there was ſome ſecret, when the matter of thoſe whiſpers was nothing "but what might be ſaid in the open Court; and that the Earl of *Hol-*"*land* had ſeveral times ſeem'd to deſire, to ſay ſomewhat in private to

"him, upon which he had withdrawn from the Company to the end or "corner of the Room, and, at firſt, expected and apprehended, that he "would ſay ſomewhat in his own excuſe; but that he had never then "ſaid one word, but what he might have ſpoke in the Circle; with "which, the King ſaid, "he was the better pleaſed; and that he believ'd, "he had not been more particular in his diſcourſe with the Queen, ſave "that he uſed to entertain Her with the wiſdom and power of the Par-"liament, and what great things they would be able to do, and how "much they were reſpected in Forreign Parts; which, his Majeſty ſaid, "was a ſtrange diſcourſe for a Man to make, who had ſo lately left them, "becauſe he thought the King's condition to be the better of the two.

THE Earl had a Friend who did heartily deſire to do him all the Offices, and Services, that would conſiſt with the King's Honour, and always apprehended the ill conſequence of diſcouraging ſuch converſions, and who ſpoke often to the Earl of his own Affairs. And when he complain'd of his uſage, and repeated, what promiſes and encouragement he had receiv'd to come to the King, and of what importance his good reception would have been, "that there were many of conſiderable Re-"putation, and Intereſt in the Houſe of Commons (whom he named) "who intended to have follow'd; and that the Earl of *Northumberland* "expected only His advice; his Friend asked him, "whether he had "done all things, ſince he came to the King, which might reaſonably "be expected from him? He ſaid, "he thought he had done all could be "expected from him, in bringing himſelf to the King; and, ſince his "coming to him, in venturing his life for him; and in lieu thereof he "had not receiv'd Thanks, or one gracious word; and now, after his "Office had been kept unbeſtow'd near two years, and a promiſe made "to him, that he ſhould be reſtored to it, it was to be beſtow'd upon "another, to make his diſgrace the more notorious; which he thought "would not prove for his Majeſty's Honour or Advantage.

HIS Friend asked him, whether he had asked it of the King, or inform'd him of the promiſe that was made to him? He ſaid "he Had "done neither, nor ever Would; he expected it of the King's Grace, "and would not extort it by a promiſe, which, it might be, his Majeſty "was not privy to. The other replied very plainly to him, "that if he "thought he had never committed any fault againſt the King, he had "no reaſon to acknowledge it, or make excuſe for it; but if he were "conſcious of any ſuch, how unwarily ſoever it had been done, or how "unmaliciouſly ſoever it had been intended, he ought to make ſome "confeſſion, and apology to his Majeſty; nor could his Majeſty, with "the ſafety of his Honour, avow the receiving him into any truſt with-"out it; nor was he capable of receiving any Offices from his Friends, "or the Queen's own declared interpoſition on his behalf, till he had "perform'd that neceſſary Introduction. He told him, "if he would "follow His advice, he believ'd he might receive ſome effect of it, which was, "that he ſhould ſend to deſire a private Audience of his Majeſty "in ſome Room, where no body might be preſent; which would not "be refuſed him; and then he ſhould (with all the excuſes upon the "terror the Parliament gave to all Men, who had exceeded the com-"mon Rules, in their Adminiſtration of the truſt they had from his Ma-"jeſty; as he could not deny He had done in many particulars for the "advancement of his Majeſty's Service) confeſs, that he had not been "hardy enough to contemn that power, but had been ſo much in awe

"of it, that he choſe rather to preſume upon his Majeſty's goodneſs, "than to provoke Their jealouſy and diſpleaſure; and ſo had complied "with them more, than in his duty and gratitude to his Majeſty he "ought to have done; for which he begged his pardon upon his knees; "and if he might obtain it, he made no doubt, he ſhould wipe out the "memory of paſt Offences by ſome new ſervices, which ſhould be be-"neficial to his Majeſty; and he added, "that he would do very well, if "he would ſue out his pardon, as the Earl of *Bedford* had done; who "had asked it of the King when he firſt kiſſed his hand, and had ſince "wiſely taken it out under the Great Seal of *England*.

THE Earl of *Holland* ſeem'd not at all pleaſed with this advice; ſaid, "he did not think, though he would not juſtify all that he had done, his "tranſgreſſions were of that magnitude, that they required ſuch a for-"mality of asking Pardon; that His caſe was very different from that "of the Earl of *Bedford*, who had been in Armes, and a General Of-"ficer in the Field againſt the King; whereas He had only ſat in the Par-"liament, as lawfully he might do; and if he had failed in his attendance "upon his Majeſty, and otherwiſe deſerv'd his diſpleaſure, he had re-"ceiv'd ſo many marks of it before he deſerv'd it, that might well tranſ-"port a very faithful Servant into a diſcontent. That aſſoon as he found "himſelf reſtored to any proportion of his Majeſty's grace and con-"fidence, his own inclination would carry him to as humble Apologies, "and as deep acknowledgements of all his tranſgreſſions, as could be "expected from him, and ſuch as he believ'd would reconcile the King's "goodneſs to him: but to make the firſt advance by ſuch a kind of ſub-"miſſion, he did not think he could prevail over himſelf to do it. How-ever, he took his advice very kindly, and ſpoke often with him after upon the ſame Subject.

BEING, upon conference with ſome other Friends, adviſed the ſame, eſpecially by his Daughter (whom he lov'd, and eſteem'd exceedingly) he ſeem'd reſolv'd to do it; but whether he thought worſe of the King's Affairs, or liked the Court the leſs, becauſe he ſaw the poverty of it, and that whatever place or favour he might obtain, he could not expect a ſupport from it to defray his expences (nor could he draw it from any other place) he delayed it ſo long, that the King found it reaſonable to confer the Office he had before promiſed, upon the Marquis of *Hertford*.

The Earl of Holland *returns into the Parliaments Quarters:*

UPON which he withdrew himſelf, for his convenience, to a neighbour Village, where he had a private Lodging; and, after few days, with the help of a dark Night and a good Guide, he got himſelf into the Enemies Quarters, and laid himſelf at the feet of the Parliament; which, after a ſhort impriſonment, gave him leave to live in his own Houſe, without farther conſidering him, than as a Man able to do little good or harm. And yet he did endeavour to render himſelf as grateful to them as he could, by an Act very unſuitable to his Honour, or his own generous Nature: for he publiſh'd a Declaration in print of the cauſe of his going to, and returning from *Oxford*; in which, he endeavour'd to make it believ'd, "that his compaſſion, and love to his Country, had "only prevailed with him to go to the King, in hope to have been able, "upon the long knowledge his Majeſty had of his fidelity, to perſwade "him to make a Peace with his Parliament; which, from the time of "his coming thither, he had labour'd to do; but that he found the Court "ſo indiſpoſed to Peace, and that the Papiſts had ſo great a power there

(uſing many expreſſions diſhonourable towards the King and his Council) "that he reſolv'd to make what haſt he could back to the Parliament, "and to ſpend the remainder of his life in Their Service: which Action, ſo contrary to his own natural diſcretion and generoſity, loſt him the Affection of thoſe few who had preſerv'd ſome kindneſs for him, and got him credit with no body; and may teach all Men how dangerous it is to ſtep aſide out of the path of Innocence, and Virtue, upon any preſumption to be able to get into it again; ſince ſuch Men uſually ſatisfy themſelves in doing any thing to mend the preſent exigent they are in, rather than think of returning to that condition of innocence from whence they departed with a purpoſe, perhaps, of returning.

HOWEVER, this unhappy ill carriage of the Earl, doth not abſolve the Court from overſight in treating him no better; which was a great error; and made the King, and all thoſe about him, looked upon as implacable; and ſo diverted all Men from farther thoughts of returning to their Duty by ſuch application, and made thoſe who abhorr'd the War, and the violent Counſels in the carrying it on, chooſe rather to acquieſce, and expect a Conjuncture when a general Peace might be made, than to expoſe themſelves by unſeaſonable, and unwelcome Addreſſes. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was gone to *Petworth*, as is ſaid before, with a purpoſe of going to the King, if by the Lord *Conway*'s Negotiation, and the Earl of *Holland*'s reception, he found encouragement, return'd to the Parliament; where he was receiv'd with great reſpect; all Men concluding, that he had never intended to do, what he had Not done. And the other Members who had entertain'd the ſame reſolutions, changed their minds with him, and return'd to their former Station: and the two Earls who yet remain'd at *Oxford*, ſhortly after found means to make their Peace at *Weſtminſter*; and return'd again to their own Habitation in *London*, without farther mark of diſpleaſure, than a reſtraint, for a time, from coming to the Houſe of Peers, or being truſted in their Counſels.

And likewiſe the Earls of Bedford *and* Clare.

THE Committee from the two Houſes of Parliament, which was ſent into *Scotland* in *July* before, in the diſtraction of their Affairs, when Sr *William Waller* was defeated, and the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army unſerviceable, as is remember'd, found that Kingdom in ſo good and ready a poſture for their reception, that they had call'd an Aſſembly of their Kirk, and a Convention of their Eſtates, Without, and expreſsly Againſt, the King's Conſent; and without any colour of Law; for the time, when, by their late Act of Parliament, they might of right challenge thoſe meetings, was not come by almoſt a year; and the King had refuſed to convene them ſooner. That Kingdom was at Unity and Peace amongſt themſelves, and ſo at the more leiſure to help their Neighbours; and the Government of all Affairs in Their hands who were to be Confided in; and They again ruled, and diſpoſed by a few who were throughly engaged in the Councils and Diſcompoſures in *England*; for all thoſe who were viſibly affected to the King's Service, or diſaffected eminently to the Perſons in Authority there, were fled the Kingdom; and they who ſtay'd behind, either had, or pretended to have, the ſame affections; of which a full declared Zeal, and good Will to the Parliament of *England*, was a common evidence.

The Tranſactions of the Committee of the two Houſes in Scotland.

So that the Committee found as good a Welcome, as they could wiſh, and all Men diſpoſed to gain their good opinion; a Committee was appointed, both out of the Convention of Eſtates, and the Aſſembly,

"to Treat with them, and to make ſuch concluſions, as might be thought "neceſſary to advance the Peace, and Happineſs of both Kingdoms. Theſe Men complied with them, in their full ſenſe of the ſad condition of the Affairs of *England*, and in their own concernment in the misfortunes, which ſhould befall them: they ſaid, "they well underſtood, how "much the fate of *Scotland* was involv'd in what ſhould befall the Par- "liament of *England*; and that if the King prevailed by force, and, by "the power of his Army, oppreſs'd thoſe Friends, who had expreſs'd a "tenderneſs formerly towards them, they had reaſon to expect the "ſame Army ſhould be applied to the revenge of thoſe indignities they "would eaſily perſwade his Majeſty, he had ſuffer'd from that his Na- "tive Kingdom: and therefore, there needed no Arguments to perſwade "them, to commiſerate the Eſtate of their Brethren of *England*; or to "convince them, that Their caſe was their own, and their mutual ſafety "bound up together: but that thoſe Politick arguments and conſidera- "tions, would have no influence upon the People, who had ſuch a na- "tural Affection and Loyalty to their Soveraign, as no Earthly conſi- "deration would be able to prevail with them to leſſen their Obedience "towards his Majeſty; and that, albeit there was no viſible Party and "Faction, that appear'd in the Kingdom for the King, yet that there "were many well wiſhers to him, and maligners, in their hearts, of the "preſent Reformation; who, aſſoon as there ſhould be any preparation "for an Army to march into *England*, would be ready, upon the ſpe- "cious Arguments of Duty to his Majeſty, and of Peace to their Coun- "try, and might be able, to give great diſturbance to the expedition, "or to diſquiet the Realm, when the moſt eminently affected were "march'd towards the relief of their diſtreſſed Neighbours; except ſome "obligation of Conſcience were laid upon the People; who only pre- "ferr'd what they called their Piety to God, before their inclination to "their Prince, and the ſetting up the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, before "the vindication of a temporal juriſdiction.

A Covenant propoſed by the Scots *between the two Kingdoms, and agreed to:*

FOR ſuch an expedient therefore, they propoſed, "that a Covenant "might be agreed upon between the two Kingdoms, for the utter ex- "tirpation of Prelacy, which that Kingdom was ſatisfied to be a great "obſtruction to the Reformation of Religion; and the two Houſes of "Parliament had diſcover'd a ſufficient averſion from that Government, "by having paſſed a Bill for their utter abolition, and in the place thereof "to erect ſuch a Government, as ſhould be moſt agreeable to God's Word, "which they doubted not would be their own Presbytery; and that the "People being cemented together by ſuch an obligation, would never "be ſever'd and disjoyn'd by any temptation.

THERE was an eaſy conſent, from the Committee of the *Engliſh*, to any expedient that might throughly engage the other Nation; and ſo a form of words were quickly agreed on between them, for a perfect combination and marriage between the Parliament and the *Scots*, in all ſuch particulars, as were moſt like to be unacceptable to the King; and this form being preſently communicated to the Convention of Eſtates, and the Aſſembly, as ſoon found an approbation and concurrence there, with as much ſolemnity, as was neceſſary to ſhew their temper and reſolution, and to gain the conſent of the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, whither it was diſpatched with all imaginable celerity, and a ſignification "that that People were in ſuch a forwardneſs to advance, that they "would be in *England* aſſoon as they could be reaſonably expected.

And

And it was indeed apparent enough, that, upon their diſcipline ſince the late commotions, and the cunning preſage and foreſight of that People, there was nothing requiſite to their March, but the calling them together.

MANY were of opinion, that this engagement was propoſed "rather "to decline being engaged in the Quarrel, than out of hope or imagina- "tion that the two Houſes would concur with them; for though there "had been a Bill paſſed, before the laſt Treaty with the King, to that "purpoſe, yet they well knew that moſt of the Peers, and Perſons of "Quality and Intereſt in the other Houſe, were willing to depart from "that Overture. Beſides, amongſt thoſe, who raged joyntly againſt "Epiſcopacy, there were ſo many opinions, that it would be no leſs "difficult to eſtabliſh Their Presbytery, than to root out the other Go- "vernment, to which they intended by their Covenant equally to oblige "them: ſo that upon this Propoſition, which was according to the "known temper of that Nation, they ſhould preſerve themſelves plau- "ſibly, and without ſeeming to deſert their Confederates, from bear- "ing any part in the preſent Troubles. However, it would viſibly take "up ſo much time, that if there were no Ebb in the King's proſperity "and ſucceſs, he might well finiſh his work, and this Interpoſition be "interpreted for a politick Stratagem to amuſe the *Engliſh*. But if this was their Stratagem, they met with People too frank hearted, and not ſcrupulous to contribute towards it: for the draught of the Covenant no ſooner came to *Weſtminſter*, but they ſhew'd a marvellous inclination to it. Yet as well becauſe it was not yet known, what ſucceſs the Earl of *Eſſex* would have in the relief of *Gloceſter*, which was like to have a ſhrewd influence upon Men's Affections and Conſciences, as that they might ſeem to uſe all neceſſary deliberation, and caution, for the information of their Judgements in a new caſe, that concern'd the Religion, and Eccleſiaſtical Fabrick of the Kingdom, they tranſmitted it to their Aſſembly of Divines, to return Their opinion "of the lawful- "neſs of taking it in point of Conſcience.

THE Aſſembly, beſides that it was conſtituted of Members who had all renounced their obedience to their King, and ſubmiſſion to the Church of *England*, by their appearance and preſence in that Convention, had been lately taught how dangerous it was to diſſent from the current opinion of the Houſe of Commons: for Dr *Featly* (upon whoſe Reputation in Learning, they had raiſed great advantages to themſelves) having made many Speeches in the Aſſembly in the behalf of "the or- "der of Biſhops, and their Function, and againſt the Alienation of "Church Lands, as Sacrilege; and eſpecially inveigh'd againſt "the "liberty that was taken in matter of Religion, by which ſo many Sects "were grown up to the ſcandal and reproach of the Proteſtant Doctrine, "if not of Chriſtianity it ſelf, had ſo far incurr'd their diſpleaſure, and provoked their jealouſy, that an ordinary fellow (ſo well Confirm'd in Spirit, that they fear'd not his failing or converſion) was directed to make application to him in caſes of Conſcience, and after he had gotten ſufficient credit with him (which was no hard matter) to intimate to him, "that he had a ſure and unqueſtionable conveyance to *Oxford*, or "that he was to go thither himſelf, and if he had any occaſions to uſe "his Service thither, he would faithfully execute his Commands. The Dr believing the Meſſenger to be ſincere, and the King's Affairs ſtanding then proſperous, gave him Letters for the Arch-Biſhop of *Armagh*,

Primate of *Ireland*, who waited on his Majeſty; and by this Artifice, the ſame Inſtrument receiv'd two or three Letters from him, pretending they were ſtill ſent by infallible hands; and brought them always to thoſe Perſons by whom he was entruſted in the work of his impoſture.

THE Letters contain'd many Apologies for himſelf, "for being engaged in ſuch a Congregation, to which he ſubmitted purely out of "Conſcience, and for the Service of the King and Church, in hope that "he might be able to prevent many extravagancies, and to contain "thoſe unruly Spirits within ſome bounds of regularity, and moderation; of his endeavours that way, he gave many inſtances; and ſent Copies of what he had ſaid in juſtification of Epiſcopacy, the Liturgy, and the eſtabliſh'd Government, and concluded with a deſire to his Grace, "to procure a good opinion from the King towards him, and ſome "Biſhoprick or Deanery for his recompence. About the time that this Agitation was in *Scotland*, and very little before this Covenant was tranſmitted, theſe Letters were produced, and a charge againſt that Doctor, "for betraying the truſt repoſed in him, and adhering to the "Enemy; and thereupon the poor Man was expelled the Aſſembly of Divines, both his Livings (for he had two within a very ſmall diſtance of *London*) ſequeſter'd; his Study of Books and Eſtate ſeiſed, and himſelf committed to a common Goal, where he continued to his death; which befel him the ſooner, through the extreme wants he underwent; ſo ſollicitous was that Party to remove any impediment that troubled them, and ſo implacable to any who were weary of their Journey, though they had accompanied them very far in their way.

THIS freſh example the *Aſſembly of Godly and Learned Divines* had before their Eyes when this Covenant was ſent to them for their conſideration, and ſpeedy reſolution; and according to the haſt it required, that Clergy return'd within two days their full approbation of it; there having been but two Miniſters who made any pauſe or ſcruple of it, and they again ſoon confeſſing "they had receiv'd full ſatisfaction "to their doubts in the Debate, and that they were fully convinced of "the Lawfulneſs, and Piety of it. Having receiv'd ſo abſolute an approbation and concurrence, and the Battle of *Newbury* being in that time likewiſe over (which cleared and removed more doubts, than the Aſſembly had done) it ſtuck very few hours with both Houſes; but being at once judged Convenient, and Lawful, the Lords and Commons, and their Aſſembly of Divines, met together at the Church, with great ſolemnity, to take it, on the five and twentieth day of *September*; a double Holyday, by the Earl of *Eſſex*'s return to *London*, and this Religious exerciſe.

It is taken and Subſcribed by the Lords and Commons and their Aſſembly of Divines, Sept. 25.

THERE, two or three of their Divines went up into the Pulpit ſucceſſively, not to Preach, but to Pray; others, according to their ſeveral Gifts, to make Orations upon the work of the day. They were by them told, "that this Oath was Such, and in the matter and conſequence of "it, of ſuch concernment, as it was truly worthy of them, *Yea* of thoſe "Kingdoms, *Yea* of all the Kingdoms of the World: That it could be "no other, but the reſult and anſwer of ſuch prayers and tears, of ſuch "ſincerity and ſufferings, that three Kingdoms ſhould be thus Born, or "rather New born in a day: That they were entering upon a work of "the greateſt moment and concernment to themſelves, and to their "Poſterities after them, that ever was undertaken by any of Them, or "any of their fore Fathers before them. That it was a duty of the

"firſt Commandment, and therefore of the higheſt and nobleſt order "and rank of duties; therefore muſt come forth attended with choiceſt "graces, fear, humility, and in the greateſt ſimplicity, and plainneſs of "Spirit, and reſpect of thoſe with whom they Covenanted. That it was "to advance the Kingdom of Chriſt here upon Earth, and make *Jeru-* "*ſalem* once more the praiſe of the whole Earth, notwithſtanding all "the contradictions of Men; with many ſuch high expreſſions, as can hardly be conceiv'd, without the view of the Records, and Regiſtry that is kept of them.

IT will be here moſt neceſſary, that Poſterity may be inform'd of the rare concluſion, in which two Nations, with ſuch wonderful unanimity, did agree, and which was calculated alſo for the Meridian of a third Kingdom (for *Ireland* is likewiſe comprehended in it) to inſert this League and Covenant in the preciſe terms in which it was receiv'd, and enter'd into; which was in theſe words.

A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happineſs of the King; and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

A Copy of the Covenant.

"WE Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeſſes, "Miniſters of the Goſpel, and Commons of all Sorts in the Kingdom "of *England, Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by the Providence of God living "under one King, and being of one Reform'd Religion, having before "our Eyes the Glory of God, and the advancement of the Kingdom of "our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the Honour and Happineſs of the "King's Majeſty, and his Poſterity, and the true publick Liberty, Safety, "and Peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every ones private condition is "included; and calling to mind the treacherous, and bloody Plots, Con- "ſpiracies, Attempts, and Practices of the Enemies of God, againſt the "true Religion, and Profeſſors thereof, in all places, eſpecially in theſe "three Kingdoms, ever ſince the Reformation of Religion, and how "much their Rage, Power, and Preſumption, are of late, and at this time, "encreaſed and exerciſed (whereof the deplorable Eſtate of the Church "and Kingdom of *Ireland*, the diſtreſſed Eſtate of the Church and King- "dom of *England*, and the dangerous Eſtate of the Church and Kingdom "of *Scotland*, are preſent, and publick Teſtimonies) We have now at "laſt (after other means of Supplication, Remonſtrance, Proteſtations, "and Sufferings) for the preſervation of our Selves and our Religion "from utter ruin and deſtruction, according to the commendable pra- "ctice of theſe Kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's "People in other Nations, after mature deliberation, reſolv'd, and de- "termin'd to enter into a mutual, and ſolemn League and Covenant, "wherein We all Subſcribe, and each one of Us for himſelf, with our "hands lifted up to the moſt high God, do ſwear,

I. "THAT We ſhall ſincerely, really and conſtantly, through the "Grace of God, endeavour in our ſeveral places and callings the preſer- "vation of the Reform'd Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, "Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government, againſt our Common Enemies; "the Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, "in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government, according to the "Word of God, and the example of the beſt Reform'd Churches; and

"We

"We ſhall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three King-
"doms, to the neareſt conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Con-
"feſſion of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory for Worſhip,
"and Catechiſing: that we, and our Poſterity after Us, may, as Bre-
"thren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in
"the midſt of Us.

2. "THAT We ſhall, in like manner, without reſpect of Perſons,
"endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that is Church Govern-
"ment by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors, and Commiſſaries,
"Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and all other-Eccleſiaſtical
"Officers depending on that Hierarchy) Superſtition, Hereſy, Schiſm,
"Prophaneneſs, and whatſoever ſhall be found to be contrary to ſound
"Doctrine, and the power of Godlineſs; leſt We partake in other Men's
"Sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of Their Plagues; and that
"the Lord may be One, and his Name One in the three Kingdoms.

3. "WE ſhall, with the ſame ſincerity, reality, and conſtancy, in our
"ſeveral Vocations, endeavour with our Eſtates, and Lives, mutually
"to preſerve the Rights and Privileges of the Parliaments, and the Li-
"berties of the Kingdoms, and to preſerve, and defend the King's Ma-
"jeſty's Perſon, and Authority, in the preſervation and defence of the
"true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms; that the World may
"bear Witneſs, with our Conſciences, of our Loyalty; and that we have
"no thoughts or intentions to diminiſh his Majeſty's juſt power, and
"greatneſs.

4. "WE ſhall alſo, with all faithfulneſs, endeavour the diſcovery of
"all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil In-
"ſtruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the
"King from his People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or
"making any Factions or Parties among the People, contrary to this
"League and Covenant; that they may be brought to publick Tryal,
"and receive condigne puniſhment, as the degree of their Offences ſhall
"require or deſerve; or the ſupreme Judicatories of both Kingdoms
"reſpectively, or others having power from them for that effect, ſhall
"judge convenient.

5. "AND whereas the happineſs of a bleſſed Peace between theſe
"Kingdoms, denied in former times to our Progenitors, is by the good
"Providence of God granted unto Us, and hath been lately concluded
"and ſettled by both Parliaments, we ſhall, each one of Us, according
"to our places and intereſt, endeavour, that they may remain conjoyn'd
"in a firm Peace and Union to all Poſterity, and that juſtice may be
"done upon the wilful Oppoſers thereof, in manner expreſſed in the
"precedent Articles.

6. "WE ſhall alſo, according to our places and callings, in this Com-
"mon Cauſe of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, aſſiſt
"and defend all thoſe that enter into this League and Covenant, in the
"maintaining and purſuing thereof; and ſhall not ſuffer our ſelves, di-
"rectly or indirectly, by whatſoever combination, perſwaſion, or terror,
"to be divided, and withdrawn from this bleſſed Union and Conjunction,
"whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give our ſelves
"to a deteſtable Indifference or Neutrality in this Cauſe, which ſo much
"concerneth the Glory of God, the Good of the Kingdoms, and the
"Honour of the King; but ſhall, all the days of our lives, zealouſly and
"conſtantly continue therein, againſt all oppoſition, and promote the
"ſame

"ſame according to our power, againſt all Lets and Impediments what-
"ſoever. And what We are not able our ſelves to ſuppreſs, or overcome,
"We ſhall reveal, and make known, that it may be timely prevented
"or removed; all which We ſhall do as in the ſight of God.

"AND becauſe theſe Kingdoms are guilty of many Sins, and Provo-
"cations againſt God, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, as is too manifeſt by
"our preſent diſtreſſes and dangers, the fruits thereof; We profeſs and
"declare, before God, and the world, our unfeign'd deſire to be hum-
"bled for our own Sins, and for the Sins of theſe Kingdoms; eſpecially,
"that We have not, as we ought, valued the ineſtimable benefit of the
"Goſpel, that We have not labour'd for the purity, and power thereof;
"and that We have not endeavour'd to receive Chriſt in our hearts, nor
"to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the cauſes of other Sins
"and Tranſgreſſions ſo much abounding amongſt Us: And our true,
"and unfeign'd purpoſe, deſire, and endeavour for our ſelves, and all
"others under our power and charge, both in publick and in private,
"in all duties We owe to God and Man, to amend our lives, and each
"one to go before another in the example of a real Reformation; that
"the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and eſtabliſh
"theſe Churches and Kingdoms in Truth and Peace. And this Covenant
"We make in the preſence of Almighty God, the ſearcher of all hearts,
"with a true intention to perform the ſame, as we ſhall Anſwer at that
"great day, when the Secrets of all hearts ſhall be diſcloſed; moſt hum-
"bly beſeeching the Lord, to ſtrengthen Us by his holy Spirit, for this
"end; and to bleſs our deſires, and proceedings, with ſuch ſucceſs, as
"may be a deliverance and ſafety to his People, and encouragement to
"other Chriſtian Churches, groaning under, or in danger of the Yoke
"of Anti-Chriſtian Tyranny, to joyn in the ſame, or like Aſſociation
"and Covenant, to the Glory of God, the Enlargement of the Kingdom
"of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Peace, and Tranquillity of Chriſtian Kingdoms
"and Common-wealths.

ASSOON as this ſolemnity was over, which was concluded by Mr *Henderſon* (the ſole Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioner from the Kingdom of *Scotland*) who magnified what they had done, and aſſured them "of "great ſucceſs after it, by the experience of that Nation, who, from their "Union in their firſt Covenant, found nothing hard they propoſed to "themſelves; and told them, "that were that Covenant now painted "upon the Wall within the Pope's Palace, it would doubtleſs put him "into *Belſhazzar*'s quaking condition; the Speaker and Commons (having firſt ſet their hands to the Covenant, after they had taken it) return'd to their Houſe, and obſerving, that many of their Members were that day abſent, the cauſe whereof was eaſy to be gueſſed, they order'd, "that, aſſoon as they came into the Houſe, the Covenant ſhould "be tender'd to them, and whoſoever refuſed to take it, ſhould be pro-"ceeded againſt, as a diſaffected Perſon, in ſuch manner as the Houſe "ſhould think fit.

THEY farther made a ſpecial Order, "that all the Miniſters of Pariſh "Churches within *London*, and *Weſtminſter*, the Suburbs, and the "whole line of Communication, ſhould read and explain the Covenant "to their ſeveral Congregations, and ſtir them up, the next Faſt day, "to the chearful taking of it: and particular care was taken, that all the "Students of the Inns of Court ſhould be perſwaded to receive it. But

The Covenant order'd to be taken by others, eſpecially by the City.

over and above theſe general directions, there was a particular ceremony, and application to recommend this Covenant to the City, and Corporation of *London*, and another uſe to be made of it. The Covenant was not only to bring, but to keep Men together; and the taking it had only inclined the *Scots*, to march to their Aſſiſtance; they were to have one hundred thouſand pounds Advanced to them, and paid at *Edenborough*, before they could ſtir; and how to advance this great Sum, was not eaſy to reſolve. All their Ordinances for levying of Money were expired; their Iſſues and Disburſments ſo vaſt, that no income was ſufficient; their Exchequer was exhauſted, and even their Publick faith Bankrupt: ſuch Anticipations upon all kind of receipts, for Monies borrow'd, and already ſpent, that they had no Capitol for future Security.

THE Judicature of the Houſe of Peers (though their Number was but ten, for there was no more at the Sentence of Juſtice *Berkley*) had helped them all they could. Juſtice *Berkley*, who had been committed by them to the Tower, ſhortly after the beginning of the Parliament, upon a Charge of High Treaſon, and ſince the beginning of the War, permitted to ſit as ſole Judge in the King's Bench, one whole Term, was now brought to Judgement; and by their Lordſhips fined the Sum of twenty thouſand pounds, and made incapable of any place of Judicature; and upon abatement of half, and his Liberty, he paid the other ten thouſand pouuds together, to thoſe Perſons they appointed to receive it; which, ſince all fines are due to the King alone, and cannot be diſpoſed but by him, many thought a greater crime than that for which he was ſentenced. Baron *Trevor*, who was fined for the ſame Offence, and ſuffer'd ſtill to continue the ſame Office, in which he had committed his miſdemeanour, yielded them as much more. But theſe petty Sums were diſpoſed before they were receiv'd, and were but ſmall drops to quench the great drougth they ſuſtain'd: ſo that the reputation and ſecurity of this Covenant, was, amongſt other Uſes, to bring in Money too.

To that purpoſe, a Committee of Lords and Commons, with ſome of their Divines of the Aſſembly, was ſent to the *Guild-Hall*, where the Mayor had called a Common Council for their reception, to recommend to them, "the wonderful advantage and ſtrength their Party "ſhould gain by taking, and being united in this Covenant, and the "deſperate condition they were like to be in without it: If the *Scots* "came not to their Aſſiſtance, which, without this obligation, they "could not do, they were in danger to be overwhelm'd by the Enemy; "or at leaſt to make a diſadvantageous and diſhonourable Peace with "them; which yet they could not tell how it would be obſerv'd and "kept. On the other hand, by this famous acceſſion of ſtrength of a "whole Nation, they ſhould undoubtedly be able to maſter the War, "and to make thoſe who had been the Cauſers of it, defray the Charge; "and ſo all the Publick debts being diſcharged out of the Eſtates of De"linquents and Malignants, the Kingdom would not be at all impo"veriſhed, and the Peace, which ſhould hereafter be made with the "King, would be ſure to be inviolably obſerv'd by the ſtrength of this "Union; and therefore that it could not be purchaſed at too dear a "rate. It was, they ſaid, neither Covetouſneſs, nor want of Affection, "and Zeal to their Relief, that the *Scots*, who took Their Cauſe to "heart

"heart as their own, desired an Advance of Money before they drew "their Army into *England*, but pure Necessity, and the Poverty of that "Kingdom, already exhausted by their late expeditions, and keeping "their Soldiers together for the good of This. And if there had been "Money enough in that Country to have been procured upon the "publick Stock and Revenue, or the Mortgage of private Estates, to "which all Men were forward for the Publick Good, their Love to their "Brethren here was such, that they would neither have asked, nor re-"ceiv'd Money for their Assistance, after it had proved effectual; much "less, before the yielding it. For Evidence of which frank and Bro-"therly Inclination, they freely offer'd the Engagement of their own "Estates, for the repayment of the Money that should be advanced: which was the first time, that ever Land in *Scotland* had been offer'd for security of Money, borrowed in the City of *London*. In the end, they very devoutly extolled the Covenant, magnified the *Scotish* Nation, with all imaginable Attributes of Esteem and Reverence, "a Na-"tion that had engaged it self to God in a higher way, in a more extra-"ordinary way, than any Nation this day upon the face of the Earth "had done; a Nation, that had reform'd their lives for so small a time, "more than ever any People, that they knew of, in the world had done; "a Nation, that God had honour'd by giving as glorious Success unto, "as ever he did unto any: and very earnestly desired the Loan of a hundred thousand Pounds. The Rhetorick and the Zeal prevailed; a hundred thousand pounds was promised; and shortly provided, and sent to *Edenborough*; and the Assurance of the *Scots* coming so full, that they were looked upon as Masters of *New-Castle* already. With such an alacrity all these things were transacted.

THAT Violent Party in the Parliament, which never intended any Peace with the King, and had more desperate Mutations in their purposes, than they avow'd, even amongst those who concurr'd with them in all they desired, did not think themselves secure in the Affection of the People, nor in those who had the greatest Trust in their Affairs. They had seen the great changes in the Houses, in the City, and in the Country, upon their late ill Successes, the Defeat of *Waller*, and the loss of *Bristol*: and though the Earl of *Essex* still adhered to them, yet they saw he was not pleased, nor favoured one of those Men upon whom they most depended; but, on the contrary, all who were countenanced by Him, or in His confidence, were Men of such Principles as they liked not, or who desired no other Alterations, in the Court or Government, but only of the Persons who acted in it: therefore they had taken an opportunity, in the greatest dejection of Spirit, and when they looked upon themselves as near swallow'd up by the King's power, to move "that they might send into *Scotland* to their Brethren there, to "joyn with them, and to assist them, with an Army, that they might, by "such a Conjunction, have a Support, to make them so considerable, "as to be treated with, and to receive conditions which might preserve "them from ruin: which Proposition, being for so common an Interest and Benefit, had receiv'd a General concurrence; and so that Committee of both Houses had been sent into *Scotland*, to put them in mind "of "their joynt concernment, and how impossible it would be, for the *Scots* "long to enjoy the great concessions they had obtain'd from the King, "when the Parliament of *England*, by whose Friendship, Power, and "Authority they had obtain'd them, should be oppressed, and forced to

"yeild to ſuch conditions for their particular preſervations, as the King "would think fit to give them. But they were not a little ſtartled, when they found this Meſſage had obliged them to a preſent expence of a hundred thouſand pounds, before there was any viſible Relief given them; and ſaw themſelves involv'd in new obligations of Guilt, and to purpoſes they really never intended.

THERE hath been ſcarce any thing more wonderful throughout the Progreſs of theſe diſtractions, than that this Covenant did with ſuch extraordinary expedition, paſs the two Houſes, when all the leading Perſons in thoſe Councils, were at the ſame time known to be as great Enemies to Presbytery (the Eſtabliſhment whereof was the main end of this Covenant) as they were to the King or the Church. And He who contributed moſt to it, and, in truth, was the Principal Contriver of it, and the Man by whom the Committee in *Scotland* was entirely, and ſtupidly govern'd, Sr *Harry Vane* the younger, was not afterwards more known to abhor the Covenant, and the Presbyterians, than he was at that very time known to do, and laughed at 'em then, as much as ever he did afterwards.

HE was indeed a Man of extraordinary Parts, a pleaſant Wit, a great Underſtanding, which pierced into, and diſcern'd the purpoſes of other Men with wonderful Sagacity, whilſt he had Himſelf *vultum clauſum*, that no Man could make a gueſs of what he intended. He was of a temper not to be moved, and of rare diſſimulation, and could comply when it was not ſeaſonable to contradict, without loſing ground by the condeſcenſion; and if he were not ſuperior to Mr *Hambden*, he was inferior to no other Man, in all myſterious Artifices. There need no more be ſaid of his Ability, than that he was choſen to cozen, and deceive a whole Nation which was thought to excell in craft and cunning: which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity, and prevailed with a People that could not otherwiſe be prevailed upon than by advancing their Idol Presbytery, to ſacrifice their Peace, their Intereſt, and their Faith, to the erecting a Power and Authority that reſolv'd to perſecute Presbytery to an extirpation; and, in proceſs of time, very near brought their purpoſe to paſs.

THE Nation of *Scotland*, in general, had been ſo fully ſatisfied in all that they could pretend to deſire, that they were very well diſpoſed to be Spectators of what was done in *England*, without engaging themſelves in the Quarrel; and though there were ſome powerful Men amongſt them, whoſe guilt would not ſuffer them to believe that they could be otherwiſe ſecure, than by the King's want of power to call them to juſtice, yet their Number was not thought ſo great, as to be able to corrupt the People into a bare-faced Act of Rebellion: nor had they any ſuch face of Authority, as to invite them to it. Without a Parliament, they could not propoſe it; the King had abſolutely refuſed to call a Parliament, and it was yet above a Year to come, before a Parliament could be Aſſembled without the King's Conſent; and in that time, the King might have the better of his Enemies. However, the Commiſſioners of the Parliament had not been long at *Edenborough*, before they prevailed with the Council to call a Parliament; which Duke *Hamilton*, and others, who pretended great devotion to the King, and were of the Council, had promiſed the King to oppoſe, and ſaid "they were powerful enough to prevent it. When it came to the point, Duke *Hamilton*, being, one way or other, perſwaded himſelf, perſwaded others,

others, "that the abſolute refuſal to ſuffer a Parliament to be called, "would not quiet the Debate, nor ſecure the King, but more enflame "thoſe who deſired it; who would take ſome other time, when many "of them who oppoſed it ſhould be abſent, to propoſe it; and ſo would "carry it: and that therefore they were better be abſent at firſt, where-"by the others, might, without oppoſition, ſend out their Summons "for a Parliament to Aſſemble, at the day they thought fit; and that, "as they who would ſerve the King would not be there, ſo they ſhould "prevail with as many others as they could, not to be there likewiſe; "whereby the number which appear'd, would be ſo inconſiderable, that "they would not dare to ſit, but perfectly diſperſe; and this diſappoint-"ment would for ever quaſh that deſign, and render thoſe who adviſed "it, odious to the People; as Men who deſired illegally to engage the "Nation in unjuſtifiable ways, to diſturb the publick Peace.

A SUMMONS was accordingly ſent out to call a Parliament, to meet at a day appointed; before which time, thoſe of the Nobility and Gentry, who did really deſire to ſerve the King, applied themſelves to Duke *Hamilton* (whoſe advice and orders, the King himſelf had required them to obſerve; unhappily ſtill believing him to be faithful) to know what they ſhould do: many of the principal of them declaring their opinions to him, "that they ſhould take an opportunity to meet together, and "bring their Friends with them, whereby they might make a good Body "of Horſe, and ſo, with their Armes in their hands, they would de-"clare againſt the Legality of that Parliament, and the meeting in it: and named a fit opportunity to him for ſuch a meeting at the Funeral of a Lady, which was to be within ſome days, when, according to the cuſtom of that People, great Numbers of Perſons of Quality uſe to Aſſemble, to do Honour to the dead in the laſt obſequies. He told them, "he believ'd, it muſt come ſhortly to that remedy, but conceiv'd it not "yet time, and that ſuch a meeting would frighten the People, and en-"creaſe the Number in Parliament, and make many reſort to them for "their directions. He likewiſe ſaid, he had changed his former opi-"nion, concerning their own being abſent at that time of the meeting "of the Parliament, ſince their meer abſence would not be diſcounte-"nance enough, and that they who ſat, would carry the Reputation of "a Parliament, and the People would be guided by them, if there were "nothing but their abſence to work upon their inclinations, and af-"fections.

A Parliament Summon'd by the Covenanters in Scotland.

HE propoſed therefore to them, "that they would all reſolve to be "preſent, and take their places; and that, when the Houſe ſhould be "ſat, and any Man ſhould ſtand up to propoſe the taking any buſineſs "into conſideration, He [the Duke] would firſt make his Proteſtation "againſt proceeding in ſo illegal a Convention, and then They ſhould "all make the ſame Proteſtation; and he did hope, that the Number of "the Proteſters would be great enough to diſſolve the meeting; and "thus they ſhould put the beſt end to the matter that could be deſired: "but if it ſhould ſucceed otherwiſe, then would be the time to with-"draw and put themſelves in Armes; towards which he would make "the beſt preparation he could; and deſired Them to do the like. The Earl of *Kinoul*, and ſome others, made exception againſt this Expedient, and preſſed the former meeting at the Funeral, till the Duke told them, "the King liked the other way better; and pulled a Letter out of his Pocket, which he had receiv'd from his Majeſty, and read them ſo much

of it, as contained his Approbation, "that they ſhould meet in the Par-
"liament; in which determination they could not but acquieſce, though they thought at the ſame time that his Majeſty was betrayed.

THE Parliament met at the Day; and Duke *Hamilton*, according to his promiſe, took an opportunity to ſay ſomewhat that ſeem'd to imply a Proteſtation againſt the meeting; upon which, many of the Lords, who had been allways moſt engaged againſt the King, were very warm; and demanded, "that he ſhould declare himſelf clearly, whether he did "Proteſt againſt the Parliament; whereupon his Brother the Earl of *Lanrick*, who was Secretary of State to the King, ſtood up, and ſaid, "that he hoped, that Noble Lord's Affection to his Country was better "known, than that any Man could imagine he would Proteſt againſt the "Parliament of the Kingdom; and then the Duke explain'd, and excuſed himſelf; and ſaid, "he meant no ſuch thing: and ſo they declared, "that "they would Treat with the Commiſſioners, who were ſent from the "Parliament of *England*; and appointed Commiſſioners for that purpoſe.

SOME are of opinion, that, even at this time, they did not intend to engage in the War againſt the King; but that, as a few Men cozen'd the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, by perſwading them, "that they defired "only a ſafe Peace, till, by multiplication of Indignities, they made it impoſſible to make a Peace that would appear ſafe; ſo there was as ſmall a Number in *Scotland*, that overreached the Parliament there, by perſwading, "that they never intended to do any thing againſt the King, "but that it would be too ingrateful a thing, and render them very "odious to the whole *Engliſh* Nation, if, after they had receiv'd ſo many "obligations from the Parliament there, to whoſe protection they owed "their Religion, and all that they enjoyed, they ſhould refuſe ſo much "as to Treat with them, and to aſſiſt them, by their interpoſition, to "procure a good Peace for them with the King; which would be a great "Honour to them; and would be as great an obligation to his Majeſty, "as to the Parliament. That this was all that was in their thoughts; and that they would avoid any Engagement in a War, not by rejecting the Propoſition, but by making ſuch demands, as they knew well would never be accepted by the Parliament, at *Weſtminſter*. Thereupon they told the Commiſſioners from that Parliament, "that it would be im-
"poſſible to engage their Nation in a joynt concurrence with them, "againſt the King, but by the Influence and Authority of their Kirk; "and that it would be as impoſſible to procure the Conſent of their "Kirk, except by making it evident to them, that the Government of "the Church in *England*, ſhould be reduced to the ſame model with "Theirs in *Scotland*; and that Epiſcopacy ſhould be totally extirpated; "and that Deans and Chapters ſhould be utterly aboliſhed; without "which, they ſaid, "they could never think their own Government "ſecurely eſtabliſhed; but if ſuch a promiſe might be ſolemnly made, "their Kirk would be throughly engaged, and the Nation, to a Man, "would enter into the Quarrel.

Sr *Harry Vane* was not ſurpriſed with the Propoſition, which he had long foreſeen, and came reſolv'd to pay their own price for their Friendſhip. Thereupon, as hath been already ſaid, the Covenant was prepared, and other Propoſitions made for the preſent furniſhing a great Sum of Money, to enable them to begin their Levies; and many other extravagant Conditions propoſed on the *Scots* part, for the payment of the Army, and the other vaſt expences, that they did not believe the Commiſſioners

miſſioners would yield, or that the Parliament would perform, if they were yielded unto. Nothing of Money, or Honour, made any delay; and they came provided with ſome Letters of Credit, that as little time might be loſt as was poſſible, in making all neceſſary preparations. The Covenant was the matter of Difficulty; they knowing well, that many of their greateſt Friends, both in the Parliament, and the Army, had not any mind to change the Government of the Church; to which the People of *England* were not generally diſaffected.

Sr *Harry Vane* therefore (who equally hated Epiſcopacy and Presbytery, ſave that he wiſh'd the one Aboliſh'd with much impatience, believing it much eaſier to keep the other from being Eſtabliſh'd, whatever they promiſed, than to be rid of that which was ſettled in the Kingdom) carefully conſider'd the Covenant, and after he had alter'd, and changed many expreſſions in it, and made them doubtful enough to bear many interpretations, he, and his fellow Commiſſioners, ſign'd the whole Treaty; whereby it was provided, "that the Covenant ſhould be "taken throughout all his Majeſty's Dominions; that a Committee of "the *Scots* ſhould always ſit with the Cloſe Committee at *Weſtminſter* "for the carrying on of the War, with equal Authority; that there "ſhould be no Treaty of Peace with the King, without the joynt con-"ſent of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms; and many other particulars, very derogatory to the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation; and with all poſſible expedition ſent it to the Cloſe Committee at *Weſtminſter*; in the time of their conſternation, and before the relief of *Glocester*; which tranſmitted it preſently back to them, allow'd and confirm'd.

The Subſtance of the Treaty between the Engliſh *Commiſſioners and the* Scots.

AND thereupon the Parliament at *Edenborough*, reſolv'd to raiſe a great Army, and to invade *England*; and their old General *Leſley*, who had ſo ſolemnly promiſed the King, not only "never to bear Armes "againſt him, but to Serve him, let the Cauſe be what it would, without any heſitation undertook the Command of it. All this time, Duke *Hamilton* looked on, and ſometimes ſate with them; and when the firſt Proclamation was prepared, in the King's name, for a General Rendezvous of all Men, from ſuch an Age to ſuch an Age, at ſuch a time and place, that ſo their Army might be preſently form'd, the Earl of *Lanrick* put the King's Signet, with the keeping whereof he was truſted, to the ſaid Proclamation: and all this being done, both the Brothers left *Scotland*, to give the King an Account at *Oxford*, of all the Proceedings: Many of the Nobility of that Kingdom, who did heartily wiſh well to the King, being gone from thence, after the firſt days meeting of their Parliament (when the Duke had broken his promiſe to them) and inform'd his Majeſty at large of that which They thought foul Infidelity.

The Scots *raiſe an Army under* Leſley.

THE Diſcompoſures, Jealouſies, and Diſguſts, which reign'd at *Oxford*, produced great Inconveniences; and as, many times, Men in a Scuffle loſe their Weapons, and light upon thoſe which belonged to their Adverſaries, who again Arme themſelves with thoſe which belonged to the others, ſuch, one would have thought, had been the Fortune of the King's Army in the Encounters with the Enemies: for thoſe under the King's Commanders grew inſenſibly into all the Licence, Diſorder, and Impiety, with which they had reproach'd the Rebels; and They, into great Diſcipline, Diligence and Sobriety; which begot Courage and Reſolution in them, and notable dexterity in Atchievements and Enterpriſes. Inſomuch, as one ſide ſeem'd to Fight for Monarchy, with

Diviſions amongſt the Councils at Oxford.

with the Weapons of Confuſion, and the other to deſtroy the King and Government, with all the Principles and Regularity of Monarchy.

IN the beginning of the Troubles, the King had very prudently reſolv'd with himſelf, to confer no Honours, or beſtow any Offices or Preferments upon any, till the end and concluſion of the Service; and if that Reſolution had continued, He would have found much eaſe by it, and his Service great Advantage. The Neceſſity and Exigents of the War, ſhortly after made ſome breach into this ſeaſonable reſolution, and, for ready Money to carry on the War, his Majeſty was compelled, againſt his Nature, to diſpenſe ſome favours, which he would not willingly have ſuffer'd to be purchaſed, but by Vertue and high Merit. Then all Men thought Money and Money worth to be all one; and that whoſoever, by his Service, had deſerv'd a Reward of Money, had deſerv'd any thing that might be had for Money. And when it was apparent, that the War was like to prove a buſineſs of time, it was thought unreaſonable, that the King ſhould not confer rewards on Some, which he was able to do, becauſe he could not do it on All, which was confeſſedly out of his power. And ſo, by importunity, and upon the Title of old Promiſes, and ſome conveniences of his Service, he beſtow'd Honours upon ſome principal Officers of his Army, and Offices upon others; to which, though, in the particulars, no juſt exceptions could be taken, yet many were Angry to ſee ſome preferr'd, and not ſo much extolling their own merit and ſervice, as making it equal to thoſe whom they ſaw advanced, every Man thought himſelf neglected and ſlighted, in that another was better eſteem'd.

AND this Poyſon of Envy wrought upon many Natures, which had skill enough not to confeſs it: The Soldiers, albeit they were emulous amongſt themſelves, and very unſatisfied with one another (there being unhappy Animoſities amongſt the Principal Officers) yet they were too well united, and reconciled againſt any other Body of Men; and thinking the King's Crown depended wholely on the fortune of Their Swords, believ'd no other Perſons to be conſiderable, and no Councils fit to be conſulted with, but the Martial; and thence proceeded a fatal diſreſpect and irreverence to the Council of State, to which, by the wholeſome Conſtitution of the Kingdom, the Militia, Garriſons, and all Martial power is purely, and naturally Subordinate; and by the Authority, and prudence whereof, Proviſion could be only reaſonably expected, for the countenance and ſupport of the Army.

THE General, and Prince *Rupert*, were both Strangers to the Government and Cuſtom of the Kingdom, and utterly unacquainted with the Nobility, and the King's Miniſters, or with their Rights: and the Prince's heart was ſo wholely ſet upon Actions of War, that he not only neglected, but too much contemn'd the peaceable and civil Arts, which were moſt neceſſary even to the carrying on of the other. And certainly, ſomewhat like that which *Plutarch* ſays of the Roman Auguries, "that *Octavius* loſt his Life by truſting to them, and that *Ma*-"*rius* proſper'd the better, becauſe he did not altogether deſpiſe them, may be ſaid of Popularity: though he that too immoderately, and importunately affects it (which was the caſe of the Earl of *Eſſex*) will hardly continue innocent; yet he who too affectedly deſpiſes, or neglects what is ſaid of him, or what is generally thonght of Perſons, or Things, and too Stoically contemns the Affections of Men, even of Vulgar (be his other Abilities and Virtues as great as can be imagined) will, in ſome

conjuncture

conjuncture of time, find himſelf very unfortunate. And it may be, a better reaſon cannot be aſſign'd for the misfortunes that hopeful young Prince (who had great parts of mind, as well as Vigour of Body, and an incomparable perſonal Courage) underwent, and the Kingdom thereby, than that unpoliſh'd roughneſs of his Nature; which render'd him leſs patient to hear, and conſequently leſs skilful to judge of thoſe things, which ſhould have guided him in the diſcharge of his important Truſt: and making an unskilful judgement of the unuſefulneſs of the Councils, by his obſervation of the infirmities and weakneſs of ſome particular Counſellors, he grew to a full diſeſteem of the Acts of that Board; which muſt ever be reſpected, as long as the Regal Power is exerciſed in *England*.

I CANNOT but, on this occaſion, continue this digreſſion thus much farther, to obſerve, that they who avoid publick Debates in Council, or think them of no moment, upon undervaluing the Perſons of ſome Counſellors, and from the particular infirmities of the Men, the heavineſs of this Man, the Levity of another, the weakneſs and ſimplicity of a third, conclude, that the advice and opinions of Many are not requiſite to any great deſign, are exceedingly deceiv'd; and will perniciouſly deceive others who are miſled by thoſe concluſions. For it is in Wiſdom, as it is in Beauty, a face that, being taken in pieces, affords ſcarce one exact feature, an eye, or a noſe, or a tooth, or a brow, or a mouth, againſt which a viſible juſt exception may not be taken, yet altogether, by a gracefulneſs and vivacity in the whole, may conſtitute an excellent Beauty, and be more charming than another, whoſe Symmetry is more faultleſs; ſo there are many Men, who in one particular Argument, may be unskilful, in another affected, who may ſeem to have ſome Levity, and Vanity, or Formality, in ordinary and curſory Converſation (a very crooked Rule to meaſure any Man's Abilities, as giving a better Meaſure of the Humour, than of the Underſtanding) and yet in form'd Counſels, Deliberations, and Tranſactions, are Men of great Inſight, and Wiſdom, and from whom excellent Aſſiſtance may be contributed.

NO Queſtion, all great Enterpriſes, and Deſigns, that are to be executed, have many parts, even in the projection, fit for the Survey and Diſquiſition of ſeveral Faculties and Abilities, equally for the deciſion of ſharper, and more phlegmatick Underſtandings. And We often hear, in Debates of great Moment, Animadverſions of more weight, and conſequence, from thoſe whoſe ordinary converſation may not be ſo delightful, than from Men of more ſublime parts. Certainly *Solomon* well underſtood himſelf, when he ſaid, *In the Multitude of Counſellors there is ſafety*. And though it be confeſs'd, that reaſon would be better diſcover'd, and ſtated, and right concluſions eaſier made by a few, than by a greater Number, yet when the Execution depends on many, and the general interpretation ſo much depends on the Succeſs, and the Succeſs on the Interpretation, We ſee thoſe Counſels uſually moſt proſperous, whereof the conſiderations, and deliberations, have been meaſured by that Standard which is moſt publickly acknowledged, and receiv'd. He has had but ſmall Experience in the managing Affairs, who is not able experimentally to name to himſelf, ſome very good and uſeful concluſions, which have therefore only miſcarried, becauſe they were not communicated to thoſe, who thought they had reaſon to believe themſelves competent parties to the Secret. There was ſeldom ever

yet that publick heartedneſs ſunk into the breaſts of Men, as to be long willing to be left out in thoſe tranſactions, to the privacy whereof they had a right. And therefore Men have been often willing enough, any ſingle Advice ſhould miſcarry, of whatſoever general Concernment, rather than contribute to the fame of ſome One Man, who has thought Their Approbation not worth the providing for. And though the Advantage of ſecrecy and diſpatch, ſeems to favour a ſmall Number of Counſellors, yet (except in ſome few caſes, which in their own Nature are to be both conſulted, and acted together, and the full Execution whereof may be by a few) I am not ſure that the inconveniency will be greater by the neceſſary delays, occaſion'd by the Number, or even by ſuch a diſcovery, as may be ſuppoſed to proceed from the Levity of any of them, than by wanting the Approbation, and Concurrence of thoſe, who will unavoidably know it ſoon enough to add to, or take from the Succeſs, at leaſt the Reputation, of any publick buſineſs. Much of the Negligence, and Diſreſpect towards the Civil Councils, proceeded from theſe unhappy Cauſes. For as all Corporations, Tribes, and Fraternities, ſuffer moſt by the malignity of ſome of their own Members; ſo the Jealouſy, and Indiſpoſition of ſome Counſellors, contributed much to the diſregard which fell upon the Order; and in Them, upon the King.

AMONG thoſe who were next the King's Truſt, and to whom he communicated the greateſt Secrets in his Affairs, there were ſome, who from private, though very good, conditions of life, without ſuch an application to Court as uſually uſhered in thoſe promotions, were aſcended to that preferment; and were believ'd to have an equal Intereſt with any, in their Maſter's eſtimation. Theſe were ſure to find no more Charity from the Court, than from the Army; and they having had lately ſo many equals, it was thought no preſumption, freely to cenſure all they did, or ſpoke; what effect ſoever ſuch freedom had upon the publick Policy and Tranſactions. It were to be wiſh'd, that Perſons of the greateſt Birth, Honour, and Fortune, would take that care of themſelves by Education, Induſtry, Literature, and a love of Virtue, to ſurpaſs all other Men in Knowledge, and all other Qualifications, neceſſary for great Actions, as far as they do in Quality and Titles; that Princes, out of them, might always chooſe Men fit for all Employments, and high Truſts; which would exceedingly advance their Service; when the reputation and reſpect of the Perſon carries ſomewhat with it, that facilitates the buſineſs. And it cannot eaſily be expreſſed, nor comprehended by any who have not felt the weight, and burthen of the Envy, which naturally attends upon thoſe promotions, which ſeem to be *per Saltum*, how great ſtreights and difficulties ſuch Miniſters are forced to wreſtle with, and by which the Charges, with which they are entruſted, muſt proportionably ſuffer, let the Integrity and Wiſdom of the Men be what it can be ſuppoſed to be. Neither is the patience, and dexterity to carry a Man through thoſe ſtreights, eaſily attained; it being very hard, in the morning of preferment, to keep an even temper of mind, between the care to preſerve the dignity of the place committed to him (without which he ſhall expoſe himſelf to a thouſand rude attempts, and diſhonour the judgement that promoted him, by appearing too mean for ſuch a Truſt) and between the caution, that his Nature be not really exalted to an overweening pride and folly, upon the privilege of his great place; which will expoſe him to much more contempt, than

the former; and therefore is, with a more exact Guard, to be avoided: the Errors of gentleneſs and civility, being much more eaſily reform'd, as well as endured, than the other of arrogance and oſtentation.

THE beſt proviſion that ſuch Men can make for their Voyage, beſides a laſting ſtock of innocency, and a firm confidence in God Almighty, that he will never ſuffer that innocency to be utterly oppreſſed, or notoriouſly defamed, is, an expectation of thoſe Guſts, and Storms of Rumour, Detraction, and Envy; and a reſolution not to be over ſenſible of all Calumnies, Unkindneſs, or Injuſtice; but to believe, that, by being Preferr'd before other Men, they have an obligation upon them, to Suffer more than other Men would do; and that the beſt way to convince ſcandals, and miſreports, is, by neglecting them, to appear not to have deſerv'd them. There is not a more troubleſome paſſion, or that often draws more inconveniences with it, than that which proceeds from the indignation of being unjuſtly calumniated, and from the pride of an upright Conſcience; when Men cannot endure to be ſpoken ill of, if they have not deſerv'd it: in which diſtemper, though they ſhould free themſelves from the Errors, or Infirmities, with which they were traduced, they commonly diſcover others, of which they had never been ſuſpected. In a word, let no honeſt Man that is once enter'd into the liſt, think, he can by any skill, or comportment, prevent theſe conflicts and aſſaults; or that he can, by any ſtubborn or impetuous humour, ſuppreſs, and prevail over them: but let him look upon it as Purgatory, he is unavoidably to paſs through, and depend upon providence, and time, for a vindication; and by conſtantly performing all the duties of his place, with Juſtice, Integrity, and Uprightneſs, give all Men cauſe to believe, he was worthy of the firſt Hour; which is a Triumph very Lawfully to be affected.

AS theſe diſtempers, indiſpoſitions, and infirmities of particular Men, had a great influence upon the publick Affairs, and diſturbed and weaken'd the whole frame and fabrick of the King's deſigns; ſo no particular Man was more diſquieted by them, than the King himſelf; who, in his Perſon, as well as in his Buſineſs, ſuffer'd all the Vexation of the rude, petulant, and diſcontented humours of Court, and Army. His Majeſty now paid Intereſt for all the benefit and advantage, he had receiv'd in the beginning of the War, by his gentleneſs, and Princely affability to all Men, and by deſcending ſomewhat from the forms of Majeſty, which he had, in his former life, obſerv'd with all punctuality. He vouchſafed then himſelf to receive any Addreſſes, and Overtures for his Service, and to hold diſcourſe with all Men who brought devotion to him; and he muſt be now troubled with the complaints, and murmurs, and humours of all; and how frivolous, and unreaſonable ſoever, the cauſe was, his Majeſty was put both to inform, and temper their Underſtandings. No Man would receive an Anſwer but from Himſelf, and expected a better from him, than he muſt have been contented to have receiv'd from any Body elſe. Every Man magnified the Service he had done, and his Ability, and Intereſt to do greater, and propoſed Honour and Reward equal to both in his own ſenſe. And if he receiv'd not an Anſwer to his mind, he grew ſullen, complain'd, "he was ne-"glected, and reſolv'd, or pretended ſo, "to quit the Service, and to "Travel into ſome Forreign Kingdom. He is deceiv'd that believes the ordinary Carriage, and State of a King, to be matters of indifferency, and of no relation to his Greatneſs. They are the Outworks, which

preſerve Majeſty it ſelf from approaches and ſurpriſal. We find that the Queen of *Sheba* was amazed at the meat of *Solomon*'s Table, and the ſitting of his Servants, and the attendance of his Miniſters, and their Apparel, and his Cup-bearers *&c.* as ſo great inſtances of *Solomon*'s Wiſdom, that *there was no more ſpirit in her*. And no doubt, what Prince ſoever inconſiderately departs from thoſe forms, and trappings, and ornaments of his dignity, and preeminence, will hardly, at ſome time, be able to preſerve the body it ſelf of Majeſty, from intruſion, invaſion, and violation.

AND let no Man think, that the King had now no hard task to maſter theſe Troubles, and that a ſhort and ſharp blaſt of Royal Severity, would eaſily have diſperſed theſe clouds. The diſeaſe was too violent and catching, and the contagion too univerſal, to be cured by that remedy; neither were the ſymptoms, or effects, the ſame in all conſtitutions. It cannot be imagined, into how many ſeveral ſhapes Mens indiſpoſitions were put, and how many Artifices were uſed to get Honours, Offices, Preferments, and the waywardneſs and perverſneſs, which attended the being diſappointed of their own hopes. One Man had been named for ſuch a place, that is, Himſelf and his Friends had given it out, that he ſhould have it, when, it may be, he was too modeſt to pretend to it; and upon this Vogue he had a Title, and if it ſhould be conferr'd upon another, it would be a mark of the King's diſfavour to him; and thereby he ſhould loſe the Ability, and Credit, without which he could do no farther Service. Another ſuggeſted, that his Friends and Companions in conſort, had all receiv'd ſome obligation, and if he alone ſhould remain without ſome teſtimony of favour, it would be a brand upon him of ſome ſignal unworthineſs. No Man was ſo hard hearted to himſelf, as not to be able to give a reaſon for any thing he deſired; and He commonly had beſt ſucceſs, who proſecuted his own wiſhes with moſt boldneſs, and importunity; neither was there a better, or another reaſon for ſome Mens Preferment, than that they had ſet their hearts upon it, and Would have it. And it was a great temptation to modeſt Natures, to find forward Men had ſo good Fortune, that the want of Succeſs begun to be imputed to want of Wit.

I REMEMBER about this time, a Perſon of good Quality, and of a good Name in Action, came to me very penſive, and told me, "how "conſciencioufly he had ſerv'd the King, without any private deſigns, "or other thoughts, than the diſcharge of his own Duty, and rendring "the performance of that Duty acceptable to his Majeſty; yet that, to "his unſpeakable diſcomfort, he found, he had been miſrepreſented "to the King, and that his Majeſty had entertain'd a ſiniſter opinion "of him, and deſired me to learn, what the ground of the prejudice "was, and by my good teſtimony to endeavour to remove it. I had a very good opinion of the Perſon, and believed the King had ſo, and therefore perſwaded him, that the Jealouſy was groundleſs, and preſſed to know, from whence he receiv'd thoſe impreſſions; he excuſed himſelf in the particular, and aſſured me, "that he had his Advertiſement "from a ſure hand, which was to be concealed and not doubted; that, "upon my Enquiry, I would find it true, though he could not imagine "the cauſe. I promiſed him, "I would preſs the King very heartily in "it, and if there were any thing that ſtuck with him, I preſumed his "Majeſty would be ſo gracious to let me know it; and accordingly, having ſhortly after an opportunity to wait on his Majeſty, I told him

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the true Narrative of what had paſſed, with my obſervation of the general comportment of that Gentleman, and beſought his Majeſty, "if "any ill Offices had been done him, or that any prejudice towards him "was lodged in his Royal breaſt, that he would graciouſly vouchſafe to "tell me what it was, and that he would allow him an Acceſs, to clear, "himſelf from any imputations. The King very chearfully aſſured me, "that he had not only a very good opinion of that Gentleman, but that "he was moſt aſſured, he had no real ſuſpicion to the contrary; and therefore, bid me "proceed to the other part of my buſineſs. I told him, "I had no more, and that I was ſure, I ſhould make a very happy Man "by ſatisfying him of what I found. Then, ſaid the King, "you are "not throughly inſtructed, for the other half of this buſineſs muſt be a "Suite. I replied, "if that were ſo, I was yet more ignorant than I "ſuſpected my ſelf. The Gentleman ſhortly after came to me, in pain, as I thought, with the jealouſy of being in Umbrage; and when I gave him pregnant Aſſurance to the contrary, with the mention of ſome Expreſſions the King had uſed, which were indeed very gracious, he ſeem'd to receive it with ſuch a countenance and guſto, that I verily believ'd he had had his heart's deſire. But, the next morning, he came to me again, and told me, "that I had made him abundantly happy; and that "he doubted not, there was no juſt ground for the other reports, but "only the Malice of thoſe who wiſh'd them true; yet, that they had "leſſen'd his credit abroad, even with his Friends, and that he found, "there was no way to keep up his Reputation, and Intereſt in the world, "whereby he might be able to do the King Service (which was all he "looked after) but the receiving ſome teſtimony of the King's good opi-"nion, which would be a publick evidence that the other diſcourſes were "falſe. I was ſurpriſed, and as much out of countenance, as He ſhould have been; and adviſed him "to patience, and to expect the King's own "time, and method, rather than to quicken him by any importunity, "which would give an ill reliſh to any obligation. He would not underſtand that Philoſophy, but ſhortly after found ſome other means, to preſs the King very roundly for a place, upon the title of that good opinion he had declared to me to hold of him; not without ſome implication, "that, without ſome ſuch earneſt of his Majeſty's goodneſs, he "ſhould not be able to continue in his Service; which probably was one of the modeſteſt Addreſſes, which were made to him at that time. And it cannot be denied, this way the King's Trouble was ſo great, that he many times ſuffer'd more Vexation from the indiſpoſition, and humours of his own People, than from the Enemy, or the apprehenſion of their Counſels: which hath made me enlarge this digreſſion ſo much; conceiving it no leſs to be a part of Hiſtory, and more uſeful to Poſterity, to leave a Character of the times, than of the Perſons, or the Narrative of the matters of Fact, which cannot be ſo well underſtood, as by knowing the Genius that prevail'd when they were tranſacted.

THE beſt Expedient his Majeſty could find to diſpel theſe fumes, was Motion and Action; and therefore, though the Seaſon of the Year was too far ſpent, and too many Officers hurt, for the taking the Field again, beſides that many Regiments were return'd to their old Poſts (as the *Welſh* to defend their own Country from the Incurſions from *Gloceſter*, and to reduce ſome Towns in *Pembroke-ſhire*, which, lying on the Sea, by the help of the Parliament Ships, begun to fortify, and gather ſtrength) yet he reſolv'd his Forces about *Oxford* ſhould not lie ſtill.

IN the beginning of *October*, Prince *Rupert*, with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, marched into *Bedford-ſhire*, and took the Town of *Bedford*, and in it a Party of the Enemy, who uſed it only as a ſtrong Quarter. This expedition was principally to countenance Sr *Lewis Dives*, whilſt he Fortified *Newport Pannel*, where he hoped to fix a Garriſon; which would have made a more direct line of communication with the Northern Parts, and reſtrain'd the Commerce between *London* and their Aſſociated Counties; which they well underſtood; and therefore, upon the firſt News of it, the Earl of *Eſſex* removed his head Quarters from *Windſor* to St *Albans*, and the Train'd-bands of *London*, and their Auxiliary Regiments, marched again to him for his Recruit; upon the advancement whereof, and a miſtake of Orders from *Oxford*, Sr *Lewis Dives* drew off his Forces from *Newport Pannel*; and the Enemy preſently poſſeſſed themſelves of it, and made it a very uſeful Garriſon. Upon which, Prince *Rupert* Fortified *Toſſiter*, a Town in *Northampton-ſhire*, and left a ſtrong Garriſon there; which, though it infeſted the Enemy ſomewhat, and took great Revenge upon thoſe Counties which had expreſſed a violent Affection to the Parliament, in truth, added little ſtrength to the King; for he loſt many Horſe by the labour of duty, the greateſt part of the Body of his Horſe being forced to Quarter near that place, for the ſecurity of the Foot, till the Works about the Town were in ſuch a forwardneſs, that they needed not fear their Neighbours at St *Albans*.

The King's Affairs in the Weſt.

IN the mean time, the power of the Parliament was leaſt Manifeſt in the Weſt, where their Party was reduced to a lowneſs, and confined within narrow limits, after the taking of *Exeter*; the Gentlemen of that County having been generally well devoted to the King's Service, though never able ſafely to declare it, at leaſt to appear in a poſture of oppoſing the violence of the other Party. Prince *Maurice* found a general concurrence to advance the great work, by Levies of Money, Men, and all Offices that could be expected; inſomuch as, within very few days after the Surrender of that Town, his Army of Foot, by the new Levies, contained no fewer than ſeven thouſand Men (which was a Body the Weſt had not before ſeen) beſides a Body of Horſe, at leaſt proportionable to the other; and all in excellent Equipage for Action. And at the ſame time, Colonel *John Digby* was before *Plymouth*, with above three thouſand Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe, and had taken a work from the Enemy of great Importance, called *Mount-Stamford* in honour of that Earl during the time of his abode there, within half a mile of the Town, and which commanded ſome part of the River; the loſs whereof gave the Town a marvellous diſcouragement.

THE firſt Error the Prince committed after the reducing of *Exeter*, was ſtaying too long there before he advanced; for Victorious Armies carry great terror with them, whilſt the memory and fame of the Victory is freſh. The next, that he moved not directly towards *Plymouth*, when he did move; which, in all probability, would have yielded upon his Approach; for the Town was full of diſtraction, and jealouſy amongſt themſelves, as well as unprovided for the reception of an Enemy. It was a rich and populous Corporation, being, in time of Peace, the greateſt Port for Trade in the Weſt; and, except *Briſtol*, then more conſiderable than all the reſt. There was in it a Caſtle very ſtrong towards the Sea, with good Platforms and Ordnance; and little more than Muſquet ſhot from the Town, was an Iſland with a Fort in it, much ſtronger

than the Caſtle; both which were, before the Troubles, under the Command of a Captain, with a Garriſon of about fifty Men at the moſt; and were only intended for a ſecurity, and defence of the Town, againſt a Forreign Invaſion; the Caſtle and the Iſland together, having a good Command of the entrance into the Harbour, but towards the Land there was very little ſtrength. This Command was in the hands of Sr *Jacob Aſtley*, and as unprovided to expect, or reſiſt an Enemy, as the other Caſtles and Forts of the Kingdom; leſs for the receiving a Recruit; there being only Ordnance, and Ammunition, without any other Proviſions for the ſupport of the Soldiers within the Walls; and the Garriſon it ſelf being by time, Marriages, and Trade, incorporated into the Town, and rather Citizens than Soldiers: So that Sr *Jacob Aſtley* being ſent for to the King, before his ſetting up his Standard, aſſoon as there was any apprehenſion of a Party for the King in *Cornwal*, after the appearing of Sr *Ralph Hopton*, and thoſe other Gentlemen there, the Mayor, and Corporation of *Plymouth*, quickly got both the Caſtle and Iſland into their own Power.

IT will be wonder'd at by many hereafter, that thoſe, and the like places of Strength in *England*, being under the Command of Perſons entirely of his Majeſty's Nomination, were not put into a good Poſture of Defence, when it grew firſt Evident, that there would be ſhortly occaſion to uſe them; for according to the old ſtory in *Ælian*, that when in one of the States of *Greece*, *Micippus*'s Sheep brought forth a Lyon, it was generally, and juſtly concluded, that that portended a Tyranny, and change of the State from a peaceable to a bloody Government; ſo when the two Houſes of Parliament firſt produced a Soveraign Power, to make, and alter, and ſuſpend Laws, before they raiſed an Army, or made a General, or declared War; when that mild and innocent Sheep, that Legal regular Convention of a ſober and modeſt Council, had once brought forth that Lyon, which ſought whom he might devour, it might be eaſily, and naturally concluded by all wiſe and ſober Men, that the bleſſed calm, and températe State of Government, by which every Man eat the fruit of his own Vine, was at an end; and rapine, blood, and deſolation, to ſucceed; and therefore that thoſe Holds ſhould, in reaſon, have been then provided for.

BUT I ſhall ſay here once for all, that from the time that there was any reaſonable jealouſy of a War, it was never in the King's Power to mend the condition of any of thoſe places; and if he had attempted it, with what caution or ſecrecy ſoever, the inconvenience he muſt have ſuſtained by it, beſides the failing of his end, would have been much greater than the Advantage which could have accrued, if he had done what he deſired. I have very ill deſcribed the times We have paſſed through, if That be not apparent; and that it was rather an Error of the former times, that thoſe places needed any Supply, than that it was not applied to them in the ſucceeding.

THE Parliament was very glad *Plymouth* was thus ſecured; and, as well to put an obligation upon all Corporations, by ſhewing they thought them capable of the greateſt Truſts, as becauſe they could not, in truth, more reaſonably Confide in any other, they committed the Government thereof to that Mayor; who was well enough inſtructed, what reſpect to pay to their Committee; which was appointed to reſide there for his aſſiſtance, and to conduct the Affairs in thoſe parts. Of that Committee, Sr *Alexander Carew* was one; a Gentleman of a good Fortune

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in *Cornwal*, who ſerv'd in Parliament as Knight for that County, and had, from the beginning of the Parliament, concurr'd in all concluſions with the moſt Violent, with as full a Teſtimony of that zeal and fury, to which their confidence was applied, as any Man. To Him the Cuſtody and Government of that Fort, and Iſland, which was looked upon as the Security of the Town, was committed; and a ſufficient Garriſon put into it. The Mayor commanded the Caſtle, and the Town, about which a Line was caſt up of Earth, weak, and irregular.

AFTER the Battle of *Stratton*, and the King's Forces prevailing ſo far over the Weſt, that *Briſtol* was taken by them, and *Exeter* cloſely Beſieged, Sr *Alexander Carew* begun to think, his Iſland and Fort would hardly ſecure his Eſtate in *Cornwal*; and underſtood the Law ſo well (for he had had a good Education) to know, that the ſide he had choſen, would be no longer the Better, than it ſhould continue the Stronger; and having originally follow'd no other Motives, than of Popularity and Intereſts, reſolv'd now to redeem his Errors; and found means to correſpond with ſome of his old Friends and Neighbours in *Cornwal*, and by them, to make a direct Overture to Surrender that Fort and Iſland to the King, upon an Aſſurance of his Majeſty's Pardon, and a full remiſſion of his Offences. Sr *John Berkley*, who then lay before *Exeter*, was the next Supreme Officer, qualified to entertain ſuch a Treaty; and He, inſtantly, by the ſame conveyance, return'd him as ample Aſſurance of his own conditions as could be; with advice, "that he ſhould not, "upon any defect of forms (which, upon his engagement, ſhould be "ſupplied with all poſſible expedition, to his own ſatisfaction) defer the "conſummating the work; which hereafter, poſſibly, might not be in "his power to effect: deſigns of that Nature being to be conſulted and executed together; for in thoſe caſes, according to *Mutianus* in *Tacitus*, *Qui deliberant, deſciverunt*; and the greateſt danger attends the not going on. But he was ſo ſottiſhly, and dangerouſly wary of his own Security (having neither Courage enough to obey his Conſcience, nor Wickedneſs enough to be proſperous againſt it) that he would not proceed, till he was ſufficiently aſſured, that his Pardon was paſſed the Great Seal of *England*; before which time, though all imaginable haſt was made, by the Treachery of a Servant whom he truſted, his Treaty and Deſign was diſcover'd to the Mayor, and the reſt of the Committee; and, according to the diligence uſed by that Party, in caſes of ſuch concernment, he was ſuddainly, and without reſiſtance, ſurpriſed in his Fort, and carried Priſoner into *Plymouth*; and from thence, by Sea, ſent to *London*; where what became of him, will be remember'd in it's place.

Sr Alexander Carew Treats to Surrender the Fort of Plymouth to the King's Forces, but is ſurpriſed.

SHORTLY after this accident, Colonel *Digby* came before the Town; and though the great damage was by this means prevented, yet it cannot be imagined, but the People were in great diſtraction, with the apprehenſion of the danger they had eſcaped; and thoſe diſcoveries bring always that Melancholy with them, that Men are not quickly again brought to a confidence in one another. For no Man had, to common underſtanding, better deſerv'd to be truſted, or given leſs Argument for Suſpicion: And upon ſuch a defection, who could hope to ſtand free from jealouſy? Beſides he could not but have had much familiarity with many in the Town, which muſt ſubject them to ſome Suſpicion, or, at leaſt, make them ſuſpect that they were ſuſpected; and without doubt, it awaken'd many to apprehend the immediate hand of God in the

Judgement, that he would not ſuffer a Man to recover the Security, and Comfort of his Allegiance, who had ſo ſignally departed from it againſt the light of his own Conſcience; and that a Man, who had been before precipitate againſt all reaſon, ſhould periſh by conſidering too much, when precipitation was only reaſonable.

THE fame of the winning of *Exeter*, by which a Victorious Army was at liberty to viſit them, and then the loſs of *Mount-Stamford*, which was their only conſiderable Fortification to the Land, with thoſe other diſcompoſures, wrought a wonderful conſternation amongſt them; and made them conſider, that if they could hold out, and defend their Town, the Country being all loſt, they muſt loſe all their Trade, and ſo from Merchants become only Soldiers; which was not the condition they contended for. Inſomuch as the Mayor himſelf was not without a propenſity to ſend for a Treaty, upon which the Town might be deliver'd to the King: and it was by many then believ'd, that if Prince *Maurice* had then marched from *Exeter* before it, that Treaty would infallibly have enſued. But, when I ſay it was an error that he did Not, I intend it rather as a Misfortune than a Fault; for his Highneſs was an utter ſtranger in thoſe parts; and therefore was not, without great appearance of reaſon, perſwaded firſt to bend his courſe to *Dartmouth*; which was looked upon "as an eaſy work, and a Harbour, which, being got, would "draw a very good Trade: and that ſhort work being perform'd, *Ply-*"*mouth* would have the leſs Courage to make reſiſtance; and if it ſhould, "it were much fitter for the Winter, which was now drawing on (for it was more than the middle of *September*) "than the other, by reaſon "of the conveniency of good accommodation for the Soldiers, near about "it; which could not be had about *Dartmouth*.

UPON theſe reaſons, he marched directly to *Dartmouth*; which, how unfit ſoever to make a Defence againſt ſuch an Army, by the diſadvantage of Situation, and the want of all thoſe helps which uſe to make a Garriſon confident, he found in no temper and diſpoſition to yeild; ſo that he ſate down before it. And ſhortly after, there came ſo violent a Seaſon of Rain, and foul Weather, that very many of his Men, with lying on the ground, fell ſick, and died; and more, run away. Yet, after near a Month's Siege, and the loſs of many good Men (whereof the ſame Colonel *Chudleigh*, of whom We ſpoke before, was one, a Gallant young Gentleman, who received a ſhot with a Muſquet in the Body, of which he died within few days, and was a wonderful loſs to the King's Service) it was given up on fair conditions; and then the Prince, having placed a Garriſon there, under the Command of Colonel *Seymour*, a Gentleman of principal account and intereſt in *Devon-ſhire*, loſt no more time, but, with all convenient expedition, marched to *Plymouth*; which was not now in the State it had been; for the Parliament being quickly inform'd, how terrible an impreſſion the loſs of almoſt all other Parts of the Weſt, had made upon the Spirits of that People, had before this time ſent a recruit of five hundred Men, and a *Scots* Officer to be Governour; who eaſed the Mayor of that unequal Charge, and quickly made it evident, that nothing but a peremptory defence was thought of. So the Prince ſate down before it with an Army much inferior, after he had joyn'd with Colonel *Digby*, to that with which he had marched from *Exeter* to *Dartmouth*; yet with much confidence to reduce that Town, before the Winter ſhould be over.

Prince Maurice *ſits down before* Dartmouth; *and takes it*:

Sits down before Plymouth *too late.*

THOUGH the King's Succeſs, and good Fortune, had met with a

check in the relief of *Gloceſter*, and the Battle of *Newbury*, yet his condition ſeem'd mightily improved by the whole Summer's Service. For whereas he ſeem'd before confined, upon the matter, within *Oxford-ſhire*, and half *Berk-ſhire* (which half was loſt too upon the loſs of *Reading* in the Spring) and the Parties which appeared for him in other Counties, ſeem'd rather ſufficient to hinder a general Union againſt him, than that they were like to reduce them to his devotion; he was now, upon the matter, Maſter of the whole Weſt; *Cornwal* was his own without a Rival; *Plymouth* was the only place, in all *Devon-ſhire*, unreduced; and thoſe Forces ſhut within their own Walls: the large, rich County of *Somerſet*, with *Briſtol*, entirely His: In *Dorſet-ſhire*, the Enemy had only too little fiſher Towns, *Pool* and *Lyme*; all the reſt was declared for the King. And in every of theſe Counties, he had plenty of Harbours and Ports, to ſupply him with Ammunition, and the Country with Trade. In *Wilt-ſhire* the Enemy had not the leaſt footing, and rather a Town or two in *Hamp-ſhire* than any poſſeſſion of the County; that People being generally undevoted to them: The whole Principality of *Wales*, except a Sea-Town or two in *Pembroke-ſhire*, was at his devotion; and that unfortunately obſtinate Town of *Gloceſter* only kept him from commanding the whole *Severn*. The Parliament was nothing ſtronger in *Shropſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and *Lancaſhire*, than they were in the beginning of the year. And albeit the Marquis of *New-Caſtle* had been forced to riſe as unfortunately from *Hull*, as the King had been from *Gloceſter*, yet he had ſtill a full power over *York-ſhire*, and a greater in *Nottingham-ſhire*, and *Lincoln-ſhire*, than the Parliament had. So that he might be thought to be now ſtrong enough to make War; the contrary opinion whereof had been one of the greateſt reaſons that there was no Peace. And therefore Many believ'd, that, what appearance ſoever there was of obſtinacy, the Winter would produce ſome Overtures of Accommodation; and that all the noiſe of preparation from *Scotland*, was only to incline the King to the greater condeſcenſions; and that, in truth, they who had pretended the concurrent deſire of the People, as the beſt reaſon for whatſoever they had propoſed, and traduced the King with a purpoſe of bringing Forreign Forces to awe, and impoſe upon his own Subjects, would not now have the hardineſs to bring in a ſtranger Nation to invade their Country, and to compel that People, by whoſe Affections they would be thought to be guided, to ſubmit to Changes they had no mind to receive. And the Arrival of the Count of *Harcourt*, as Extraordinary Embaſſadour from the Crown of *France*, was looked upon as an expedient to uſher in ſome Treaty, and to remove thoſe ceremonies, and preliminary Propoſitions, which, by reaſon of the mutual Declarations, and Proteſtations againſt each other, might be thought of greater difficulty, than any real differences between them.

The Conte d' Harcourt *Arrives Embaſſadour from* France.

THE King himſelf was not without expectation of notable Effects from this Embaſſy; for the State of *France* ſeem'd to be much alter'd from what it was, at the beginning of theſe Troubles. Cardinal *Richelieu*, who, the King well knew, had more than fomented the Troubles both in *England*, and *Scotland*, was now dead; and the King of *France* himſelf likewiſe; and thoſe old Miniſters of State who had been long in the *Baſtile*, or Baniſhed, were now ſet at liberty, and recalled, and in favour; the Queen Mother made Regent; who profeſſed great perſonal kindneſs to the Queen of *England*, and ſo great a ſenſe of the

indignities the King and She ſuffer'd, that ſhe ſeem'd ſenſible, that *France* had contributed too much to them, and to think, that the Intereſt, as well as Honour of that Crown, was concern'd to buoy up the Monarchy of *England*; with intimations, "that the King himſelf ſhould direct, "what way he would be ſerv'd by that Crown. The firſt Evidence they gave of meaning as they ſaid, was the revocation of Monſieur *la Ferte Senneterre*, the Embaſſadour then Reſident in *England*; who had contracted a wonderful familiarity with the fierceſt Managers of the Parliament, and done the King all imaginable diſſervice; inſomuch as he had induſtriouſly perſwaded ſome *Engliſh* Prieſts, and Jeſuits, to engage thoſe of the Romiſh perſwaſion, by no means to aſſiſt the King; with a full aſſurance, "that the Parliament would allow them Liberty of "Conſcience. This Miniſter his Majeſty deſired might be recalled; which was not only ſuddainly done, but a private intimation likewiſe given to Our Queen, "that She ſhould nominate, what Perſon was to "be employed in his place; who ſhould wholely guide himſelf by Her "Inſtructions: and her Majeſty was led to make choice of Monſieur *le Conte d' Harcourt*, one of the principal Perſons of that Kingdom, being a Prince of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, and ſo allied to the King, and Grand Eſcuier; and had been their late fortunate General in *Catalonia*, where he had given the *Spaniard* the greateſt Defeat they had receiv'd; which was not thought an unſeaſonable Qualification in an Embaſſadour, whoſe buſineſs was to mediate a Peace.

HIS Reception at *London* was with much ſolemnity, that he might not find there was any abſence of Ceremony or State, by the abſence of the King; yet, when he had a ſafe Conduct for *Oxford*, his Carriages were ſtopped at the going out of *London*, and his own Coach, as well as all other places, ſearched with great and unuſual rudeneſs, upon ſuſpicion that he carried Letters; and though he expoſtulated the Affront, as a high violation of his Honour, and Privilege, he receiv'd no manner of reparation, or the Officer, that did it, any reprehenſion, which made many believe, that he would have been very keen in the reſentment. The King expected that, by this Embaſſadour, the Crown of *France* would have made a brisk Declaration on his Majeſty's behalf; and if the Parliament ſhould not return to their regular Obedience, that they ſhould have found no correſpondence, or reception in that Kingdom; and that they would really aſſiſt his Majeſty, in ſuch manner as he ſhould propoſe; which Declaration, he thought, would prove of moment with the City of *London*, in reſpect of their Trade; but more with the *Scots*, who were underſtood to have an eſpecial dependence upon *France*.

WHEN the Embaſſadour return'd from his Audience at *Oxford*, where he ſtayed not many days, he ſent a paper to the Earl of *Northumberland*, by which he deſired his Lordſhip, "to impart to the Meſſieurs "of Parliament, that he had made known to their Majeſties, the Af-"fectionate deſire the King his Maſter, and the Queen his Miſtreſs, "had to contribute all good Offices, in the procurement of Peace, and "Tranquillity in this Kingdom; to which he found the deſires of "their Majeſties well diſpoſed; and therefore he deſired to know, whe-"ther his Lordſhip thought the two Houſes did correſpond in the "ſame intention; if they did, after they ſhould make him underſtand "the Subject that had obliged them to take up Armes, he would in-"terpoſe to pacify the differences, by ſuch expedients, as ſhould be

"moſt conformable to the ancient Laws, and Cuſtoms of the Realm.

AFTER the Earl of *Northumberland* had inform'd the Houſe of Peers of this repreſentation, it was, at a Conference, imparted to the Houſe of Commons, and an Anſwer was framed by joynt agreement, to be return'd by the Earl of *Northumberland* to the Embaſſadour. In the form of it, they gave him the Title of *Prince of Harcourt*, and *Grand Eſcuier of France*; but omitted that of *Extraordinary Embaſſadour in England*, becauſe it did not appear to the Parliament, by Letters of Credence, or the ſight of his Inſtructions from the King, or Queen Regent of *France*, that he was by them employed Extraordinary Embaſſadour into *England*.

THE Anſwer it ſelf was, "that the Lords and Commons in Parliament did, with all due Reſpects, accept of the Affectionate deſires of "the King, and Queen Regent of *France*, to contribute good Offices, "towards the procuring a happy Peace; and that, when the ſaid Monſieur *le Prince d' Harcourt* ſhould make any ſuch Propoſitions to the "Parliament, by Authority from their Majeſties of *France*, they would "give then ſuch an Anſwer to the ſame, as might ſtand with the Intereſt of both Kingdoms, and their late ſolemn League and Covenant. The Lords propoſed, "that there might be a Committee appointed to "Treat with the Embaſſadour: But the Commons would by no means conſent to it, "till he ſhould make it manifeſt, that he had Authority "from his Maſter to Treat with the Parliament; and withall they declared, "that if he had, at any time, any thing farther to offer to them, "they would not receive it from any particular Member of either Houſe; "but that he ſhould apply himſelf by writing, or otherwiſe, to the "Speaker of either, or both Houſes of Parliament; otherwiſe, they "would hold no correſpondence with him. The ground of this reſolution was, that they might draw from the Embaſſadour (which they preſumed could not be without the Privity, and Approbation of the King) an Addreſs, and Acknowledgement that they were a Parliament, againſt the Freedom whereof, and conſequently the preſent Being, his Majeſty had, by his late Proclamation, declared. So the Embaſſadour, after a Journey or two to *Oxford*, and ſome perfunctory Addreſſes to the Houſes, return'd to *France re infecta*, and without the leaſt expreſſion of diſlike, on his Maſter's behalf, of their proceedings.

Returns into France without any good effect to the King.

SOME were ſcrupulous in believing that *France* really intended to repair the miſchief it had done; and obſerv'd, that though there were ſome plauſible compliances, in point of Ceremony, with particular Perſons, after the death of the former Cardinal; yet, that the main Counſels were carried on upon the Rules and Directions he had left; and that the Cardinal *Mazarin*, a Perſon who had been of the higheſt truſt with the other, wholely now preſided over thoſe Counſels; and conſider'd, how much *France* might imagine it would conduce to their Intereſt, that the King of *England* ſhould not have all his Subjects in perfect Obedience, leſt he might offer to be an Arbiter of their great differences: I ſay, theſe Men believ'd Count *Harcourt*'s Inſtructions privately were no other than the laſt Embaſſadour's; whom the King had cauſed to be recalled. And it cannot be denied, that they who were inclined to that jealouſy, had arguments enough to encreaſe it.

WHEN this Extraordinary Embaſſadour was appointed to come for *England*, Mr *Mountague* was in the Court of *France*, very much truſted by both their Majeſties, and by his Quality, and near relation to ſo great

a Truſt,

a Truſt, his long converſation in that Court, and a ſingular dexterity in his Nature, adorn'd with excellent Parts, was thought to have a very good place in the favour, and particular eſtimation of that Queen Regent, and in the opinion of the Cardinal; to whom he had been uſeful. With this Gentleman moſt of the concluſions had been tranſacted, which were preparatory to the Embaſſadour's Journey; and it was thought fit, that He ſhould at the ſame time come into *England*; and, in ſuch a diſguiſe, as might eaſily conceal a Man better known in *France* than in his own Country, in the Embaſſadour's Train find a ſafe paſſage to *Oxford*; which was carried with ſo much ſecrecy, that, beſides to the Embaſſadour himſelf, he was known to very few of his Retinue. The Count of *Harcourt* was not Landed four and twenty hours, but in his Journey towards *London*, a Meſſenger from the Parliament apprehended Mr *Mountague*, and carried him a Priſoner to the Houſes; by whom he was committed to the Tower; and though the Embaſſadour made a great ſhew of reſenting it, he never claimed him in ſuch a manner, as to procure his Enlargement; which made Men believe, the Cardinal liked well his confinement, and deſired not he ſhould be either at *Oxford* or *Paris*.

AT the Embaſſadour's firſt coming to *Oxford*, after general Overtures, and Declarations of the reſolution of that Crown, "to give his Majeſty "all poſſible Aſſiſtance for his reeſtabliſhment, he propoſed a League Offenſive and Defenſive with the King. His Majeſty, that knew well ſuch an Offer was not to be rejected, leſt they ſhould from thence take an occaſion to refuſe thoſe things he ſhould propoſe, appointed a Committee of his Council (according to the uſual Courſe) to Treat with the Embaſſadour, upon all neceſſary Articles, which ſhould attend ſuch a Treaty; declaring an Inclination to enter into ſuch a League, as was propoſed; and thereupon deſired "a preſent Loan of Money, and a "ſupply of a good proportion of Armes, and Ammunition; and likewiſe that the Crown of *France* would declare againſt the Subjects of "*England*, and *Scotland*, who ſhould perſiſt in Rebellion; according to "an Article ratified in the laſt Treaty now in force.

THE Embaſſadour, who, it ſeems, expected that there ſhould have been more pauſes in the Overture of the League Offenſive and Defenſive, for the preſent declined the Treating with the Committee; alledging, "that he was, upon the matter, a Miniſter of both their Majeſties; "and was to receive Command from them, and wholely to attend their "Service; and therefore that he deſired wholely to communicate with "their Majeſties themſelves: and ſhortly after waved any farther mention of the League, with an affected compliment, "that it would not "appear a generous thing, to preſs the King to any Act in this his diſtreſs, "which he had made ſcruple of conſenting to heretofore, when the For"tune of both Crowns was equally Proſperous: but that his Maſter "and Miſtreſs, would frankly contribute all that could be reaſonably "expected from them, towards his Majeſty's Reſtoration, and Eſtabliſh"ment; and afterwards expect ſuch a return of affection from his Ma"jeſty, as the greatneſs of the obligation ſhould merit in his Princely "eſtimation. And at the ſame time, the Queen Regent and Cardinal poſitively denied to the Lord *Goring*, Embaſſadour Extraordinary then from his Majeſty in *France*, that ever the Count of *Harcourt* had any Inſtruction to mention a League Offenſive and Defenſive. Theſe particular carriages, and his not reſenting the Indignities, offer'd to him by

the Parliament, made many Men believe, that this Embaſſadour, notwithſtanding all the ſpecious profeſſions, was ſent rather to foment, than extinguiſh the fire that was kindled. Certain it is, during his ſtay in *England*, he did not, in the leaſt degree, advance the King's Service; and at his return, left the Parliament more united amongſt themſelves againſt the King, and the *Scots* more advanced towards their coming in, than he found them; there being at the ſame time likewiſe a *French* Agent in *Scotland*, who produced no alteration in the Affections of that People, to the King's Advantage.

THE return of the three Earls, formerly mention'd, to *London* in the Winter, who ſo ſolemnly applied themſelves to the King in the Spring, contributed exceedingly to the Union of the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*. The other two ſtay'd longer; and retired with much more decency, if not with a tacit permiſſion. But the Earl of *Holland*, when he ſaw his place in the Bed-Chamber conferr'd upon the Marquis of *Hertford*, in much diſcontent, found an opportunity, which was not difficult, to remove out of the King's Quarters; and before he was miſs'd at *Oxford*, Intelligence was brought that he had render'd himſelf to the Parliament at *London*; and to make his return the more conſcientious, he declared, as hath been ſaid, "that the ground of his deſerting them "formerly, and going to the King, was a hope to incline his Majeſty to "a Treaty of Peace; but that he found he was miſtaken in the temper "of the *Oxford* Counſels; and that the King had ſtill about him ſome "Counſellors, who would never conſent to a ſafe, and well grounded "Peace; and that he heard they had perſwaded the King, to make a Ceſ-"ſation with the Rebels in *Ireland*; which affected his conſcience ſo "much, that, though he had been ſure to have loſt his life by it, he would "return to the Parliament; profeſſing exemplary fidelity to them, if they would again receive him into their favour.

IT may be, his diſcourſe of *Ireland*, or the King's Averſneſs to Peace, wrought upon very few; but the Evidence of the King's averſion ſo far to forgive, and forget former treſpaſſes, as to receive them into favour and truſt again, made a deep impreſſion upon many. For it is undoubtedly true, that many of the principal and governing Members of both Houſes, that is, of them who had govern'd, and done as much miſchief as any, either out of apprehenſion that the King would prevail, or that They ſhould not prevail ſoon enough, or the animoſity againſt thoſe who had outgrown their Government, and followed new Leaders of their own, and to other ends than had been originally propoſed, or out of ſome motions of Conſcience, were quite weary of the Parliament, and deſirous to obtain a fair admiſſion to the King; and looked only upon the footing which thoſe Doves, which went firſt out of the Ark, ſhould find; and ſurely, if that expedient had been dextrouſly managed, it had been the moſt probable way to have drawn the Parliament into ſuch contempt, that it muſt have fallen of it ſelf: A way, that in no Civil War, which is arrived to any vigour and power of contending, ought to be declined. For a Body, that is not form'd by Policy, with any avowed and fixed Principles of Government, but by the diſtemper'd Affections, Ambition, and Diſcontent of particular Perſons, who rather agree againſt a common Adverſary, than are united to one juſt Intereſt, cannot ſo eaſily be diſſolved, as by Treating with particular Perſons, and rending thoſe Branches from the Trunk, whoſe beauty and advantage conſiſts only in the ſpreading.

THE reaſons were unanſwerable, which the old Conſul *Fabius* in *Livy Lib.* 24. gave, in the Caſe of *Caſſius Altinius*, who, after the Defeat of *Cannæ*, deſerted the *Romans* and fled to *Hannibal*, by which he got the City of *Arpos*; and when the Condition of the *Romans* was again recover'd and flouriſhing, came again to the *Roman* Army, and offer'd to betray that City into their hands. Many were of opinion, "that he ſhould be look'd upon as a Common Enemy; and bound, and "ſent to *Hannibal*, as a perfidious Perſon, who knew neither how to "be a Friend, nor an Enemy. *Fabius* reprehended the unſeaſonable ſeverity of thoſe who conſider'd, and judged in *medio ardore belli, tanquam in pace libera*, and told them, "that their principal care muſt be, "that none of their Friends and Allies might forſake them; the next, "that they who had forſaken them, might return again into their Obe- "dience, and Protection: For, *ſi abire à Romanis liceat, redire ad eos* "*non liceat*, it could not be, but the State of *Rome*, from which, in "the late misfortunes, many had revolted, muſt become very deſperate.

SUCH was the King's condition, the Number of the Guilty being ſo much ſuperior to the Innocent, that the latter could reaſonably expect only to be preſerv'd by the converſion and reduction of the former. Neither did the King not foreſee, or abhor this expedient; but the temper and ſpirit of the time was ſo averſe from the Stratagem, that it was evident his preſent loſs would be as great, by practiſing it, as his future advantage was like to improve by it. Whatſoever damage his Majeſty ſuſtain'd, that unfortunate Earl receiv'd no acknowledgement, or encouragement from the other Party, who had the benefit of his return; but as his Eſtate was ſequeſter'd aſſoon as he left them, ſo he was now committed to Priſon, and that ſequeſtration continued; neither was it, in a long time after, taken off, nor himſelf ever after admitted to his place in their Council, notwithſtanding all the interceſſion of very powerful Friends, or to any reputation of doing farther good or hurt.

CERTAINLY, there muſt be thought to be ſome extraordinary diſlike, in the very primary Law of Nature, of ſuch tergiverſation and inconſtancy; ſince we ſcarce find, in any Story, a Deſerter of a Truſt, or Party, he once adhered to, to be long proſperous, or in any eminent Eſtimation with thoſe to whom he reſorts; though, in the change, there may appear evident Arguments of reaſon and juſtice: neither hath it been in the power, or prerogative of any Authority, to preſerve ſuch Men from the reproach, and jealouſy, and ſcandal, that naturally attends upon any Defection: *I have not found evil in thee, ſince the day* 1 *Sam.* 29. 6. *of thy coming unto me, unto this day*; *neverthleſs, the Lords favour thee not*, was the profeſſion of King *Achiſh*, when he diſmiſs'd *David* himſelf, from marching with the Army of the *Philiſtins*; and that expoſtulation of thoſe Lords, *wherewith ſhould he reconcile himſelf unto his Maſter? ſhould it not be with the Heads of theſe Men?* will be always an Argument to raiſe a diſtruſt of thoſe who have eminently quitted their Party: And the judgement of *Fabius* himſelf, which We touch'd before, of *Caſſius Altinius*, was not much in their favour; for, though he reprehended the Propoſition of ſending him to *Hannibal*, yet he concluded, "that he would have no truſt repoſed in him, but that he "ſhould be kept in ſafe cuſtody, with Liberty to do any thing but go "away, till the War was ended; *tum conſultandum, utrum defectio* "*prior plus merita ſit pœnæ, an hic reditus veniæ.* As it falls out thus in Civil Affairs, and the breach of Moral obligations, ſo it happens in Spiritual

Spiritual defections, and alterations in Religion: for as, among the Jews, the Proſelytes were civilly and charitably treated, without upbraidings or reproaches; yet it was provided, "that no Proſelyte ſhould be eligi-"ble into the Court of their *Sanhedrim*; and in their very converſation, they had a caution of them; *Vel ad decimam uſque generationem à Proſelytis cave*, was an Aphoriſm amongſt them. And our own obſervation and experience, can give Us few examples of Men who have changed their Religion, and not fallen into jealouſy and diſtruſt, or diſreputation, even with thoſe with whom they ſide; that have made their future life leſs pleaſant, and delightſome; which, it may be, happens only becauſe We have rare inſtances of Men of extraordinary parts, or great minds, who have entertain'd thoſe Converſions.

THE Lords and Commons were all now of a mind, and no other contention amongſt them, than who ſhould moſt advance the power which was to ſuppreſs the King's: new and ſtricter Orders were made for the general taking the Covenant; and an Ordinance, "that no Man ſhould "be in any Office, or Truſt in their Armies, or the Kingdom, or of the "Common Council of *London*, or ſhould have a Voice in the Election "of thoſe Officers, but ſuch who had taken the Covenant; nor even "they who had taken the Covenant, if they had been formerly impri-"ſon'd, or ſequeſter'd for ſuſpicion of Malignancy, or adhering to the "King. And that they might as well provide, for their Soveraign juriſdiction in Civil matters, as their ſecurity in Martial, they again reſumed the conſideration of the Great Seal of *England*. The Commons had often preſſed the Houſe of Peers to concur with them, "in the "making a New Great Seal; as the proper Remedy againſt the miſchiefs, "which, by the abſence of it, had befallen the Common-wealth; declaring, "that the Great Seal of *England*, of right, ought to attend upon "the Parliament; in which the Peers as often refuſed to joyn with them, being ſtartled at the Statute of the 25th of *Edw.* the III. by which, the counterfeiting the Great Seal of *England* is, in expreſs terms, declared to be High Treaſon; and it had been in all times before underſtood to be the ſole property of the King, and not of the Kingdom, and abſolutely in the King's own diſpoſal, where it ſhould be kept, or where it ſhould attend.

The Commons Vote a new Broad Seal: The Lords concurr'd with them.

THIS diſſent of the Lords hinder'd not the buſineſs; the Commons frankly Voted, "that a Seal ſhould be provided, and accordingly took Order that one was engraven, and brought into their Houſe, according to the ſame Size and Effigies, and nothing differing from that which the King uſed at *Oxford*. Being in this readineſs, and obſerving the Lords to be leſs ſcrupulous than they had been, about the middle of *November* they ſent again to them, to let them know, "they had a Great "Seal ready, which ſhould be put into the Cuſtody of ſuch Perſons, as "the two Houſes ſhould appoint, and if they would name ſome Peers, "a proportionable Number of the other Body ſhould joyn in the exe-"cuting that Truſt. All objections were now paſſed over, and without any heſitation their Lordſhips not only concurr'd with them to have a Seal in their own diſpoſal, but in a Declaration and Ordinance; by which they declared, "all Letters Patents, and Grants made by the King, "and paſſed the Great Seal of *England*, after the 22d of *May* in the year "1642 (which was the day the Lord Keeper left the Houſe, and went "with the Great Seal to *York* to the King) to be invalid, and void in "Law; and henceforward, that their own Great Seal ſhould be of the like

"like force, power, and validity, to all intents and purpoſes, as any "Great Seal of *England* had been, or ought to be; and that whoſoever, "after publication of that Ordinance, ſhould paſs any thing under any "other Great Seal, or ſhould claim any thing thereby, ſhould be held "and adjudged a publick Enemy to the State.

AT the ſame time, the Earls of *Rutland* and *Bullingbrook*, of the Peers, Mr *Saint-Johns* (whom they ſtill intitled the King's Sollicitor General, though his Majeſty had revoked his Patent, and conferr'd that Office upon Sr *Thomas Gardner*; who had ſerv'd him faithfully, and been put out of his Recorder's place of *London*, for having ſo done) Serjeant *Wild* (who, being a Serjeant at Law, had with moſt confidence averr'd their legal power to make a Seal) Mr *Brown*, and Mr *Prideaux*, two private Practiſers of the Law, were nominated "to have the keep-"ing, ordering, and diſpoſing of it, and all ſuch, and the like Power "and Authority, as any Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, or Com-"miſſioner of the Great Seal, for the time being, had had, uſed, or "ought to have. The Earl of *Rutland* was ſo modeſt, as to think himſelf not ſufficiently qualified for ſuch a Truſt; and therefore excuſed himſelf in point of Conſcience: Whereupon they nominated, in his Room, the Earl of *Kent*, a Man of far meaner parts, who readily accepted the place.

THE Seal then was deliver'd, in the Houſe of Commons, to their Speaker; and by Him, with much ſolemnity, the Houſe attending him, to the Speaker of the Peers, at the Bar in that Houſe. The ſix Commiſſioners were then, in the preſence of both Houſes, ſolemnly ſworn "to execute the Office of Keepers of the Great Seal of *England*, in all "things according to the Orders, and Directions of both Houſes of Par-"liament. And thereupon the Seal was deliver'd by the two Speakers to them, who carried it, according to Order, to the Houſe of the Clerk of the Parliament, in the old Palace; where it was kept lock'd up in a Cheſt; which could not be open'd but in the preſence of three of them, and with three ſeveral Keys. This work being over, they appointed, for the firſt exerciſe of this kind of Soveraignty, a Patent to be ſealed to the Earl of *Warwick*, of Lord High Admiral of *England*; which was done accordingly; by which many concluded, that the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been put out of that great Office, for Their ſakes, was not reſtored to their full confidence; others, that he deſired not to wear Their Livery.

The Seal deliver'd to ſix Commiſſioners.

ABOUT the ſame time, to ſhew that they would be Abſolute, and not joynt Sharers in the Soveraign Power, they gave an Inſtance of boldneſs mingled with cruelty, that made them appear very terrible. The King had publiſhed ſeveral Proclamations, for the Adjournment of the Term from *London* to *Oxford*, which had been hitherto fruitleſs, for want of the neceſſary Legal form of having the Writs read in Court; ſo that the Judges at *Oxford*, who were ready to perform their Duty, could not regularly keep the Courts there; which elſe they would have done, notwithſtanding the Order and Declarations publiſh'd by the two Houſes to the contrary; they who were learned in the Law, believing that Aſſumption to be unqueſtionably out of their juriſdiction. Theſe Writs of Adjournment had never yet been deliver'd ſeaſonably, to be read in Court, or into the hands of either of the ſworn Judges who yet attended at *Weſtminſter*: of which there were three in Number, Juſtice *Bacon* in the King's Bench, Juſtice *Reeve* in the Common Pleas, and

Baron *Trevor* in the Exchequer; who, how timerous ſoever, and apprehenſive of the power and ſeverity of the Parliament, knowing the Law and their Duties, Men believ'd, would not have barefaced declined the execution of thoſe Commands they were ſworn to obſerve. Several Meſſengers were therefore ſent from *Oxford* with thoſe Writs; and appointed, on, or before ſuch a day (for that circumſtance was penal) "to find an opportunity, to deliver the Writs into the hands of the ſe-"veral Judges. Two of them perform'd their Charges, and deliver'd the Writs to Juſtice *Reeve*, and Baron *Trevor*; who immediately cauſed the Meſſengers to be apprehended.

THE Houſes, being inform'd of it, gave direction, "that they ſhould "be tried by a Council of War, as Spies: which was done at *Eſſex*-Houſe. The Meſſengers alledged, "that they were ſworn Servants to his Majeſty "for the tranſaction of thoſe Services, for which they were now ac-"cuſed; and that they had been legally puniſhable, if they had refuſed "to do their duties; the Term being to be adjourn'd by no other way. Notwithſtanding all which, they were both condemn'd to be hanged as Spies; and that ſuch a Sentence might not be thought to be only *in terrorem*, the two poor Men were, within few days after, carried to the old *Exchange*, where a Gallows was purpoſely ſet up; and there one of them, one *Daniel Kniveton*, was without mercy executed; dying with another kind of Courage than could be expected from a Man of ſuch condition and education, did not the Conſcience of being Innocent beget a marvellous ſatisfaction in Any condition. The other, after he had ſtood ſome time upon, or under the Gallows, looking for the ſame concluſion, was repriev'd, and ſent to *Bridewell*; where he was kept long after, till he made an Eſcape, and return'd again to *Oxford*. This Example begot great terror in all the well affected about *London*, and ſo much the more, becauſe, about the ſame time, an Ordinance was made, "that whoſoever went to *Oxford*, or into any of the King's Quar-"ters without leave from one of the Houſes, or a Paſs from their Ge-"neral, or whoſoever had any correſpondence with any Perſon in the "King's Quarters, by writing Letters, or receiving Letters from thence, "ſhould be proceeded againſt as a Perſon diſaffected to the State; and "his Perſon committed, and his Eſtate ſequeſter'd; and ſhould be liable, "according to the circumſtances (of which themſelves would be only "Judges) to be tried as Spies.

Coll. Fiennes *tried for Surrendering* Briſtol, *and condemn'd; but pardon'd by the General.*

AS this made them exceeding terrible to thoſe who loved them not, ſo, about the ſame time, they gave another Inſtance of Severity, which render'd their Government no leſs reverenced amongſt their Friends, and Aſſociates. The brave Defence of *Gloceſter*, and the great Succeſs that attended it, made the loſs of *Briſtol* the more felt by the Parliament; and conſequently the delivery, and yielding it up, the more liberally ſpoken of, and cenſur'd. The which Colonel *Fiennes* having not patience to bear, he deſired, being a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and of a ſwaying Intereſt there, "that he might be put to give an Ac-"count of it, at a Court of War, which was the proper Judicature upon "treſpaſſes of that Nature. And in the mean time, he was powerful enough, upon ſome collateral, and circumſtantial paſſages, to procure ſome of the Chief who inveighed againſt him, to be impriſon'd, and re-prehended. This begot greater Paſſion and Animoſity in the Perſons, that thought they ſuffer'd unjuſtly, and only by the Authority, and Intereſt of the Colonel and his Father; which, by degrees, brought Faction

into the Houſe of Commons, and the Army, according to the ſeveral Affections and Tempers of Men.

THERE were but two Proſecuters appear'd, one Mr *Walker*, a Gentleman of *Somerſet-ſhire*, of a good Fortune, and, by the loſs of that, the more provoked; who had been in the Town when it was loſt, and had ſtrictly obſerv'd all that was done, or ſaid; and the famous Mr *Pryn*, who had at firſt let himſelf into the diſquiſition of that buſineſs, out of the Activity, and reſtleſsneſs of his Nature, and was afterwards ſharpen'd by contempt. Theſe two, under pretence of Zeal to the Kingdom, and that ſuch an irreparable damage to it might not paſs away without due puniſhment, undertook the proſecution; and boldly charged the Colonel with Cowardiſe, and Treachery; and gave ſeveral Inſtances of great and high profeſſions, and performances faint, and not anſwerable; with ſome mixtures of pride, and love of Money, throughout the Courſe of his Government. Colonel *Fiennes*, beſides the credit and reputation of his Father, had a very good ſtock of eſtimation in the Houſe of Commons upon his own ſcore; for truly he had very good parts of Learning and Nature, and was privy to, and a great Manager in, the moſt ſecret deſigns from the beginning; and if he had not incumber'd himſelf with Command in the Army, to which Men thought his Nature not ſo well diſpoſed, he had ſure been ſecond to none in thoſe Councils, after Mr *Hambden*'s death. This made him too much deſpiſe thoſe who appear'd his Adverſaries, and others whom he knew to be ſuch, though they appear'd not (for he looked upon Sr *William Waller* as an Enemy, who, by his misfortune at *Roundway*-Down, having brought that ſtorm upon *Briſtol*, was induſtrious to make the ſecond loſs to be apprehended only as the effect of the other's want of Courage, and Conduct) and being ſure, that he was very free from wiſhing well to the King, he thought no defect would be farther imputed to him, than might well be anſwer'd by the having done his Beſt; and that the eminency of his perfect Zeal againſt his Majeſty, would weigh down all objections of diſſervice to the Parliament.

BUT notwithſtanding all this, after a long and ſolemn hearing before the Court of War at St *Albans*, where the Earl of *Eſſex* then lay, which took up many days, he was condemn'd to loſe his head, "for not having "defended *Briſtol* ſo well, and ſo long, as he ought to have done. And though he had afterwards a pardon for his life, granted to him by the Prerogative of the General, under his Hand and Seal, yet the infamy of the judgement could not be taken off; by which he became unfit to continue an Officer of the Army; and the ſhame of it perſwaded him to quit the Kingdom; ſo that he went for ſome time into Forreign Parts, retaining ſtill the ſame full diſaffection to the Government of the Church and State, and only griev'd that he had a leſs capacity left to do hurt to either. Many looked upon this Example, as a foundation of great awe, and reverence in the Army, that the Officers might ſee, that no Titles or Relations ſhould be able to break through the ſtrict diſcipline of War. For this Gentleman was a Perſon of ſingular merit, and fidelity to the Party that he ſerved, and of extraordinary uſe to them in thoſe Counſels that required the beſt underſtandings. Others thought it an Act of unadviſed ſeverity, to expoſe ſo eminent a Perſon, who knew all their Intrigues, upon the importunity of uſeleſs and inconſiderable Perſons, to infamy; whilſt others conſider'd it, as a judgement of Heaven upon a Man who had been ſo forward in promoting the

publick Calamities: and no doubt, it increaſed much the Factions and Animoſities, both in the Parliament, and the Army; and might have done them farther miſchief, if it had not fallen on a Man ſo throughly engaged, that no Provocations could make him leſs of their Party, or leſs concern'd in their Confederacy.

AT this time, nothing troubled the King ſo much, as the Intelligence he receiv'd from *Scotland*, that they had already form'd their Army, and reſolv'd to enter *England* in the Winter Seaſon. All his confidence, which he had founded there upon the Faith, and moſt ſolemn Profeſſions of particular Men, without whom the Nation could not have been corrupted, had deceiv'd him to a Man; and he found the ſame Men moſt engaged againſt him, who had, with moſt ſolemnity, vowed all obedience to him. The circumſtance of the time made the danger of the Invaſion the more formidable; for the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, lately created a Marquis, had been compelled with his Army, as much by the murmurs and indiſpoſition of the Officers, as by the Seaſon of the Year, to quit his deſign upon *Hull*, and to retire to *York*; and the Garriſon of *Hull* had made many ſtrong infalls into the Country, and Defeated ſome of his Troops; ſo that the *Scots* were like to find a ſtrong Party in that large County. However, the Marquis ſent a good Body of Horſe towards the Borders, to wait their motion; and no ſooner heard of their march, which begun in *January*, in a great Froſt and Snow, than himſelf marched into the Biſhoprick of *Durham* to attend them. The particulars of all that Affair, and the whole Tranſaction of the Northern parts, where the Writer of this Hiſtory was never preſent, nor had any part in thoſe Counſels, are fit for a relation apart; which a more proper Perſon will employ himſelf in.

The Scots *enter* England *in* Jan. 1643.

IN theſe Streights, the King conſider'd two Expedients which were propoſed to him, and which his Majeſty directed ſhould be both conſulted in the Council. The one was, "that all the Peers who were then "in *Oxford*, or in the King's Service, might ſubſcribe a Letter to the "Council of State in *Scotland*; whereby it would appear, by the ſub- "ſcription, that above five parts of ſix of the whole Nobility, and Houſe "of Peers, were in the King's Service, and diſavowed all thoſe Actions "which were done againſt him, by the pretended Authority of the two "Houſes; which poſſibly might make ſome impreſſion upon the Na- "tion of *Scotland*, though it was well enough known before to their "Seducers. A Letter was prepared accordingly, expreſſing, "the foul- "neſs of the Rebellion in *England*, under the reputation of the Houſes "of Parliament, and the carrying on the ſame, when they had driven "away, by force, much the Major part of the Members of both Houſes, "and expreſsly againſt all the Laws of the Land: it put them in mind of "their obligation to the King, and pathetically concluded "with con- "juring them to deſiſt from their unjuſt, and unwarrantable purpoſe; "ſince they could have no excuſe for proſecuting the ſame, from the "Authority of Parliament. The Letter was peruſed, and debated in the Council, and afterwards in the preſence of all the Peers; and being generally approv'd, without any diſſenting Voice, it was order'd to be engroſſed, and ſigned by all thoſe Peers, and Privy Counſellors, who were then in *Oxford*, and to be ſent to thoſe who were abſent in any of the Armies, or in the King's Quarters, and to be then ſent to the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*; who, after he had ſigned it, with thoſe Peers who were in thoſe parts, was to tranſmit it into *Scotland* by a Trumpet; all which was done accordingly.

A Letter from the Peers on the King's ſide to the Council in Scotland.

OF

OF all the Peers who followed the King, there was only one who refuſed to ſign this Letter, the Earl of *Leiceſter*; who, after many pauſes and delays, whether he had not yet diſgeſted his late diſpoſal from the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*, to which the Marquis of *Ormond* was deputed, and thought the diſobligation of it not capable of a reparation; whether he thought the King's Fortune deſperate, and reſolv'd not to ſacrifice himſelf to any popular diſpleaſure, and not to provoke the Parliament farther than by not concurring with them; or whether he had it then in his purpoſe to be found in their Quarters, as ſhortly after he was, did in the end poſitively refuſe to ſubſcribe the Letter; and thereby was the occaſion of a miſchief he did not intend. For both their Majeſties, in their ſecret purpoſe, had deſign'd him to ſucceed the Marquis of *Hertford* in the Government of the Prince; for which he would have been very proper; but upon this ſo affected a diſcovery of a nature, and mind, liable to no kind of compliance, the King could not proſecute his purpoſe; and ſo the Government of that hopeful and excellent Prince, was committed to the Earl of *Berk-ſhire*, for no other reaſon but becauſe he had a mind to it, and his importunity was very troubleſome: a Man of any who bore the Name of a Gentleman the moſt unfit for That Province, or any other that required any proportion of Wiſdom and Underſtanding for the diſcharge of it.

BUT it was the unhappy diſtemper of the Court at that time, to think that it was no matter Who was employed in that Office; for the King nor Queen were not at all deceiv'd, nor was the Earl leſs fit than they thought him to be: but they thought his want of parts (his Fidelity there was no cauſe to ſuſpect) to be of little importance: and a Counſellor, much truſted, ſpeaking at that time with the Lord *Jermyn*, "how aſtoniſhing a thing it was to all the Nation, to ſee the Prince committed to ſuch a Governour, he ſmiled, according to his cuſtom, when he could not anſwer: and ſaid, "it was of no moment, Who had the "name and ſtyle of Governour, ſince the King and Queen meant to be "his Governour, and firmly reſolv'd that he ſhould never be out of "Their preſence, or of one of them: when, within little more than a year after, the King found it neceſſary to ſever the Prince from himſelf, and lived not to ſee him again: and his Majeſty then found, and lamented, that he had deputed ſuch a Governour over him.

THE other Expedient propoſed, was, "that ſince the whole King-"dom was miſled by the reverence they had to Parliaments, and be-"liev'd that the Laws and Liberties of the People, could not be other-"wiſe preſerved, than by their ſole Authority, and that it appear'd to "be to no purpoſe to perſwade Men that what they did was againſt Law, "when they were perſwaded that their very doing it made it Lawful, "it would be therefore neceſſary, and could be only effectual, to con-"vince them, that they who did thoſe monſtrous things, were not the "Parliament, but a handful of deſperate Perſons, who, by the help of "the tumults raiſed in the City of *London*, had driven away the Major "part of the Parliament, and called themſelves the Parliament, whilſt "they were, in truth, much the leſs, and the leaſt conſiderable part of it; "which would appear manifeſtly, if the King would iſſue out a Procla-"mation, to require all the Members who had left the Parliament at "*Weſtminſter*, to repair to *Oxford*, by ſuch a day; where his Majeſty "would be willing to adviſe with them in matters of the greateſt im-"portance, concerning the Peace, and Diſtractions of the Kingdom: by

"this means, he might, in many things, ſerve himſelf by their Aſſiſtance, "and it would evidently appear by the number of both Houſes, whoſe "names would be quickly known, and publiſhed, how few remained at "*Weſtminſter*, who carried on the devouring War, ſo grievous to the "whole Kingdom.

THE King was at firſt in ſome apprehenſion, that ſuch a conflux of Perſons together of the Parliament, who would look to enjoy the Privileges of it in their Debates, might, inſtead of doing him Service, do many things contrary to it, and exceedingly apprehended, that they would immediately enter upon ſome Treaty of Peace, which would have no effect; yet, whilſt it was in ſuſpence, would hinder his preparation for the War; and though no body more deſired Peace, yet he had no mind that a Multitude ſhould be conſulted upon the conditions of it: imagining, that things of the greateſt importance, as the giving up Perſons, and other particulars of Honour, would not ſeem to them of moment enough to continue a War in the Kingdom; which would have been true, if, as hath been ſaid before, the Governours of the Parliament had not themſelves been too fearful of a Peace to truſt any to make politick Propoſitions, which, upon refuſal, might have done good, but being conſented to had undone them, and fruſtrated all their deſigns.

THE Council ſeem'd much inclined to the Expedient, and many conveniences were in View; and it might be reaſonably hoped, and preſumed "that Perſons, who had that Duty to obey his Majeſty's ſum"mons, in coming thither, which would be none but ſuch as had al"ready abſented themſelves from *Weſtminſter*, and thereby incenſed "thoſe who remained there, would not bring ill and troubleſome hu"mours with them, to diſturb that Service which could only preſerve "them: but on the contrary, would unite, and conſpire together, to "make the King Superior to his and Their Enemies. And as to the ad"vancing any Propoſitions of Peace, which there could be no doubt "but they would be inclined to, nor would it be fit for his Majeſty to "oppoſe, there could be no inconvenience; ſince their appearing in it "would but draw reproach from thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, who would never "give them any Anſwer, or look upon them under any Notion, but as "private Perſons, and Deſerters of the Parliament, without any Quali"fication to Treat, or to be Treated with: which would more provoke "thoſe at *Oxford*, and, by degrees, ſtir up more Animoſities between "them. The King diſcover'd more of hope than fear from ſuch a Convention; and ſo, with a very unanimous Conſent and Approbation, a Proclamation was iſſued out, containing the true grounds and motives, and mentioning the League of *Scotland* to invade the Kingdom; which was the moſt univerſally odious, and deteſtable; and ſummon'd all the Members of both Houſes of Parliament, except only ſuch, as, having Command in his Majeſty's Armies in the North, and in the Weſt, could not be diſpenſed with, to be abſent from their Charges, to attend upon his Majeſty in *Oxford*, upon a day fixed in *January* next.

The King's Proclamation for Aſſembling the Members of Parliament at Oxford.

THE King was not all this while without a due ſenſe of the dangers that threaten'd him in the growth, and improvement of the power and ſtrength of the Enemy, and how impoſſible it would be for him, without ſome more extraordinary aſſiſtance, to reſiſt that Torrent, which, he foreſaw, by the next Spring, would be ready to overwhelm him, if he made not proviſion accordingly. And finding, by degrees, that it was

not in his power to compoſe the diſturbances of *England*, or to prevent thoſe of *Scotland*, and abhorring the thought of introducing a Forreign Nation to ſubdue his own Subjects, he begun to think of Expedients which might allay the diſtempers in *Ireland*; that ſo, having one of his Kingdoms in Peace, he might apply the Power of that towards the procuring it in his other Dominions. He was not ignorant, how tender an Argument that buſineſs of *Ireland* was, and how prepared Men were to pervert whatſoever he ſaid, or did in it; and therefore he reſolv'd to proceed with that caution, that whatſoever was done in it, ſhould be by the Counſel of that State, who were underſtood to be moſt skilful in thoſe Affairs.

THE Lords Juſtices, and Council, had ſent a ſhort Petition to his Majeſty, which was preſented to them, in the name of his Catholick Subjects, then in Armes againſt him; by which they only deſired, with full expreſſions of Duty, and Submiſſion to his Majeſty, "that he would "appoint ſome Perſons to hear what they could ſay for themſelves; "and to preſent the ſame to his Majeſty. Hereupon the King Authoriſed by his Commiſſion the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, and ſome others, to receive what they were ready to offer, but without the leaſt Authority to conclude any thing with them upon it. And after the receipt of this Commiſſion, the Marquis, finding that this Petition was proſecuted with leſs ingenuity than it ſeem'd to have been preſented, was ſo far from being indulgent to them under that Notion, that he even then advanced againſt them with his Army, and gave them a very ſignal Deſeat; which reform'd their application, and made it more ſubmiſs.

IN the mean time (though in all Actions and Counſels, the Lords Juſtices, and Council there, had yielded punctual obedience to all directions from the Parliament) the Affairs of that Kingdom ſuffer'd exceedingly for want of Proviſions, Money, and Ammunition, out of *England*; which the two Houſes of Parliament were obliged, and were, to that purpoſe, enabled by his Majeſty to ſend. Inſomuch as that Board, by their Letters of the fourth of *April*, this preſent year, advertiſed the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, "that they had been compelled, "for the preſervation of the Army, to take Money from all who had it, "and to wreſt their Commodities from the poor Merchants, whom they "had now, by the Law of neceſſity, utterly undone, and diſabled from "being hereafter helpful to them, in bringing them in Victuals, or other "needful Commodities: And that there were few of themſelves, or "others, that had not felt their parts in the inforced rigour of their pro"ceedings, ſo as, what with ſuch hard dealing, no leſs grievous to Them "to do, than it was heavy to Others to ſuffer, and by their deſcending, "againſt their hearts, far below the Honour and Dignity of that Power "they repreſented under his Royal Majeſty, they had, with unſpeakable "difficulties, prevail'd ſo as to be able to find bread for the Soldiers for the "ſpace of one Month: That they were then expelling thence all Strangers, "and muſt inſtantly ſend away for *England* thouſands of poor diſpoil'd "*Engliſh*, whoſe very eating was now inſupportable to that place; and "therefore, they ſaid, they did again earneſtly, and finally deſire (for their "confuſions would not now admit the writing of many more Letters, if "any) ſome Supplies of Victual and Munition might, in preſent, be "haſten'd thither to keep life, until the reſt might follow; there being no "Victuals in ſtore; nor one hundred Barrels of Powder; which, accord"ing to the uſual neceſſary Expences, beſides extraordinary Accidents, "would not laſt above a Month.

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A COPY of this Letter they likewiſe ſent to Mr Secretary *Nicholas*, that his Majeſty might be inform'd of the ſadneſs of their condition, and, with it, a Copy of a paper that morning preſented to the Board (which was likewiſe ſent in their Letter to the Speaker) from the Officers of the Army; who, after ſharp expreſſions of the miſeries they ſuſtain'd, and expoſtulations thereupon, concluded, "that if their Lordſhips would "take them into their timely conſiderations, before their urgent wants "made them deſperate, they would ſerve them readily and faithfully; "but if their Lordſhips would not find a way for their preſervations "there, they humbly deſired they might have leave to go where they "might have a better being; and if they refuſed to grant That, they "themſelves muſt then take leave to have recourſe to that firſt and pri- "mary Law, which God had endued all Men with, the Law of Nature, "which taught all Men to preſerve themſelves.

THE King was exceedingly perplexed at the receipt of this Advertiſement; apprehending the State of his Proteſtant Subjects in that Kingdom to be almoſt deſperate, the Rebels receiving daily encouragement and aſſiſtance from Forreign parts; and thereupon growing ſtrong and bold; yet he forbore to interpoſe his own Soveraign Power, hoping this laſt clear repreſentation would have made ſo deep an impreſſion in the two Houſes of Parliament, that they would have ſent ſuch a full Supply, that at leaſt the Rebels might make no farther Progreſs in Victory, againſt his Proteſtant Subjects. About the end of *May*, the Lords Juſtices and Council, having receiv'd no probable hope of Aſſiſtance from the Parliament, ſent an Addreſs immediately to his Majeſty, that Himſelf might conclude, in that exigent, what was to be done for preſervation of one of his three Kingdoms. This Letter, Subſcribed by the Lords Juſtices, and every Member of the Council-Board, being the ground and foundation of the Reſolutions which his Majeſty afterwards took, I think neceſſary to inſert in the terms of which it conſiſted; which were theſe:

May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty:

An Addreſs of the Lords Juſtices and the Council in Ireland *to the King.*

"ASSOON as We your Majeſty's Juſtices enter'd into the Charge of "this Government, We took into our conſiderations, at the Board, the "State of your Army here; which We find ſuffering under unſpeakable "Extremity of want of all things neceſſary to the Support of their Per- "ſons, or maintenance of the War, here being no Victuals, Cloaths, or "other Proviſions requiſite towards their Suſtenance; no Money to pro- "vide them of any thing they want; no Armes in your Majeſty's Stores "to ſupply their many defective Armes; not above forty Barrels of "Powder in your Stores; no ſtrength of ſerviceable Horſes being now "left here; and thoſe few that are, their Armes for the moſt part loſt, "or unſerviceable; no Ships arriv'd here to guard the Coaſt, and conſe- "quently no ſecurity render'd to any that might, on their private Ad- "ventures, bring in Proviſions of Victuals, or other neceſſaries towards "our Subſiſtence; and finally, no viſible means, by Sea or Land, of be- "ing able to preſerve for you this Kingdom, and to render deliverance "from utter deſtruction to the remnant of your good Subjects yet left "here.

"WE find, that your Majeſty's late Juſtices, and this Board, have "often, and fully, by very many Letters, advertiſed the Parliament in "*England* of the extremities of Affairs here, and beſought relief with all "poſſible

"poſſible importunity; which alſo have been fully repreſented to your "Majeſty, and to the Lord Lieutenant, and Mr Secretary *Nicholas*, to "be made known to your Majeſty: And although the winds have of late "for many days, and often formerly, ſtood very fair for acceſſions of "Supply forth of *England* hither, and that We have ſtill, with longing "Expectations, hoped to find Proviſions arrive here, in ſome degree "Anſwerable to the neceſſities of your Affairs; yet now, to our un- "ſpeakable grief, after full ſix Months waiting, and much longer pa- "tience, and long ſuffering, We find all our great expectations anſwer'd "in a mean and inconſiderable quantity of Proviſions, *viz.* threeſcore "and fifteen Barrels of Butter, and fourteen Tun of Cheeſe; being but "the fourth part of a ſmall Veſſel's Lading, which was ſent from *Lon-* "*don*, and arriv'd here the fifth day of this Month, which is not above "ſeven or eight days Proviſion, for that part of the Army which lies in "*Dublin*, and the out Garriſons thereof; no Money or Victual (other "than that inconſiderable proportion of Victual) having arriv'd in this "place, as ſent from the Parliament of *England*, or from any other "Port of *England*, for the uſe of the Army, ſince the beginning of *No-* "*vember* laſt.

"WE have, by the bleſſing of God, been hitherto proſperous and ſuc- "ceſsful in your Majeſty's Affairs here, and ſhould be ſtill hopeful, by "the mercy of God, under the Royal directions of your ſacred Majeſty, "to vindicate your Majeſty's Honour, to recover your Rights here, and "take due Vengeance on thoſe Traytors, for the Innocent Blood they "have ſpill'd, if We might be ſtrengthen'd, and ſupported therein, by "needful Supplies forth of *England*: but theſe Supplies having been hi- "therto expected to come from the Parliament of *England* (on which "if your Majeſty had not relied, We are aſſured you would, in your high "Wiſdom, have found out ſome other means to preſerve this your King- "dom) and ſo great and apparent a failure having happen'd therein, and "all the former, and late, long continuing Eaſterly winds, bringing us no "other Proviſions, than thoſe few Cheeſes and Butter, and no adver- "tiſements being brought Us of any future Supply to be ſo much as in "the way hither, whereby there might be any likelihood that conſi- "derable means of ſupport for your Majeſty's Army might arrive here, "in any reaſonable time, before We be totally ſwallow'd up by the Re- "bels, and your Kingdom by them wreſted from you: We find our ſelves "ſo diſappointed of our hopes from the Parliament, as muſt needs trench "to the utter loſs of the Kingdom, if your Majeſty in your high Wiſ- "dom ordain not ſome preſent means of preſervation for Us. And con- "ſidering that if now, by occaſion of that unhappy, and unexpected fail- "ing of Support from thence, We ſhall be leſs ſucceſsful in your Ser- "vices here againſt the Rebels, than hitherto, whilſt We were enabled "with ſome means to ſerve you, We have been, the ſhame and diſho- "nour may, in common conſtruction of thoſe that know not the in- "wards of the Cauſe, be imputed to Us, and not to the Failings that "diſabled Us: And conſidering principally, and above all things, the "high and eminent truſt of your Affairs here, depoſited with Us by your "ſacred Majeſty, We may not forbear, in diſcharge of our Duty, thus "freely and plainly to declare our humble apprehenſions, to the end "your Majeſty, thus truly underſtanding the terribleneſs of our condi- "tion, may find out ſome ſuch means of Support, to preſerve to your "Majeſty and your Royal Poſterity this your Ancient, and Rightful

"Crown, and Kingdom; and derive deliverance and ſafety to the rem-
"nant of your good Subjects yet left here, as in your excellent Judge-
"ment you ſhall find to be moſt for your Honour, and Advantage. And
"ſo praying the King of Kings to guide, and direct you for the beſt, in
"this high and important Cauſe, and in all other your Counſels and
"Actions, We humbly remain:

From your Majeſty's Caſtle of Dublin the 11th of May 1643.

THERE was no ſober Man in *Ireland* or *England*, who believ'd it to be in the King's Power to enable this People to carry on the War; for all Men too well knew, that he had neither Money, Victual, Ammunition, or Shipping, to ſupply them: and therefore his Majeſty could not but conclude, that by this application of that State to him, they hoped he would endeavour to extinguiſh that War which he could not maintain. And it is very true, that, at the ſame time with this Letter, he receiv'd Advice and Information, from ſome of his prime Miniſters of that Kingdom, who were well known, and acknowledged, perfectly to abhor the Rebellion, "that there was no reaſonable hope of preſerving "his Proteſtant Subjects, and his own Intereſt in that Kingdom, but by "Treating with the Rebels, and making a Peace, or Truce with them. The King well foreſaw to what reproaches he ſhould object himſelf, by entering into ſuch a Treaty with thoſe Rebels; and that they who had perſwaded many to believe, that he had given countenance to, if not fomented the Rebellion, againſt all humane Evidence that can be imagin'd, would more eaſily gain credit, when they ſhould be able to ſay, that he had made a Peace with them: Beſides that he had bound himſelf not to make a Peace with the Rebels in *Ireland*, without the conſent of his two Houſes of Parliament in *England*. On the other ſide, nothing was more demonſtrable, than that his Proteſtant Subjects there, could not defend the little they had left, without extraordinary aid and aſſiſtance out of *England*; that it was impoſſible for him to ſend any to them, and as viſible, that the Parliament Would not, or Could not; ſo that it ſeem'd only in his Election, whether he would preſerve the remainder of his Proteſtant Subjects there, and that whole Kingdom, in dependence upon his Crown, with the inconvenience of ſome perverſe and unreaſonable ſcandal; or ſuffer them to be rooted out; and undergo the perpetual obloquy of having loſt a Kingdom, when it was in his own power to have retain'd it within his Subjection: and whatever he had obliged himſelf to, in thoſe Acts of Parliament which he had paſſed for relief of *Ireland*, before any Rebellion in *England*, was not, that there might never be a Peace in *Ireland*, but that the two Houſes might cooperate with him, whereby the Rebels might be reduced to thoſe Streights, that they might be compelled to ſubmit to the performance of their Duties: and that, inſtead of any ſuch cooperation, the two Houſes refuſed to concur with him in any thing, and had employed thoſe Monies, which had been raiſed by thoſe very Acts, for the relief of *Ireland*, in the maintenance of the Armies which had given his Majeſty Battle in *England*, expreſsly contrary to the words of thoſe Acts; and therefore that his Majeſty might be reaſonably diſengaged from thoſe Covenants on His part.

UPON theſe conſiderations, after two Months delay, to ſee whether yet the Parliament would take care of them, and having receiv'd freſh importunities, and advices from thence, about the end of *July*, the King writ

writ to the Lords Juſtices in *Ireland*, "that they ſhould iſſue out a Com-"miſſion, under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, to the Marquis of *Ormond*, "to Treat and Conclude a Ceſſation of Armes with the Rebels, upon "ſuch Articles and Conditions as he ſhould judge moſt reaſonable; and, "during that Ceſſation, that ſuch Agents as they ſhould make choice of, "ſhould have acceſs to his Royal Perſon, to preſent their own Propo-"ſitions for Peace; ſo careful was the King not to infringe that Act of Parliament, which many underſtood to be diſſolv'd by themſelves; there being no colourable clauſe in it, by which it was not in his Majeſty's own power to make a Ceſſation; and the Peace it ſelf he reſpited in ſuch a manner, that he might receive advice and concurrence from the Parliament, if they would not decline any farther conſideration or care of that Kingdom.

HEREUPON the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, being then only General of the Horſe there, enter'd upon a Treaty with Commiſſioners authoriſed by the Council at *Kilkenny*; to whoſe juriſdiction the Rebels had committed the whole Government of their Affairs; and Articles of Ceſſation being prepared for a Year, and peruſed, and approved by the Lords Juſtices and Council, without whoſe advice the Marquis would not proceed, and all the principal Officers of the Army having given it under their hands, being preſent likewiſe at the Treaty, "that "it was moſt neceſſary for the preſervation of that Kingdom, that a Ceſ-"ſation ſhould be made for a Year, upon thoſe Articles and Conditions; and the Rebels undertaking "to pay to his Majeſty's uſe thirty thou-"ſand and eight hundred pounds ſterling, within a ſhort time; whereof "fifteen thouſand eight hundred pounds in ready Money, and the other "fifteen thouſand pounds, one half in Money, and the other half in good "Beefs, at thirty pounds the Score; a Ceſſation of Armes was concluded by the Marquis; and publiſh'd, with the Articles and Conditions, by the Lords Juſtices and Council of *Ireland*, to begin on the fifteenth day of *September*, and to continue for the ſpace of a whole year.

A Ceſſation of Armes concluded for a year in Ireland, Sept. 7. *diſowned by the two Houſes at* Weſtminſter.

THIS Ceſſation was no ſooner known in *England*, but the two Houſes declared againſt it, with all the ſharp gloſſes upon it to his Majeſty's diſhonour that can be imagined; perſwading the People, "that the Re-"bels were now brought to their laſt Gaſp, and reduced to ſo terrible "a Famine, that like *Canibals* they eat one another, and muſt have "been deſtroyed immediately, and utterly rooted out, if, by the Popiſh "Counſels at Court, the King had not been perſwaded to conſent to this "Ceſſation. It is one of the Inſtances of the ſtrange, fatal miſunderſtand-ing, which poſſeſſed this time, that, notwithſtanding all the caution the King uſed in medling at all with the buſineſs of that Kingdom from the time of the Rebellion, and the clear diſcovery of all particular reaſons, grounds, and Counſels, when he found it neceſſary to interpoſe in it, the calumnies and ſlanders raiſed to his Majeſty's diſſervice, and diſhonour, made a more than ordinary impreſſion upon the minds of Men, and not only of Vulgar-ſpirited People, but of thoſe who reſiſted all other infuſions, and infection. And poſterity, no queſtion, will enquire, from what riſe or ſpring this diſadvantage flowed; to which Enquiry I can apply no other ſatisfaction, beſides the diſeaſe of the time; which imputed all deſigns to deſigns upon Religion, and whatſoever was done by Papiſts, to the Zeal of the Queen on the behalf of her own Religion; then that the chief Managers, and Conducters of Their Counſels, found it neceſſary to aver many things of Fact upon their own knowledge

(by which they found the underſtanding of Men liable to be captivated) which in truth were not ſo: As I my ſelf found by ſome ſober Men, at ſuch times as there was occaſion of intercourſe, and conference with them, that they did, upon ſuch Aſſurance, believe that the King had done ſomewhat in that buſineſs of *Ireland* (ſome having avow'd, that they had ſeen his hand to ſuch and ſuch Letters, and Inſtructions) which, upon as much knowledge, as any Man can morally have of a Negative, I am ſure he never did.

I SHALL here inſert, as the moſt natural and proper Evidence of the State of *Ireland*, at the time of the Ceſſation, and of the unanſwerable Motives which prevail'd with the King to conſent to it, two Letters; the one, of Expoſtulation from the two Houſes to the Lords Juſtices and Council, which was received by them after the Ceſſation agreed on, though ſeeming to be ſent before; and the Anſwer of that Board thereunto; with the Contents whereof, the King, nor any of his Council attending on him, was not at all acquainted, till long after their delivery. The Letters were in theſe words.

To Our very good Lords, the Lords Juſtices, and Council, for the Kingdom of Ireland.

"Our very good Lords,

A Letter concerning it, from the two Houſes to the Lords Juſtices July 4. 1643.

"THE Lords and Commons in Parliament, have Commanded Us "to let you know, they have ſeen your Letter of the tenth of *June*, di- "rected to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, accompanied with "an Act of State, in the Preamble whereof is an expreſſion to this effect, "that your preſent difficulties are occaſion'd through the failure of the "Houſes of Parliament in *England*, who undertook the charge of this "War. This Letter, and Act of Council, were ſent by his Majeſty from "*Oxford*; to whom they believe you have ſent Copies of both, and "have juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, that there is an impious deſign now on foot, "to ſell for nought the crying Blood of many hundred thouſands of "*Britiſh* Proteſtants, by a diſhonourable, unſufferable Peace with the "Rebels; and then to lay the blame and ſhame of this upon the Par- "liament; a Plot ſuitable to thoſe Counſels that have both projected, "and fomented this unparallel'd Rebellion: for thoſe who contrived the "Powder Treaſon, intended to lay it on the Puritans. And although "they cannot think your Lordſhips intended to further this deſign by "this expreſſion, yet they have cauſe to believe, you have forgotten "the preſent condition of this Kingdom; the ſupplies they have ſent "thither of all ſorts, even in the midſt of their own wants; what relief "going thither hath been taken away by Sea and Land, and by whom; "and what diſcouragements have been given them in return: ſo that, "as your Lordſhips do truly obſerve the Proteſtant Party in that City "deſirous to contribute, in all things, towards preſervation of that King- "dom, and that all the oppoſition therein is from thoſe of the Popiſh "Party, ſo ought you juſtly to conclude, that the Proteſtant Party in "this Kingdom have contributed, and are ſtill endeavouring to contri- "bute, Monies, Ammunition, Victuals, and other Neceſſaries, for the "ſaving of that Kingdom: and that the Popiſh, and Malignant Party "here, now in Armes againſt the Parliament and Kingdom, have not "aſſiſted, in the leaſt meaſure, this pious work; but, on the contrary, do "hinder, and oppoſe the ſame; Neither ſhould your Lordſhips conceive,

"that only the charge of that War was referr'd to, and undertaken by "the Parliament, as if Their part was to be Your Bankers, only to pro- "vide Money for You to ſpend, and were not to adviſe and direct the "managing of the War; although an Act of Parliament hath inveſted "them with that Power; which they muſt aſſume and vindicate as the "means to ſave that Kingdom; and ſhall bring to condigne puniſhment "thoſe there, who, in this conjuncture of Affairs, have adviſed the Com- "miſſion to hear what the Rebels can ſay, or propound, for their own "Advantage; the Letters to diveſt their Committeee of an Authority "given them by both Houſes; and that adviſed the late alteration of "Government there; as Enemies to the Weale of both Kingdoms, and "Fautors of that Rebellion. In the laſt place, We are forbidden to tell "you, what Supplies of Money, Victuals, Ammunition, and other Ne- "ceſſaries, are in good forwardneſs to be ſent over, for the ſupport of "the Officers and Soldiers there, and by whoſe inceſſant care; leſt they "ſhould ſeem to Anſwer that ſcandal by excuſe, which deſerves an high "reſentment. This being all We have in command for the preſent, We "bid your Lordſhips farewel, and remain,

"Your Lordſhips Friends to ſerve you,

Grey of Warke

Speaker of the Houſe of Lords pro tempore;

William Lenthall

Speaker of the Commons Houſe in Parliament.

"THE Lords and Commons will examine the demeanour of the Ships "appointed to guard thoſe Coaſts; and might have expected a Copy of "*Mountroſe*'s Letter to Colonel *Crawford*, which came to your hands be- "fore the 10th of *June*; and, happily, would diſcover the Treaſon of the "Rebels, ſent by your Enemies to deſtroy you; as well as a complaint of "thoſe Sea Captains ſent by your Friends to defend you; whoſe neglects "and miſdeeds are notwithſtanding to be puniſh'd, according as their de- "merits ſhall appear. *Weſtminſter the 4th of July* 1643.

To our very good Lord, the Lord Speaker of the Right Honourable the Lords Houſe of Parliament, in the Kingdom of England; *and to our very loving Friend,* William Lenthall *Eſq; Speaker of the Honourable Commons Houſe in Parliament, in the ſaid Kingdom.*

"Our very good Lord, and Mr Speaker of the Commons Houſe "in Parliament,

"YOUR joynt Letters, of the fourth of *July* laſt, directed to Us, were *The Lords Juſtices Anſwer.* "ſo long in coming as they came not to our hands until the fixth of "*October*. By thoſe your Letters, you ſignify, that the Lords and Com- "mons in Parliament, have commanded you to let us know, that they "have ſeen our Letters of the tenth of *June*, directed to the Speaker "of the Houſe of Commons, accompanied with an Act of State, in the "preamble whereof, there is an expreſſion to this effect, that our pre- "ſent difficulties were occaſion'd through the failure of the Houſes of "Parliament in *England*, who undertook the charge of this War; to "which expreſſion, it ſeems, exception is taken, and interpretations made "thereof, far otherwiſe we are ſure than was intended by Us; and, as "We conceive, otherwiſe than the true ſenſe of thoſe words can bear. "It is true, that when We were neceſſitated to ſet on foot the new im- "poſition, raiſed here in nature of an Excife, towards keeping this Army

"from periſhing by Famine, it became neceſſary to expreſs, in the Act "of Council whereby We order'd it, the reaſons inducing Us to ſet on "foot here a thing ſo unknown to his Majeſty's Laws, and gracious Go- "vernment, and the difficulties wherewith We contended, which did "neceſſitate that reſolution; and in expreſſing thoſe difficulties, We "uſed that expreſſion, to ſhew whence our difficulties were occaſion'd; "and that We have therein declared the truth, We crave leave to mind "you of ſome particulars.

"IF We ſhould look ſo far back as to repeat the Subſtance of many "diſpatches ſent from this Board, ſince the beginning of this Rebellion; "ſome, to our very good Lord, the Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom; "ſome to the Lords, and others, Members of both Houſes, his Ma- "jeſty's Commiſſioners for the Affairs of this Kingdom; and ſome, to "the Speaker of the Commons Houſe of Parliament there; it would "prove a voluminous work; and therefore We forbear to look farther "back into thoſe diſpatches, than to the time when the Committee ſent "thence hither, were here; who, at their Arrival here, in the end of "*October* 1642, brought with them ſome Money and Proviſions, but "far ſhort of that, which the Neceſſities of this Army required; and "indeed ſo inconſiderable, in reſpect of thoſe Neceſſities, as even before "that Committee departed, they ſaw the Money they had brought, whole- "ly iſſued; and the high and unavoidable neceſſity of a farther, ſpeedy, "and plentiful ſupply of Money, and other Proviſions. By Letters from "this Board of the 20th of *January* 1642, and directed to the Speaker of "the Commons Houſe of Parliament there, it was ſignified thither, that "the Proviſions of Victuals here, were then at the very bottom; that "that Committee then here, had certified thither thoſe Wants; that if "a perſonal ſupply of Victual arrived not here very ſpeedily, the Army "could not ſubſiſt, but muſt have been conſtrain'd to disband, to the "loſs of this Kingdom, and utter deſtruction of the few Subjects here: "that the want of Treaſure here, to pay the Army, enforced this Board "to iſſue Victual to the Common Soldier, and others, towards their pay, "which did the ſooner exhauſt the Magazine of Victual; that the Ca- "ptains, and other Officers, not having relief that way, were reduced "to great extremities, as had been formerly often repreſented thither; "and therefore this Board, by the ſaid Letters, then moved, that Trea- "ſure might be ſent us ſpeedily, ſo to redeem the Officers from the Ca- "lamities they ſuffer'd, and this Board from their unſupportable Cla- "mours; and to enable the payment, in ſome part, in Money to the "Common Soldier; ſo to make the Victual, We then expected, to hold "out the longer.

"IT was alſo by thoſe Letters then advertiſed thither, that the ex- "tremities of the Officers of the Army had begotten ſo much diſcontent "amongſt them, as divers Colonels, and others of them, preſented at "this Board a Remonſtrance, whereof a Copy was then ſent incloſed in "the ſaid Letters; which Remonſtrance did exceedingly trouble, and "perplex Us, leſt it might beget ſuch diſtractions amongſt Us, as might "give too much advantage to the Rebels. But, after full Debate thereof "at this Board, it was here directed, that in preſent, to render ſome "Subſiſtence to the Officers, until Treaſure arrived forth of *England*, "every Man in this City ſhould bring in half of his Plate, to be paid "for it when Treaſure arrived; whereupon ſome Plate was brought in, "and applied towards the Army. This Board did alſo ſignify by thoſe

"Letters

"Letters, that without ſome ſpeedy relief forth of *England*, the Bur-
"then here was become too heavy to be borne; and therefore, in diſ-
"charge of our Duty to God, to our Gracious Soveraign, to that King-
"dom, and to This, We held our ſelves bound clearly to make known,
"that unleſs we were ſpeedily ſupplied from thence, with Money,
"Armes, and Victual, it would be impoſſible for Us any farther to pro-
"ſecute this War, or to preſerve from ſuddain confuſion this State and
"Government: ſo highly did the diſcontent of the Officers, and the diſ-
"order of the Soldiers, threaten Us, that it might be eaſily apprehended,
"what, in all humane probability, muſt become of Us, when it was then
"evident, that here was no Money, nor any poſſibility of procuring
"any in this City; when our Victuals were ſpent; when a great part of
"the Army had no Armes; upon which we doubted, and feared, for
"the reaſons in thoſe Letters expreſs'd, that the Soldiers would make
"Prey of Us and this City at laſt; and when we ſaw that the deſtruction
"then threaten'd againſt us, muſt then go farther, even to the loſs of
"this Crown, and Kingdom; and to the highly endangering of that King-
"dom alſo; which, for the Honour of his Majeſty, and the *Engliſh* Na-
"tion, we by our ſaid Letters deſired might, by the wiſdom of that
"Honourable Houſe, be ſpeedily prevented, by haſtening away, with
"all poſſible ſpeed, Supply of Money, Armes, and Victuals.

"By other Letters of this Board, directed to Mr Speaker, and dated
"the ſaid twentieth of *January* 1642, it was advertiſed thither, that it
"was become of abſolute neceſſity, that there ſhould be ſent us from
"thence, ſpeedily, ſix hundred light Geldings for Recruits, to be de-
"faulked out of the entertainments of thoſe who ſhould receive them.
"By other Letters from this Board, of the ſame date, directed to M^r
"Speaker, it was ſignified thither, that we had contracted an Agreement
"here with *Theodore Schout*, and *Jacob Ablin*, Merchants, that *Anthony*
"*Tyrenes*, in *London*, or *Daniel Wibrant*, in *Amſterdam*, ſhould re-
"ceive ſeven thouſand eight hundred fourſcore and thirteen pounds
"three ſhillings: for which the ſaid *Theodore* and *Jacob* had undertaken,
"by their agreement with us, to buy in *Holland*, and to Tranſport
"from thence hither, at their own charge and adventure, ſeveral pro-
"portions of Armes mention'd in a Docquet, then ſent incloſed in our
"ſaid Letters; and they undertook ſo to ſecure it by inſurance, and
"provide ſuch a Ship of force, as we might be aſſured to have all thoſe
"Armes arrive here by the tenth of *March* now laſt paſt. And we, by
"our ſaid Letters, earneſtly beſought that the ſaid Sum of ſeven thou-
"ſand eight hundred fourſcore and thirteen pounds three ſhillings might,
"by order of that Honourable Houſe, be ſpeedily paid to the ſaid *Tyrenes*,
"or *Wibrant*, that thoſe Proviſions might arrive here by the tenth of
"*March*; that we might not loſe the advantage of the then next Spring,
"for recovering of ſuch of the Sea-Ports, and other places of impor-
"tance, as the Rebels had gotten; and for proceeding effectually in this
"War. Thoſe Letters alſo moved for other proviſions of War, which
"we conceiv'd might be had in *England* in reaſonable time. And we
"then ſent a Docquet of thoſe alſo; deſiring earneſtly they might be
"ſent us ſpeedily. And although there was an Agent ſent from hence
"in *November* 1641, to ſollicite the diſpatches ſent from hence, who
"attended at *London*, when thoſe our Letters were ſent hence; yet of
"ſo great importance was that diſpatch, requiring inſtant and ſpeedy
"Anſwer and ſupply from thence, as we adjudged it neceſſary to give

"ſpecial

"ſpecial Inſtructions to the Lord *Conway*, and others (beſides that "Agent then there attending) to move his Majeſty, and ſollicite the "Houſes of Parliament, to haſten unto Us, with all poſſible Speed, the "Proviſions in thoſe Letters contain'd: And that there might nothing "be omitted, that by ſollicitation could be obtain'd, there were Agents "alſo ſent thither from the Army to ſollicite for them. By Letters from "this Board of the twentieth of *February* 1642, directed to Mr Speaker, "We again deſired, with all poſſible earneſtneſs, that the Proviſions of "all ſorts, expreſſed in thoſe three Letters of the twentieth of *January*, "and the Docquets therewith ſent, might be haſten'd to Us; and that "the ſaid ſeven thouſand eight hundred fourſcore and thirteen pounds "three ſhillings, for Armes to be provided in *Holland*, might be ſpeedily "paid. And in thoſe laſt Letters We again ſignified our miſerable, and "unſpeakable want of Victuals, Armes, Munition, Money, Shooes, and "other Neceſſaries; and that if the Supplies We moved for, came not "ſpeedily, We were unavoidably in danger, to be as much devour'd by "our own wants, as by the Sword of the Rebels; and that our want of "Corn was ſo much the more, in regard that, in confidence to be plen- "tifully ſupplied forth of *England*, We cauſed great deſtruction to be "made of Corn; there being indeed nothing conducing more to the de- "ſtruction of Rebels, than the burning of all Corn.

"We alſo then ſignified the neceſſity of ſending a farther ſupply of "Powder, and Match; and We declared, that no words could ſufficient- "ly expreſs the greatneſs of the danger We ſhould incur, if our Sup- "plies came not ſpeedily: that the Plate brought in, amounted not to "one thouſand two hundred pounds; a Sum very inconſiderable towards "relief of the Officers. By Letters of this Board of the 25th of *February* "1642, directed to Mr Speaker, We ſignified, that when our means from "thence failed, and our credits could hold out no longer, We were con- "ſtrain'd, towards relief of the Army, to force from the Proteſtant Mer- "chants here, as well *Engliſh* as Strangers, not only the Commodities "they had brought hither, but the Native Commodities alſo; under- "taking to them that they ſhould receive Payment at *London*; which "failing, that thoſe that would ſupply Us, were diſhearten'd, and durſt "not come hither with Commodities; wherefore We again, by thoſe "Letters, beſought ſpeedy ſupply from thence; declaring that other- "wiſe, the Army, and We, muſt periſh; and ſo far We were tranſported "with grief, in the conſideration of the high extremities of this King- "dom, and Army, as We did, by thoſe Letters, lament for the ſhame "and diſhonour, which We then foreſaw would reflect upon the *Engliſh* "Nation, if then, after ſo long and often forewarnings, given by Us to "that Honourable Houſe, this Kingdom were loſt, and that for want "of Supplies from thence; wherein We then declared, that all the com- "fort left Us, was, that We had done Our parts, and diſcharged our du- "ties to God, to his Majeſty, and to all his Kingdoms, who muſt have "borne their parts with Us in ſo heavy a loſs.

"By Letters from this Board dated the 23^d^ of *March* 1642, directed "to Mr Speaker, We ſignified that our wants enforced Us to diſtribute "the Soldiers, for their Victuals, in and throughout this City and "Suburbs; which, We ſignified, could not long hold, conſidering the "poverty of this place; and therefore, to avoid utter confuſion, We did "again and again beſeech moſt earneſtly, that, above all things, Victuals "and Munition might be ſent Us ſpeedily; and that Money, Armes,

"Cloaths, Shooes, and other Provisions might also be sent; declaring, "that if they yet came speedily, the Kingdom, and his Majesty's Forces "here, might be thereby redeem'd out of part of their distresses; and "We enabled, by the blessing of God, to give his Majesty such an ac- "count of this Kingdom, as would be for the Glory of the King our "Master, and the Honour of the *English* Nation, in the subduing this "horrid Rebellion; which, by reason of our wants, and in no other re- "spect, was then grown very terrible: and We did again call for the Pro- "visions, moved for by our several former Letters of the twentieth of "*January*, and twentieth of *February*, and for the payment of the seven "thousand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings, "for Armes to be provided in *Holland*, and those also which We expect "from *London*; declaring, that unless those Supplies came, We should "be disabled from doing Service on the Rebels the then next Spring, or "the then succeeding Summer; and must undoubtedly put the Rebels "into a condition of prevailing against us, which we well believ'd, the "Kingdom of *England* would never have permitted against so faithful "Servants and valiant Soldiers, as his Majesty yet had here.

"By those Letters also we signified, that it was necessary that there "should be here, at this Harbour of *Dublin*, by the middle of *April*, at "least two Ships of good Strength; and that the Ships design'd for "guarding the other parts of the Coasts of this Kingdom, should be "hasten'd away with all possible speed. By Letters from this Board di- "rected to Mr Speaker, dated the fourth of *April* 1643, we represented "again the unspeakable miseries of the Officers and Soldiers, for want "of all things; and all those made the more insupportable, in the want "of food; and that this City was then apparently found to be unable to "help Us, as it had formerly done; and repeated again, in as lively "terms as we could, the high extremities fallen, and encreasing upon "Us; declaring, that we were enforced to see, who had any thing yet "left him not taken from him, to help Us; and that although there "were but few such, and some poor Merchants, whom we had for- "merly, by the Law of necessity, utterly undone; yet, that we were "forced to wrest their Commodities from them: That there were few "here, of our selves or others, that had not felt their parts in the in- "forced rigour of our proceedings towards preserving the Army; and "we earnestly desired, that his Majesty, and the *English* Nation, might "not suffer so great, if not irrecoverable prejudice and dishonour, as "must unavoidably be the consequence of our not being reliev'd sud- "dainly; but that Yet, although it were then even almost at the point "to be too late, Supplies of Victuals, and Munition, in present might "be hasten'd hither, to keep life, until the rest might follow: declaring "also, that there was no Victual in the Store, and that there would not "be an hundred Barrels of Powder left, when the out-Garrisons, as they "must then instantly have been, were supplied; and that the residue of "our Provisions must also come speedily after, or otherwise that *England* "could not hope to secure *Ireland*, or secure themselves against *Ireland*; "but in the loss of it, must look for such Enemies from hence, as would "perpetually disturb the Peace of his Majesty, and his Kingdom of "*England*; and among them, by Sea and Land, as we had often for "merly represented thither; which mischiefs we signified might yet be "prevented, if we were but then forthwith enabled from thence, with "means to overcome this Rebellion.

"WE then alſo again renewed our requeſts for the Proviſions, men-
"tion'd in our Letters of the twentieth of *January*, and for the pay-
"ment of the ſeven thouſand eight hundred fourſcore and thirteen
"pounds three ſhillings, for Armes to be provided in *Holland*, beſides
"thoſe we expected from *London*: we then alſo ſent, incloſed in our
"Letters to Mr Speaker, a Copy of writing, ſign'd by ſundry Officers
"of the Army, which was in a Style threatning much danger; whereby
"appear'd the high neceſſity of haſtning Treaſure hither to pay them,
"and the reſt of the Officers, and provide Victual for the Soldiers. On
"the 10th of *April* 1643, we receiv'd Letters from Mr Speaker, of the
"17th of *March*, in Anſwer to our Letters of the 20th and 25th of *Fe-*
"*bruary*. Thoſe Letters from Mr Speaker, adviſed free Trade and Truck
"to be given to Merchants, by taking our Native Commodities, that
"cannot be manufactur'd here, for their Corn, and other Victuals, and
"carrying them into *England*, or other places not prohibited. And by
"our Letters directed to Mr Speaker, dated the 22d of *April*, in Anſwer
"to his ſaid Letters of the 17th of *March*, we made it appear, that that
"deſign could not hold to derive benefit to this Army. By thoſe our
"Letters we ſignified alſo, that the neceſſities of the Army ſtill preſſed
"us, by degrees, to break the Merchants here, by wreſting their Com-
"modities from them, upon promiſe of ſatisfaction in *England*; that
"the failing of that ſatisfaction in *England*, as it had undone Them, ſo
"had it infinitely prejudiced the ſervice here: that we engaged the word
"of this State, to procure payment to many others, out of the next
"Treaſure that ſhall arrive forth of *England* (which Courſes though
"very hard, did help us for a time) that when thoſe failed, we begun at
"our ſelves, then at Others, then at all Fraternities, and Corporations,
"as Bakers, Brewers, Butchers, Vintners, and the like; then at all par-
"ticular Perſons obſerv'd to have any viſible ſubſtance, not being able
"to ſpare poor Men who (to gain a poor living) made profeſſion, ſome
"of ſelling hot Waters, and ſome of cutting Tobacco: that in the end,
"all other means failing, we had recourſe to the only native Commo-
"dity, Hydes; ſeiſing on all that could be found, either on Ship-board,
"ready to be exported hence (with purpoſe in ſome of the owners of
"them to return Victuals hither; which we were not able to wait for)
"or on Shore, prepared for Ship-board; and made uſe of them to get
"the Army in a few days bread, ſtill hoping Proviſions of Victual might
"come to keep them alive; which did draw upon Us infinite Clamour.

"AND by the ſaid Letters we earneſtly beſought, that before we
"ſhould be utterly ſwallowed up in the confuſion of Affairs, wherewith
"we were beſet, the deſtruction of this State, and Army, and Kingdom,
"being then no leſs feared to ariſe from the Army, though ſent hither
"for their preſervation, than from the fury of the Rebels, if that Ho-
"nourable Houſe would not look back into all our ſeveral Letters ſent
"thither, which we then declared ſhould for ever acquit Us before God,
"and the world; as having diſcharged our Duties to God, to his Ma-
"jeſty, and to this his Kingdom, in fully, and timely, and often repre-
"ſenting thither the evils then ready to ſeiſe upon this State, the Army,
"and the Kingdom, and the means of preventing them; yet at laſt they
"would be pleaſed to review our ſaid ſeveral Letters of the 20th and
"25th of *February*, of the 20th of *January*, 23d of *March*, and 4th of *April*.
"We then alſo ſignified that the Soldiers, preſſed through wants, at-
"tempted Tumults, and Mutiny, plunder'd divers of the Inhabitants

"of

"of this City, as well *Engliſh*, and Proteſtants, as others: that We ap-
"prehended thoſe diſorders but beginnings of what, We doubted, would
"then ſhortly enſue, even the ranſack of this City, if by ſupplies forth
"of *England* it were not prevented: that then there would be no refuge
"left, either for the Army, or other *Engliſh* here: that We were not
"able to ſend out the Soldiers, for want of Money to furniſh ordinary
"neceſſities, and of Ammunition; wherefore We then again earneſtly
"moved, that ſome means might be found for complying with our de-
"ſires, in thoſe our ſeveral Letters expreſſed, certifying, that the State
"of Affairs here, could not poſſibly admit the leaſt deferring; and that
"no help was to be expected from hence; as We had often, and fully, in
"former Letters, ſignified thither: that if it were not immediately ſup-
"plied forth of *England* with Powder, we ſhould not be able to defend
"our ſelves, or offend the Rebels; and that, above all things, Munition,
"Money, and Victuals, were, of neceſſity, to be ſent in the firſt place;
"and the other Proviſions to be ſent after, which alſo we certified moſt
"needful to be done with all poſſible ſpeed.

"By our Letters of the ſixth of *May* 1643, directed to Mr Speaker,
"we ſignified how neceſſary it was, that the intended Eſtabliſhment
"ſhould be conſider'd there, and put into ſuch a way as to be made
"perfect, and, receiving his Majeſty's gracious Approbation, might be
"ſent hither; which We deſired to be haſten'd, that the Officers, who
"daily labour in the publick Services, might the better know what they
"are to have; of which Eſtabliſhment We have not yet had any return.
"By our Letters to Mr Speaker of the 11th of *May* 1643, We ſignified,
"that although by Letters from Mr Speaker dated the 17th day of *March*,
"it was advertiſed hither, that ſix weeks Proviſion of Victuals, for each
"Province, was in preparing, yet that it was not come, or if it was
"come, that it was a Supply far below that which was neceſſary to be
"then ſent hither. And We then again repeated the miſerable condi-
"tion of this Army, through want of all things, eſpecially Money,
"Victuals, Cloaths, Armes, and Munition: that there was not above
"forty Barrels of Powder in the Store (a mean and inconſiderable quan-
"tity for this Army, on whom depends the preſervation of the King-
"dom) and We again deſired, in caſe of ſo high and eminent danger, and
"that with all poſſible importunity, that a courſe might be then in-
"ſtantly taken for haſtning away Powder with all ſpeed, and that the
"other Proviſions alſo of all ſorts, mention'd in our former ſeveral Let-
"ters of the 20th of *January*, 20th, and 25th of *February*, the 23^d of *March*,
"and the 4th, and 22^d of *April*, might be alſo haſten'd away; and that
"the ſeven thouſand eight hundred and fourſcore and thirteen pounds
"three ſhillings, for Armes to be provided in *Holland*, beſides thoſe we
"expected from *London*, might be paid.

"By thoſe Letters alſo We ſignified, that We could not but lament
"our misfortune, and the diſhonour reflecting on the *Engliſh* Nation,
"that the Seaſon of the year ſhould be ſo far enter'd into, and yet (not-
"withſtanding all the repreſentations, often, and timely enough made
"thither of Affairs here) no means put into our power to make Uſe
"thereof, in a vigorous proſecution of the War; but inſtead thereof,
"notwithſtanding all the endeavour and induſtry here uſed to prevent
"it, We then beheld our ſelves ſunk deeply into a Gulph of Confuſion,
"and diſtreſs of Affairs, being equally in danger to be devour'd through
"our wants, or to be deſtroy'd by the Rebels, for want of needful ha-

"biliments of War to enable our Defence, as had been formerly often "and fully declared thither; and therefore We again preſſed to be re- "deem'd from the terribleneſs of our Condition, by ſuch timely acceſ- "ſions of Supplies forth of *England*, as were contain'd in our ſaid former "diſpatches.

"By our Letters to Mr Speaker, dated the 16th of *May* 1643, we "deſired that 320l might be paid there, as we had formerly deſired, for "ſundry particulars neceſſary for the Chirurgeons of this Army; there "being a great want thereof for the cures of wounded Men. And then "we ſent, and employed Sr *Thomas Wharton* Knight, a Member of "this Army, purpoſely to ſollicite the means of our relief, that ſo we "might omit nothing that we conceiv'd might conduce to the haſtning "of our expected Supplies. And by our Letters of the 16th of *May*, then "ſent to Mr Speaker, we ſignified, that the Kingdom was then in more "danger than ever to be forced out of our hands, for want of timely "Supplies out of *England*; and we deſired moſt earneſtly, that his "diſpatch might be haſten'd for our preſervation, that, if it were poſſi- "ble, the King, and Kingdom of *England*, might yet then be preſerv'd "from that irrecoverable prejudice and diſhonour, which muſt neceſſa- "rily accompany, and follow the loſs of this Kingdom.

"And here we may not omit to mention, that we prevailed with "divers Perſons to advance Proviſions to Us, at ſeveral times, to an- "ſwer the crying neceſſities of this Army; and to ſome, we gave our "Bills, in nature of Bills of exchange, and to others, our own Bonds, "undertaking repayment at *London* by the Parliament there; which "we did in confidence to find ready Payment there accordingly: and "we do not yet hear that thoſe Bills of exchange, or Bonds, are yet paid "there; but we find ſome of the Parties ready to ſue, and implead Us "here, for thoſe Debts, though contracted only for the publick Service.

"Which proceeding of this Board, from time to time, we thus at "large deduce, that ſo it may appear fully that we have diſcharged "thoſe duties which we owe to his Majeſty, and to the truſt of his Ma- "jeſty's Affairs here, in repreſenting thither fully, and timely, and often, "the wants and extremities to which this Kingdom and Army were re- "duced, and the means requiſite to be ſent for relief and preſervation "of both; and yet in all that time, namely from the ſaid twentieth day "of *January* 1642, to the tenth of *June* 1643, which is the day of the "date of our Letters, to which yours of the fourth of *July* is an An- "ſwer, or from that time to this, there arrived here, as ſent from the "Parliament of *England*, towards the relief of this Army, and for main- "tenance of this War, but the particulars following, *viz.* forty nine thou- "ſand two hundred forty eight pounds of Butter; forrty nine thouſand "ſix hundred forty nine pounds of Cheeſe; four hundred forty ſeven "Barrels and a half of Wheat, and Rye; three hundred threeſcore and "ſeven Barrels of Peaſe; and three hundred fifty ſix Barrels of Oates; "alſo five hundred Sutes of Cloaths, one thouſand Caſſocks, two thou- "ſand eight hundred and eighteen Caps, alſo eight and twenty hundred "three quarters and one pound of Match; thirty eight hundred two "quarters and nine pound of Shot, and three hundred threeſcore and "fourteen Barrels of Powder; of which Proviſions of Munition, there "were three hundred and one and forty Barrels of Powder, and five "hundred fifty five pound two quarters and four and twenty pound of "Match, which was the Munition we had contracted for here, and in

"the

"the way, coming from *Holland*, was intercepted at Sea, and carried "to *Calais*, and afterwards ſet free there by the mediation of his Majeſty, "and the Houſes of Parliament in *England*; but the price thereof ſtands "charged on the ſaid Houſes of Parliament.

"THIS was not above a weeks Proviſion, or thereabouts, of Victuals, "for the Army in *Lemſter*, being fifteen Regiments of Foot, and twen- "ty two Troops of Horſe, and four Troops of Dragoons, beſides Train "of Artillery, and four hundred Firelocks; ſo as certainly there was a "failure in ſupplying Us, and that failure was not occaſion'd through "any neglect on Our parts, in not repreſenting thither the wants and "extremities endured by this Army; and the means of their Supply is, "as we conceive, very clear by thoſe ſeveral diſpatches ſent from Us to "Mr Speaker. And ſeeing, that the charge of this War was referred to, "and undertaken by the Houſes of Parliament of *England*, and that "by thoſe diſpatches they fully underſtood the condition of Affairs here, "We offer it to any Man's conſideration, whether or no We had not juſt "cauſe to conceive, and accordingly to expreſs in that Act of Council, "that our difficulties, which were neceſſary to be mention'd in that "Act, were occaſion'd through the failure of the Houſes of Parliament "in *England*.

"AND whereas you write, that the Lords and Commons in Parlia- "ment do believe We have ſent Copies of our ſaid Letters, and Act of "Council to his Majeſty, it is true, that We have ſo done; and therein "acquitted our ſelves towards that Duty which We owe him; and had "failed in our Duties, if we had done otherwiſe. But how from that, "as we conceive, neceſſary and true expreſſion of Ours in the ſaid Act "of Council, or from our ſending a Copy thereof, and of our ſaid Let- "ters to his Majeſty, there can be any juſt cauſe to ſuſpect (as your "Letters ſeem to infer) there is ſuch an impious deſign now on foot, as "your Letters mention, we confeſs we do not underſtand, or any de- "ſign at all other than the needful ſettling here of the impoſition, in "Nature of an Exciſe, in thoſe our Letters and Act of Council men- "tion'd; without which this Army could not have ſubſiſted to this time; "and was preſſed by the Committee from the Parliament here, but then "avoided; Our hopes being then more, and our neceſſities not ſo great "as they were when we laid it. And as we find by your Letters, that "the Lords and Commons in Parliament there have done Us the right, "by your ſaid Letters, to ſignify that they cannot think we intended "by that expreſſion, to farther the deſign in your Letters mention'd, "ſo we hold it neceſſary to declare, that we neither have forgotten, "nor can forget, the preſent condition of that Kingdom; but we have "a long time beheld, and ſtill behold, and lament with bleeding hearts, "the woful condition of that Kingdom, and how God's hand is ſtill "ſtreched out againſt Us, in thoſe heavy diſtractions there; yet we com- "fort our ſelves with hope, that God, in mercy to his Majeſty, and to "all his Kingdoms and People, will at length, in his own good time, an- "ſwer the Prayers and Tears of Us his Majeſty's Servants, and many "thouſands of others his good Subjects there, and here, continually "poured out for his Majeſty, and his Kingdom, in removing that heavy "judgement, and ſettling Peace and Tranquillity there, to the Glory of "God, the Honour of his Majeſty, and the joynt Happineſs of all his "Subjects, in all his Kingdoms and Dominions.

"NOR have we forgotten the Supplies of all ſorts ſent hither by the

"Parliament, but do very well remember them. But We confeſs We "know not, what relief coming hither hath been taken away, either by "Sea or Land, or by whom, or what diſcouragement hath been given "them in return: Only We have heard, that the Shipping, employed "by the Rebels at *Wexford*, did give them ſome interruption at Sea; "and that was occaſion'd by neglect of duty in thoſe who Commanded "the Ships deſign'd for the Guard of the Coaſts of this Kingdom; And "the ſaid Ship bound hither from *Holland* with Munition, which We "had contracted for here, was intercepted at Sea, and carried to *Calais*, "and afterwards ſet free there, by the mediation of his Majeſty and the "Houſes of Parliament in *England*. And We find that ſome Ships, ſent "hither it ſeems at firſt with Proviſions from *London*, and other Ships "bound hither with Proviſions on private Mens Adventures, were taken "away even from this Harbour, a few days before the Ceſſation of Armes "here, as they were coming in, and carried to *Leverpool*, by one Cap- "tain *Dauſk*, a Perſon employed by the two Houſes of Parliament there, "in the Command of a Ship, and that Ship Commanded by *Dauſk*, and "other Ships employed at *Leverpool*, do now, and have a long time "ſtay'd on that ſide, laden with Proviſion of Victuals, Coales, and other "neceſſary relief bound from thence hither to be ſold; which, if they "had arrived here, would have brought great relief to this Army and "the Inhabitants in this City, though on the Adventure of the Bringers; "which We hold neceſſary to repreſent thither, to the end that their "uncharitableneſs towards thoſe poor Men that would Adventure hi- "ther to relieve Us, and their inhumanity towards this diſtreſſed Army, "and City, and many of his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects therein, might "appear ſo, as they, or others, may not preſume hereafter to offend "in that kind.

"AND whereas you write, that We ſhould not conceive that only "the Charge of this War was referr'd to, and undertaken by the Parlia- "ment, as if Their part were to be our Bankers, only to provide Mo- "nies for Us to ſpend, and were not to adviſe, and direct the managing "of the War; We confeſs We neither did, nor do conceive the Parlia- "ment there to be Bankers for Us; but did eſteem them, as thoſe to "whom the King our Maſter referr'd the Charge of this War, and to "whom, as ſo entruſted by his Majeſty, this Board, from time to time, "made application; and if any advice had come from them, concern- "ing the managing of the War, we ſhould have endeavour'd to have "made the beſt uſe thereof, for the furtherance of his Majeſty's Service "here. And here We hold it neceſſary to declare, that when we under- "ſtood, that his Majeſty, at the humble deſire of the Lords and Com- "mons of Parliament in *England*, had, in *April* 1642, granted a Com- "miſſion to ſome Members of both Houſes, for ordering and diſpoſing "all matters there, for the defence, relief, and recovery of this King- "dom; and that his Majeſty Commanded all his Officers, Miniſters, and "Subjects of his Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, to be obedient, "aiding, and aſſiſting to the ſaid Commiſſioners in the due execution of "the ſaid Commiſſion; and that by his Majeſty's inſtructions, annexed "to the ſaid Commiſſion, his Majeſty gave it in charge to thoſe Com- "miſſioners, to advertiſe his Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the Council, and "other Governours and Commanders here, what they conceiv'd to be "needful for the proſecution of the War in the beſt manner, for the de- "fence of this his Kingdom, and eaſe of the great Charges and Expences,

"which, by occaſion of this Rebellion, lay upon his loving Subjects of "his Kingdom of *England*: We therefore, by our Letters of the ſeventh "of *June* 1642, directed to thoſe his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, beſought, "among other things, preſent and particular direction for the proſecu- "tion of the War; which yet we have not receiv'd: only we had ad- "vice from thence, to ſend ſome Forces into *Connaught*; which was "done; and for ſending ſome Forces into *Munſter*, which, by Our Let- "ters of the thirteenth of *September* 1642 to the Commiſſioners there, "we ſignified was not poſſible for Us to do, unleſs we were plentifully "ſupplied of thoſe things, whereof the wants then certified thither did "then diſable Us.

"CONCERNING the Commiſſion in your Letters mention'd, it was "not to hear what the Rebels would ſay, or propound for their own ad- "vantage, as your Letters mention; but his Majeſty having receiv'd an "humble Petition, in the name of the Recuſants of *Ireland*, deſiring to "be heard, his Majeſty thought it not unjuſt, or inconvenient for him, "to receive from them what they could ſay unto him; to whom they "inſinuated that they would yet yield due obedience. And therefore his "Majeſty, by his Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England* (wherein "he declared his extreme deteſtation of the odious Rebellion, which the "Recuſants of *Ireland* have, without any ground or colour, raiſed againſt "Him, his Crown, and Dignity) Authoriſed ſome of his Miniſters here, to "hear at large what the Petitioners ſhould ſay, or propound; which his "Majeſty, by the ſaid Commiſſion, directed that the Petitioners, or the "principal of them, Authoriſed by the reſt, ſhould ſet down in writing "under their hands; and the Commiſſioners to ſend the ſame to his Ma- "jeſty; whereupon his Majeſty by the ſaid Commiſſion declared, he "would take ſuch farther conſideration, as ſhould be juſt, honourable, and "fit for his Majeſty: And that that Courſe gave not the leaſt interruption "to the proceeding of the War, appears by this, that on the eighteenth "of *March* (being in the time the Commiſſioners, Authoriſed by his "Majeſty, gave meeting to thoſe of the other ſide, upon that Commiſ- "ſion) the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, though one of thoſe Commiſ- "ſioners, in his return from *Roſſe* with about two thouſand five hun- "dred Foot, and five hundred Horſe of his Majeſty's Army, fought with "the Army of the Rebels, conſiſting of about ſix thouſand Foot, and "ſix hundred and fifty Horſe, and obtained a happy and glorious Vi- "ctory againſt them; and the Rebels Army being Defeated, and whole- "ly Routed, and their Baggage and Munition ſeiſed on, his Majeſty's "Forces lodged that night where they had gain'd the Victory, as by "former Letters of this Board, of the fourth of *April* 1643, directed "to Mr Speaker, we formerly ſignified thither: which we thus repeat, "to manifeſt that that Commiſſion, or the Meeting thereupon, gave not "any manner of interruption to the proceeding of the War.

"CONCERNING the Letters you mention, to deveſt the Committee "of both Houſes there of an Authority given them by both Houſes, "we remember that his Majeſty, by his Letters of the third of *Fe- "bruary* 1642, underſtanding that the then Juſtices and Council had "admitted, without His order or knowledge, to ſit in Council with "them in this his Kingdom, Mr *Robert Goodwin* and Mr *Reynolds*, and "that thereby they were become ſo bold, as to take upon them to hear, "and debate of matters Treated of in Council, his Majeſty, by his ſaid "Letters, ſignified by his expreſs Command, that they ſhould not be

"permitted

"permitted to ſit, or be preſent any more at his Majeſty's Council Table "here; but if they had any buſineſs, his Majeſty willed, that they ſhould "attend as others of their Quality: which his Majeſty's pleaſure was "humbly obey'd by his ſaid Juſtices, and Council, with that Duty and "Submiſſion, which was due from them to his Royal Commands. And "as his Majeſty, by his ſaid Letters required, that, if thoſe Perſons had "any buſineſs, they ſhould attend, as others of their Quality; ſo, if "they had afterwards offer'd any buſineſs at this Board, they ſhould have "been heard therein; which was alſo ſignified to them before their de- "parture hence. And now, upon this occaſion, we having peruſed the "Copies they deliver'd at this Board, of the Order of both Houſes dated "the ſixth of *October* 1642, and of their Inſtructions, do find indeed, "that, by the ſaid Order, the ſaid *Robert Reynolds*, and *Robert Goodwin*, "were to have the Credence, Power, and Eſteem of a Committee ſent "hither by the Advice, and Authority of both Houſes of Parliament; "and that, by the ſaid Inſtructions, they were to be admitted to be pre- "ſent, and Vote at all Conſultations concerning the War; yet there is "nothing in the ſaid Order, or Inſtructions, for admitting them to ſit, "or be preſent at his Majeſty's Council Table; which is that which his "Majeſty, by his ſaid Letters, required, ſhould not be permitted; which "cannot be conceiv'd to be a deveſting them of any Authority given "them by both Houſes.

"AND as to the late Alteration of Government here, expreſſed in "your Letters, although his Majeſty, in his high wiſdom, adjudged it "fit to alter one of thoſe Governours, which he had placed here, which "was no more than He, and his Royal Predeceſſors had uſually done "in all Ages, as often as they thought fit, yet that made no alteration "in the Government; but it in all times continued, and ſtill continues "the ſame, though in other Perſons.

"THAT part of your Letters which declares, that you are forbidden "to tell Us what Supplies of Money, Victual, Ammunition, and other "Neceſſaries, were then in a good forwardneſs to be ſent hither for the "ſupport of the Officers, and Soldiers here, requires no Anſwer on Our "parts, other than this truth, that they are not yet arrived here. Con- "cerning *Mountroſe*'s Letters to Colonel *Crawford*, We know of no Trea- "ſon to be diſcover'd thereby; but for the Sea Captains in your Letters "mention'd, it is certain that their neglects and miſdeeds deſerve pu- "niſhment, which we deſire they may find rather to their correction, "than to their ruin.

THUS We have given Anſwer to thoſe parts of your Letters, which, "We conceiv'd, concern'd Us; whereby, we hope, both Houſes of Par- "liament there will now remain ſatisfied, as in the neceſſity and juſtice "of our Actions, ſo in the truth and candour of our Intentions, in thoſe "particulars to which your ſaid Letters ſeem to take exception. And ſo "We remain, *From his Majeſty's Caſtle of Dublin 28th of Oct.* 1643,

"Your Lordſhips very loving Friends,

Jo. Borlaſe.	*Hen. Titchborne.*	*Rich. Bolton, Canc.*
La. Dublin.	*Ormond.*	*Roſcommon.*
Ant. Midenſis.	*Edw. Brabazon.*	*Char. Lambert.*
Geo. Shurley.	*Ger. Lowther.*	*Tho. Rotherham.*
Fr. Willoughby.	*Tho. Lucas.*	*Ja. Ware.*
	G. Wentworth.	

THE diſtractions in *Ireland* being, by means of the Ceſſation, in ſome degree allay'd, and both Parties having time to breath, the King, in the next place, conſider'd how he might apply that Ceſſation to the Advancement of his Affairs in *England*. One of the principal Motives that induced that Ceſſation, was the miſerable State of the Army there, ready, through extreme wants, to disband; ſo that there being now leſs uſe of them there, and an impoſſibility to keep them, his Majeſty had it only in his Election, whether he ſhould ſuffer them there to disband, and diſpoſe of themſelves as they thought fit, which could not be without infinite diſorder, and might probably prove as much to his particular diſſervice; or whether he ſhould draw over ſuch a Number as might be ſafely ſpared, to his own Aſſiſtance in *England*; to which he was aſſured, that the devotion, and affection of moſt of the principal or conſiderable Officers there, chearfully inclined; and of this latter he made little ſcruple to make choice, when he was not only informed of the preparations and readineſs in *Scotland*, to invade this Kingdom; but that they had called over their old General, the Earl of *Leven*, who Commanded the *Scotiſh* Forces in *Ireland*, and many other Officers and Soldiers out of that Kingdom, to form and conduct their Army into This; and that there were alſo Arts and Induſtry uſed, by ſome Agents for the Parliament, to perſwade the *Engliſh* Officers likewiſe to bring over their Men for their Service.

The King ſends for part of the Engliſh *Army out of* Ireland.

So that the King directed the Marquis of *Ormond*, to make choice of ſuch Regiments, and Troops, as were neceſſary for the Defence of the ſeveral Garriſons, or as could be provided for, and ſupported in that Kingdom, and that the reſt ſhould be ſent for *England*. To which purpoſe, Shipping was ſent; with direction that thoſe from, and about *Dublin*, ſhould be Shipp'd for *Cheſter*, to be joyn'd to thoſe Forces under the Command of the Lord *Capel*; whereby he might be able to reſiſt the growing power of Sr *William Bruerton*; who, by an addition of Forces from *London*, and with the Aſſiſtance of Sr *Thomas Middleton*, and Sr *John Gell*, was grown very ſtrong; being back'd by *Lancaſhire*, which upon the matter was wholely reduced to the obedience of the Parliament: and that the other Forces out of *Munſter* ſhould be landed at *Briſtol*, to be diſpoſed by the Lord *Hopton*; who was forming a new Army, to oppoſe Sr *William Waller*; who threaten'd an Inroad into the Weſt; or rather to ſeek him out by viſiting *Hampſhire*, and *Suſſex*, if the other were not ready to advance.

THE Court at *Oxford* was much encreaſed by the Queen's Preſence, and the neceſſities were encreaſed with the expence. All correſpondence was abſolutely broken with *London*, inſomuch as a ſworn Meſſenger of the Chamber, ſent to *London* with a Writ, and Proclamation for the Adjournment of the Term to *Oxford*, was apprehended as a Spy (as hath been ſaid before) and executed by Martial Law; and the two Houſes had cauſed a Great Seal to be made with the King's Image, and Inſcription, and put the ſame into the hands of Commiſſioners, and ſo the Courts were continued in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, for the diſpatch of Juſtice (as they call'd it) as had been formerly, notwithſtanding the King's Proclamation. The Money, which by the particular Perſons of all conditions had been very plentifully ſupplied in the beginning of the War, now near ſpent, and the ſtopping the intercourſe with *London*, had ſhut the door againſt farther Supply; ſo that all Men were weary of the condition they were in, and expreſſed it as weary Men uſed to do, in Mur-

murs and Complaints. And now all the hope was in the Convention of the Members of Parliament; which being a new thing, ſuſpended the preſent indiſpoſition, and adminiſter'd ſome expectation, what they, who came from all Quarters of the Kingdom, would do.

The Members of both Houſes met at Oxford.

ACCORDING to the King's Proclamation, the Members of both Houſes of Parliament, who had withdrawn out of Conſcience and Duty from thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, appear'd at *Oxford* at the day appointed; except ſuch as could not reaſonably be abſent from their Commands in the Counties, where the Armies were. They were graciouſly, and ſolemnly welcom'd by his Majeſty, with that Ceremony which is uſed at the opening of a Parliament; when his Majeſty told them:

The Subſtance of the King's Speech to them.

"THAT he had called them to be Witneſſes of his Actions, and privy "to his Intentions; and that he deſired to receive any Advice from "them, which they thought would be ſuitable to the miſerable and di- "ſtracted condition of the Kingdom: in preſenting whereof, they ſhould "uſe all that Parliamentary freedom which would be due to them if "they were with him at *Weſtminſter*, and which, with all their other "Privileges, they ſhould enjoy at *Oxford*, though they could not in "the other place; with many expreſſions of grace towards them, and confidence in them. Aſſoon as they had withdrawn to thoſe places which were aſſign'd to their Counſels, both Lords and Commons enter'd upon the deliberation of all poſſible expedients, in order to Peace; moſt Men believing, according to the reaſon and conſcience of their own hearts, that the difficulty was greater, to diſpoſe thoſe at *London* to the honeſty and confidence of a Treaty, than, in that Treaty, to agree on ſuch Concluſions as might be ſatisfactory to all Parties; judging it impoſſible, that Men could deſire to bring ruin and deſolation upon their Country, if they were once perſwaded that it might be prevented with their own preſervation. But how to advance to any formality, which probably might produce a diſpoſition to intercourſe, appear'd very hard. When they thought of adviſing the King to ſend a gracious Meſſage and Overture to the two Houſes, they preſently remember'd, and conſider'd, what his Majeſty had already done that way, and how ill returns of Reverence and Duty, he had receiv'd from them: That to the two laſt Meſſages he had ſent (it being not poſſible now to ſend any more gracious and obliging) they had never return'd Anſwer, and that they ſtill detain'd his laſt Meſſenger in ſtrict durance, after having expoſed him to a Tryal for his Life at a Court of War: That they had prohibited any kind of Addreſs to be made to them from his Majeſty, except through the hands of the Earl of *Eſſex* their General. From thence thoſe at *Oxford* enter'd upon the diſquiſition, how they might engage his Lordſhip to the ſame thoughts and deſires with them; to the which they eaſily believ'd, Experience, Obſervation, and Intereſt, would engage him. They perſwaded themſelves, that the principal ground which had hitherto fruſtrated all Overtures from his Majeſty towards Peace, was the Conſcience thoſe at *Weſtminſter* had of their own guilt, and the jealouſy, that proceeded from thence, that no Peace could ſecure them, whilſt there was power left in his Majeſty; but that they could not poſſibly ſuſpect the performance and exact obſervation of any agreement, which ſhould be concluded upon the interceſſion of all the King's Party; which muſt be ſecurity for the accompliſhment of it. From the reaſonableneſs of this Aſſertion, they entertain'd an Aſſurance, that the Earl of *Eſſex* would as greedily embrace the opportunity, and

concur with them in promoting the Overture; which was all they desired: for that would remove those forms, which, as so many Rocks, were in the way. Hereupon the Lords and Commons, the members of both Houses, resolv'd to write a Letter to the Earl of *Essex*, in their own Names, which, with the King's Consent, was by Trumpet sent to him, within four days after their meeting. The Letter was in these very terms.

My Lord,

"HIS Majesty having, by his Proclamation of the 22d of *December* *They send a Letter to the Earl of Essex.*
"(upon the occasion of the Invasion threaten'd, and in part begun, by
"some of his Subjects of *Scotland*) summon'd all the Members of both
"Houses of Parliament, to attend him here at *Oxford*, we whose Names
"are underwritten, are here met and assembled, in odedience to those
"his Majesty's Commands. His Majesty was pleased to invite Us, in
"the said Proclamation, by these gracious Expressions, that his Subjects
"should see, how willing he was to receive Advice, for the preservation
"of the Religion, Laws, and Safety of the Kingdom, and as far as in him
"lay, to restore it to it's former Peace and Security (his chief and only
"end) from those whom they had trusted; though he could not receive
"it in the place where he appointed. This most gracious Invitation
"hath not only been made good unto Us, but seconded, and heighten'd
"by such unquestionable Demonstrations of the deep and princely sense,
"which possesses his Royal heart, of the Miseries, and Calamities of his
"poor Subjects in this unnatural War, and of his most entire and pas-
"sionate Affections to redeem them from that sad and deplorable con-
"dition, by all ways possible, consistent either with his Honour, or with
"the future Safety of the Kingdom, that as it were impiety to question
"the sincerity of them, so were it great want of duty and faithfulness
"in Us (his Majesty having vouchsafed to declare, that he did call Us to
"be Witnesses of his Actions, and Privy to his Intentions) should We
"not Testify, and Witness to all the World, the Assurance We have of
"the piety and sincerity of both. We being most entirely satisfied of
"this truth, we cannot but confess, that amidst our highest Afflictions,
"in the deep and piercing sense of the present miseries and desolations
"of our Country, and those farther dangers threaten'd from *Scotland*,
"we are at length erected to some chearful and comfortable thoughts,
"that possibly we may yet (by God's mercy, if his justice have not de-
"termin'd this Nation, for it's Sins, to total ruin and desolation) hope
"to be happy Instruments of our Country's redemption, from the mi-
"series of War, and restitution to the blessing of Peace.

"AND We being desirous to believe your Lordship, however en-
"gaged, a Person likely to be sensibly touched with these considerations,
"have thought fit to invite you to that part in this blessed work, which
"is only capable to repair all our misfortunes, and to buoy up the King-
"dom from ruin; that is, by conjuring you by all the obligations that
"have power upon Honour, Conscience, or publick Piety, that laying
"to heart, as we do, the inward bleeding condition of your Country,
"and the outward more menacing destruction by a Foreign Nation,
"upon the very point of invading it, you will cooperate with Us to it's
"preservation, by truly representing to, and faithfully and industriously
"promoting with those by whom you are trusted, this following most
"sincere, and most earnest desire of ours; that they joyning with Us in

"a right ſenſe of the paſt, preſent, and more threatning Calamities of "this deplorable Kingdom, ſome Perſons be appointed on either part, "and a place agreed on, to Treat of ſuch a Peace, as may yet redeem "it from the Brink of Deſolation.

"THIS Addreſs We ſhould not have made, but that his Majeſty's "Summons, by which We are met, moſt graciouſly proclaiming Par- "don to all without exception, is evidence enough, that his mercy and "clemency can tranſcend all former provocations; and that he hath not "only made Us Witneſſes of his Princely Intentions, but honoured Us "alſo with the Name of being ſecurity for them. God Almighty direct "your Lordſhip, and thoſe to whom you ſhall preſent theſe our moſt "real deſires, in ſuch a Courſe as may produce that happy Peace, and "Settlement of the preſent diſtractions; which is ſo heartily deſired, "and pray'd for, by Us, and which may make Us,

From Oxford 29th of Jan. 1643. "Your *&c.*

THIS Letter was Subſcribed by his Highneſs the Prince, the Duke of *York*, and three and forty Dukes, Marquiſſes, Earls, Viſcounts, and Barons, and one hundred and eighteen Members of the Houſe of Commons; there being ſuch expedition uſed in the diſpatch, that it was not thought fit to be deferr'd for a greater Subſcription: Albeit it was known that many Lords and Commoners were upon the way, who came within few days; and there were, at that time, near twenty Peers abſent with his Majeſty's leave, and employ'd in his Affairs, and Armies, in the Kingdom; and ten at the ſame time in the Parts beyond the Seas. So that the Numbers at *London* were very thin; for there were not above two and twenty Peers, who either ſat in the Parliament, or were engaged in their Party; that is to ſay, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Eſſex*, *Kent*, *Lincoln*, *Rutland*, *Salisbury*, *Suffolk*, *Warwick*, *Mancheſter*, *Mulgrave*, *Denbigh*, *Stamford*, *Bullingbrook*; the Lords *Say*, *Dacres*, *Wharton*, *Grey* of *Wark*, *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, *Rochfort*, and *Robarts*; who were preſent, or had Proxies there.

THE Trumpeter found the Earl of *Eſſex* at his Houſe in *London*, where he was detain'd three or four days; during which time, the Committee of both Houſes, that Committee which they call'd the Committee of Safety for the two Kingdoms (the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners being a part of it) reſorted to the Earl for his Advice: and in the end, the Trumpeter return'd with this ſhort Letter to the Earl of *Forth*, the King's General.

My Lord,

The Earl of Eſſex's Anſwer directed to the Earl of Forth, with the two following Declarations.

"I RECEIV'D this day a Letter, of the 29th of this inſtant, from your "Lordſhip, and a Parchment Subſcribed by the Prince, Duke of *York*, "and divers other Lords and Gentlemen; but it neither having Addreſs "to the two Houſes of Parliament, nor therein, there being any acknow- "ledgment of them, I could not communicate it to them. My Lord, the "maintenance of the Parliament of *England*, and of the Privileges "thereof, is that for which We are all reſolv'd to ſpend our Blood; as being "the foundation whereupon all our Laws and Liberties are built. I ſend "your Lordſhip herewith a National Covenant, ſolemnly enter'd into "by both the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; and a Declaration "paſſed by them both together, with another Declaration of the King- "dom of *Scotland*, I reſt

Your Lordſhips *&c.* WHAT

WHAT the Covenant was, being the ſame particularly ſet down before, I need not mention; and the Declarations are as publick, and would be thought too large to be in this place inſerted, to the interruption of the thread of this diſcourſe; yet it cannot be amiſs to make a ſhort Extract of ſome particular heads, or concluſions of them; that the world may ſee what kind of reaſoning this time had introduced, and that they were as bold with God as with the King.

An Extract of the Declaration of the Kingdom of Scotland.

THAT Declaration of the Kingdom of *Scotland* alone, was, to juſtify their preſent expedition into *England*; in which they ſaid, "It was moſt "neceſſary, that every one, againſt all doubting, ſhould be perſwaded "in his mind of the lawfulneſs of his Undertaking, and of the goodneſs "of the Cauſe maintain'd by him; which they ſaid was no other, than "the good of Religion in *England*, and the deliverance of their Brethren "out of the depths of Affliction; the preſervation of their own Reli-"gion, and of Themſelves from the extremity of Miſery, and the Safety "of their Native King, and his Kingdoms, from deſtruction and deſola-"tion. Any one of which (they ſaid) by all Law divine, and humane, "was too juſt cauſe of taking of Armes; how much more, when all of "them were joyn'd in one? And therefore, they wiſh'd any Man, who "did withdraw, and hide himſelf in ſuch a Debate and Controverſy, to "conſider, whether he were not a hater of his Brethren, againſt Chri-"ſtian and common Charity; an hater of Himſelf and his Poſterity, "againſt the law and light of Nature; an hater of the King, and his "Kingdoms, againſt Loyalty, and common Duty; and a hater of God, "againſt all Religion, and Peace.

THEY ſaid, "the Queſtion was not, nor need they diſpute, whether "they might propagate their Religion by Armes; but whether, accord-"ing to their power, they ought to aſſiſt their Brethren in *England*, "who were calling for their help, and were ſhedding their Blood in de-"fence of that power without which Religion could neither be defended, "nor reform'd; nor unity of Religion with them, and other Reform'd "Kirks, be attained. So that, they ſaid, the queſtion was no ſooner "rightly ſtated, but it was aſſoon reſolv'd; and concluded, *that the Lord "would ſave them from the curſe of Meroz, who came not to help the "Lord againſt the Mighty.* They ſaid, the Queſtion could not be, as "their Enemies would make it, whether they ſhould enter into *England*, "and lift Armes againſt their own King, who had promiſed and done as "much, as might ſecure them in their own Religion, and Liberties: "but whether againſt the Popiſh, Prelatical, and Malignant Party, their "Adherents prevailing in *England* and *Ireland*, they were not bound "to provide for their own preſervation. That they might well have "known, from their continual experience, ever ſince the time of their "firſt Reformation, eſpecially after the two Kingdoms were united un-"der one Head and Monarch, and from the Principles of their own De-"clarations, in the time of their late Troubles and Dangers, that they "could not long, like *Goſhen*, enjoy their light, if darkneſs ſhould cover "the face of other Reform'd Kirks: that *Juda* could not long continue "in Liberty, if *Iſrael* were led away in Captivity; and that the condi-"tion of the one Kirk and Kingdom, whether in Religion or Peace, muſt "be common to both.

"THEY ſaid the Queſtion was not, whether they ſhould preſume to "be Arbitrators in the matter, now debated by Fire and Sword, betwixt "his Majeſty and the Houſes of Parliament; which might ſeem to be

"forreign and extrinſecal to that Nation, and wherein they might be "conceiv'd to have no Intereſt; but whether, their Mediation and In- "terceſſion being rejected by the one Side, upon hope of Victory, or ſup- "poſe by both ſides, upon confidence of their own ſtrength and ſeveral "Succeſſes, it were not their duty, it being in their power, to ſtop or "prevent the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood; or whether they ought not "to endeavour to reſcue their Native King, his Crown, and Poſterity, "out of the midſt of ſo many dangers, and to preſerve his People and "Kingdom from ruin and deſtruction. If every private Man were bound "in duty to interpoſe himſelf as a Reconciler, and Sequeſtrator between "his Neighbours, arm'd to their mutual deſtruction; if the Son ought "to hazard his own Life for the preſervation of his Father and Brother, "at Variance one againſt the other, ſhould a Kingdom ſit ſtill, and ſuffer "their King and Neighbouring Kingdom to periſh in an unnatural War? "In the time of Animoſity, and appetite of Revenge, ſuch an Inter- "poſing might be an irritation; but afterwards, when the Eyes of the "mind, no more blood-run with paſſion, did diſcern things right, it "would be no grief or offence of heart, but matter of thankſgiving to "God, and to the Inſtruments which had kept from ſhedding Blood, "and from Revenge.

WITH this kind of Divinity, and this kind of Logic, to ſhew that they had a clear proſpect of whatever could be ſaid againſt them, they reſolv'd to Invade their Neighbour Nation, and to interpoſe themſelves as Reconcilers, by joyning againſt their Native and Natural King, with his Rebellious Subjects, in all the Acts of Animoſity and Blood, which have been ever practiced in the moſt raging, and furious Civil War.

An Extract of the Declaration of England *and* Scotland.

THE other Declaration mention'd in the Earl's Letter, was a Declaration paſſed, and publiſhed in the Name of both Kingdoms, *England* and *Scotland*, after their Marriage by their new League and Covenant, and about the very time that this very Overture for Peace came from *Oxford*. They were now both equally inſpired with the *Scots* Dialect and Spirit; talk'd, "how clearly the light of the Goſpel ſhined amongſt "them; that they placed not their confidence in their own Counſels and "Strength; but their confidence was in God Almighty, the Lord of "Hoſt, who would not leave nor forſake his People. It was his own "Truth and Cauſe, which they maintain'd againſt the Hereſy, Superſti- "tion, and Tyranny of Anti-Chriſt: the Glory of his Name, the exalta- "tion of the Kingdom of his Son, and the preſervation of his Church "was their aim, and the end which they had before their Eyes. It was "His Covenant, which they had ſolemnly in both Nations Sworn, and "Subſcribed; which he would not have put in their hearts to do, if he "had been minded to deſtroy them. Upon theſe and the like grounds, "and conſiderations, being confident that this War, wherein both Na- "tions were ſo firmly united, and deeply engaged, was of God, they re- "ſolve with Courage and Conſtancy to the end to do their part; and "the Lord who had ſtirred up their Spirits, diſplayed his Banner before "them, and given the Alarm, do that which ſeemeth him good.

THEY gave now "Publick warning to all Men to reſt no longer upon "their Neutrality, or to pleaſe themſelves with the naughty and ſloth- "ful pretext of indifferency; but that they addreſs themſelves ſpeedily "to take the Covenant, and joyn, with all their power, in the Defence "of this Cauſe againſt the Common Enemy; and by their Zeal, and for- "wardneſs hereafter, to make up what had been wanting through their

"lukewarmneſs; this they would find to be their greateſt wiſdom, and "ſafety; otherwiſe they did declare them to be Publick Enemies to "their Religion, and Country; and that they were to be cenſured and "puniſh'd as profeſſed Adverſaries, and Malignants.

THEN they proclaim'd "a Pardon to all thoſe who would before ſuch "a day deſert the King, and adhere to them, and take the Covenant; and concluded, "that they made not that Declaration, from any pre- "ſumption, or vain glorying in the ſtrength of their Armies and Forces, "but from the ſenſe of their Duty, which was required and expected "from the high Places, and publick Relations, wherein they ſtood; and "from the Aſſurance they had of the Aſſiſtance of God, by whoſe provi- "dence, the truſt and ſafety of thoſe Kingdoms was put into their hands "at this time; having, after long and grave Conſultation, reſolv'd and "decreed never to lay down Armes, till Truth and Peace, by the bleſſing "of God, be ſettled in this Iſland, upon a firm foundation for the preſent, "and future Generations; which, they ſaid, ſhould be eſteem'd of them "an abundant reward of all that they could do, or ſuffer in that Cauſe.

THESE were the Declarations which the Earl of *Eſſex*, together with the Covenant, ſent, as an Anſwer to that Letter from the Prince of *Wales*, and thoſe Lords and Gentlemen; which might have been the foundation of an Honeſt and Honourable Peace to all the King's Dominions. And I cannot but obſerve, that after this time that the Earl declined this opportunity of declaring himſelf, he never did proſperous Act in the remainder of his Life; but whereas before, he had throughout the Courſe of his Command, how unwarrantably ſoever undertaken, behaved himſelf with very ſignal Courage and Conduct, and at this time was adorn'd with the Teſtimony of Friends and Enemies, of a right good General, upon the concluſion of the buſineſs of *Gloceſter*; he never, after his taking this Covenant, and writing this Letter, did one ſucceſsful thing; but proved unfortunate in all he went about, even to his death; of which we ſhall ſay more in it's place.

WE the rather extracted theſe ſhort Clauſes of thoſe two Declarations, that Poſterity may obſerve the divine hand of Almighty God upon the People of theſe miſerable Kingdoms; that after they had broken looſe from that excellent Form and practice of Religion, which their Anceſtors, and Themſelves had obſerv'd, and enjoy'd, with a greater meaſure of happineſs, than almoſt any Nation lived under, ſo long a time; and after they had cancelled, and thrown off thoſe admirable and incomparable Laws of Government, which was compounded of ſo much exact reaſon, that all poſſible miſchiefs were foreſeen, and provided againſt by it; they ſhould be now captivated by a Prophane and Preſumptuous entitling themſelves to God's favour, and uſing his holy Name in that manner, that all ſober Chriſtians muſt ſtand ſcandalized, and amazed at; and ſhould be deluded by ſuch a kind of reaſoning and debate, as, one would think, could only impoſe upon Men unnurtur'd, and unacquainted with any Knowledge or Science.

THERE wanted not a juſt indignation at the return of this Trumpet; and yet the Anſwer being ſo much in that popular road, of ſaying ſomething plauſibly to the People, it was thought fit again to make an attempt, that at leaſt the world might ſee, that they did, in plain *Engliſh*, refuſe to admit of any Peace. So the Earl of *Forth* was adviſed to write again to the other General, for a ſafe Conduct for two Gentlemen then named, againſt whom no imaginable exception could be taken, to and from

from *Weſtminſter*, to be ſent by his Majeſty concerning a Treaty of Peace. To this the Earl of *Eſſex* return'd Anſwer, "that whenſoever "he ſhould receive any directions to thoſe who had intruſted him, he "ſhould uſe his beſt Endeavours; and when a ſafe Conduct ſhould be "deſired for thoſe Gentlemen, mention'd in his Letter, from his Ma-"jeſty to the Houſes of Parliament, his Lordſhip would, with all chear-"fulneſs, ſhew his willingneſs to farther any way that might produce "that happineſs, which all honeſt Men prayed for; which is a true un-"derſtanding between his Majeſty and his faithful and only Council, "the Parliament.

THIS Expreſſion of his reſolution of interpoſing, if he had a Letter from his Majeſty to the Houſes of Parliament (together with ſome intimation in Letters from *London*, which at theſe Seaſons never wanted) perſwaded many, that the Earl wanted only an opportunity to poſſeſs the Houſes with the Overture, and if it were once within the Walls, there were ſo many well affected to Peace, that the Propoſition would not be rejected; though no particular Perſon, or Combination of Men, had the courage, of themſelves, to propoſe it. And therefore at the ſame time, making all poſſible preparations for the Field, as the Scene where the differences were like to be decided, his Majeſty was prevailed with, though he concluded it would be rejected, to ſend this enſuing Meſſage, which was encloſed to the Earl of *Eſſex* to be by him managed.

The King's Meſſage to both Houſes.

"OUT of our moſt tender and pious Senſe of the ſad and bleeding "condition of this Our Kingdom, and our unwearied deſires to apply "all remedies, which, by the bleſſing of Almighty God, may recover it "from an utter ruin, by the advice of the Lords and Commons of Par-"liament, aſſembled at *Oxford*, We do propound, and deſire, that a con-"venient Number of fit Perſons may be appointed, and authoriſed by "You, to meet, with all convenient ſpeed, at ſuch place as you ſhall "Nominate, with an equal Number of fit perſons whom we ſhall ap-"point, and authoriſe to Treat of the ways and means to ſettle the pre-"ſent diſtractions of this our Kingdom, and to procure a happy Peace: "And particularly, how all the Members of both Houſes may ſecurely "meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament, there to Treat, Con-"ſult, and agree upon ſuch things, as may conduce to the maintenance, "and defence of the true Reform'd Proteſtant Religion, with due con-"ſideration to all juſt, and reaſonable eaſe of tender Conſciences; to the "ſettling and maintaining of our juſt Rights and Privileges, of the "Rights and Privileges of Parliament, the Laws of the Land, the Li-"berty and Property of the Subject, and all other Expedients, that may "conduce to that bleſſed end of a firm and laſting Peace both in Church "and State, and a perfect underſtanding betwixt Us and our People: "wherein no Endeavours, or Concurrence of Ours ſhall be wanting: "And God direct your hearts in the way of Peace.

Given at our Court at Oxford, 3d March 1643.

THIS Meſſage, being ſign'd by his Majeſty, was ſuperſcribed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*; which, though it was a Style they could not reaſonably except againſt, was yet no other than the Lords and Commons at *Oxford* took upon themſelves, as they well might. After two or three debates in the Houſes, and with the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, without whoſe concurrence nothing was tranſacted,

tranſacted, this Anſwer was return'd to his Majeſty; which put a period to all Men's hopes, who imagined that there might be any diſpoſition in thoſe Councils, to any poſſible, and honeſt accommodation.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty:

"WE the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *Eng-* *The two Houſes Anſwer.*
"*land*, taking into our conſideration a Letter ſent from your Majeſty,
"dated the 3d of *March* inſtant, and directed to the Lords and Com-
"mons of Parliament aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* (which, by the contents
"of a Letter from the Earl of *Forth* unto the Lord General the Earl of
"*Eſſex*, We conceive was intended to our ſelves) have reſolv'd with
"the concurrent Advice, and Conſent of the Commiſſioners of the King-
"dom of *Scotland*, to repreſent to your Majeſty, in all humility and
"plainneſs, as followeth: That as We have uſed all means for a juſt and
"ſafe Peace, ſo will We never be wanting to do our utmoſt for the pro-
"curing thereof; but when We conſider the expreſſions in that Letter
"of your Majeſty's, We have more ſad and deſpairing thoughts of at-
"taining the ſame than ever; becauſe thereby, thoſe Perſons now aſ-
"ſembled at *Oxford*, who, contrary to their duty, have deſerted your
"Parliament, are put into an equal condition with it. And this preſent
"Parliament, convened according to known and fundamental Laws
"of the Kingdom (the continuance whereof is eſtabliſh'd by a Law con-
"ſented to by your Majeſty) is in effect denied to be a Parliament; the
"ſcope and intention of that Letter being to make proviſion, how all
"the Members, as is pretended, of both Houſes may ſecurely meet in a
"full and free Convention of Parliament; whereof no other concluſion
"can be made, but that this preſent Parliament is not a full, nor free
"Convention; and that to make it a full and free Convention of Par-
"liament, the preſence of thoſe is neceſſary, who notwithſtanding that
"they have deſerted that great Truſt, and do levy War againſt the Par-
"liament, are pretended to be Members of the two Houſes of Parlia-
"ment.

"AND hereupon We think our ſelves bound to let your Majeſty
"know, that ſeeing the continuance of this Parliament is ſettled by a
"Law, which (as all other Laws of your Kingdom) your Majeſty hath
"ſworn to maintain, as We are ſworn to our Allegiance to your Majeſty
"(theſe obligations being reciprocal) We muſt in duty, and accordingly
"are reſolv'd, with our Lives and Fortunes, to defend and preſerve the
"juſt Rights and full power of this Parliament; and do beſeech your
"Majeſty to be aſſured, that your Majeſty's Royal and hearty concur-
"rence with Us herein, will be the moſt effectual and ready means of
"procuring a firm and laſting Peace in all your Majeſty's Dominions,
"and begetting a perfect Underſtanding between your Majeſty and your
"People: Without which, your Majeſty's moſt earneſt profeſſions, and
"our moſt real Intentions concerning the ſame, muſt neceſſarily be
"fruſtrated. And in caſe your Majeſty's three Kingdoms ſhould, by rea-
"ſon thereof, remain in this ſad and bleeding condition, tending, by the
"continuance of this unnatural War, to their ruin, your Majeſty can-
"not be the leaſt, nor the laſt Sufferer. God in his goodneſs incline your
"Royal breaſt, out of pity and compaſſion to thoſe deep ſufferings of
"your innocent People, to put a ſpeedy and happy Iſſue to theſe de-
"ſperate evils, by the joynt advice of both your Kingdoms, now hap-
"pily united in this Cauſe by their late ſolemn League and Covenant;

"which as it will prove the ſureſt remedy, ſo it is the earneſt prayer of "your Majeſty's loving Subjects, the Lords and Commons aſſembled "in the Parliament of *England*.

Grey of Warke

Speaker of the Houſe of Peers in Parliament pro tempore;

Weſtminſter the 9th of March 1643.

William Lenthall

Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in Parliament.

Means agreed upon by the Lords and Commons at Oxford *to raiſe Money.*

THE hope of Peace, by this kind of interpoſition, did not in any degree make the Counſels remiſs for the providing of Money to ſupply the Army: Upon which they had more hope than from a Treaty. But the Expedients for Money were not eaſily thought on; though there was a conſiderable part of the Kingdom within the King's Quarters, the Inhabitants were frequently robbed, and plunder'd by the Incurſions of the Enemy, and not very well ſecured againſt the Royal Troops, who begun to practice all the Licence of War. The Nobility, and Gentry, who were not Officers of the Army, liv'd for the moſt part in *Oxford*; and all that they could draw from their Eſtates, was but enough for their own Subſiſtence; they durſt not enter upon charging the People in general, leſt they ſhould be thought to take upon them to be a Parliament; and their care was, that the Common People might be preſerv'd from Burthens; and they were as careful not to expoſe the King's Honour, or Name, to affronts and refuſals; but were willing that the Envy and Clamour, if there ſhould be any, ſhould fall upon Themſelves.

THEY appointed all the Members of the Commons, "to bring in the "Names of all the Gentlemen of Eſtate, and other Perſons who were "reputed to be rich, within their ſeveral precincts; and what Sum of "Money every Body might be well able to ſupply the King with, in "this exigent of the publick State. And then a form of a Letter was conceiv'd, which ſhould be ſent to every one of them, for ſuch a Sum; "the Letter to be Subſcribed by the two Speakers of the Houſes, to "the end that the People might know, that it was by the advice of the "Members of Parliament aſſembled there; which was as much the ad-"vice of Parliament, as could be deliver'd at that time in the Kingdom. When the way and method of this was approv'd by the Lords, and his Majeſty likewiſe conſented to it; they begun, the better to encourage others, with Themſelves; and cauſed Letters to be ſign'd and deliver'd to the ſeveral Members of both Houſes, for ſuch Sums as they were well diſpoſed to furniſh; which were to that proportion as gave good Encouragement to others; and the like Letters to all Perſons of condition who were in the Town. And by this means, there was a Sum raiſed in ready Money, and Credit, that did ſupply many neceſſary occaſions, near the Sum of one hundred thouſand pounds, whereof ſome came in every day, to enable the King to provide for the next Campagne; which, the Spring coming on, was to be expected early; the Parliament at *Weſtminſter* having raiſed vaſt Sums of Money, and being like to bring many Armies into the Field. All, who were to furniſh Money upon theſe Letters, had liberty to bring, or ſend it in Plate, if that was for their convenience; the King having called the Officers and Workmen of his Mint to *Oxford*, who Coyn'd ſuch Plate as was brought in; his Majeſty likewiſe made a Grant of ſome Forreſts, Parks, and other Lands,

Lands, to certain Perſons in Truſt, for the ſecuring of ſuch Money as ſhould be borrowed, or thoſe Perſons who ſhould be bound for the payment of ſuch Money; and by this means likewiſe many conſiderable Sums of Money were procured, and Cloath, and Shooes, and Shirts, were provided for the Army.

THE two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, who called themſelves, and they are often called in this diſcourſe, the Parliament, had at this time by an Ordinance, that is an Order of both Houſes, laid an impoſition, which they called an Exciſe, upon Wine, Beer, Ale, and many other Commodities, to be paid in the manner very punctually and methodically ſet down by them, for the carrying on the War. This was the firſt time, that ever the Name of payment of Exciſe was heard of, or practiced in *England*; laid on by thoſe who pretended to be moſt jealous of any exaction upon the People: and this Pattern being then printed, and publiſhed at *London*, was thought by the Members at *Oxford*, as a good Expedient to be followed by the King; and thereupon it was ſettled, and to be govern'd, and regulated by Commiſſioners, in the ſame Method it was done at *London*. And in *Oxford*, *Briſtol*, and other Garriſons, it did yield a reaſonable ſupply for the Proviſion of Armes and Ammunition; which, for the moſt part, it was aſſign'd to; both ſides making ample Declarations, with bitter reproaches upon the neceſſity that drew on this impoſition, "that it ſhould be con-"tinued no longer than to the end of the War, and then laid down, "and utterly aboliſhed; which few wiſe Men believed it would ever be.

The two Houſes at Weſtminſter impoſe an Exciſe.

The two Houſes at Oxford follow the Example.

THE high and inſolent proceedings at *Weſtminſter*, made no impreſſion at *Oxford* towards the ſhaking the Allegiance, and Courage of thoſe whom his Majeſty had called to adviſe him. But when they found the temper of the other ſo much, above belief, averſe to Peace, and intending utter ruin to the King, the Church, and all who ſhould continue true *Engliſh* Men and Subjects, they reſolv'd as frankly to declare their Reſolutions, that the People might ſee the Iſſue they were at; and therefore they publiſhed a Declaration of the Grounds and Motives which had forced them to leave the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*; in which they mentioned "all the indirect paſſages, and the Acts "of Violence, by which they had been driven thence; and the obliga-"tions upon them in Conſcience, and Law, to adhere to his Majeſty; "and the miſery which the other Party had already brought upon the "Kingdom, and the deſolation which muſt inevitably follow thoſe con-"cluſions: and with a greater Unanimity and Conſent, than was ever known in ſo great a Council, where there were ſo many Perſons of Honour, and Judges, and others Learned in the Law, among whom there was ſcarce one diſſenting Voice, they declared,

The Subſtance of the Declaration of the Lords and Commons at Oxford.

1. "THAT all ſuch Subjects of *Scotland*, as had conſented to the "Declaration, entitled the Declaration of the Kingdom of *Scotland* "concerning the preſent expedition into *England*, had thereby de-"nounced War againſt the Kingdom of *England*, and broke the Act of "Pacification.

2. "THAT all his Majeſty's Subjects of the Kingdom of *England* "and Dominion of *Wales*, are both by their Allegiance, and the Act "of Pacification, bound to reſiſt and repreſs all thoſe of *Scotland* as had, "or ſhould enter upon any part of his Majeſty's Realm and Dominions, "as Traytors, and Enemies to the State; and that whoſoever ſhould

"abet, aid, or aſſiſt the *Scots* in their Invaſion, ſhould be deemed as "Traytors and Enemies to the State.

3. "THAT the Lords and Commons remaining at *Weſtminſter*, "that had given their Votes, or Conſent, to the raiſing of Forces un- "der the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, or had been abetting, aiding, "or aſſiſting thereunto, had levied and raiſed War againſt the King, "and were therein guilty of High Treaſon.

4. "THAT thoſe Lords and Commons remaining at *Weſtminſter*, "that had given their Votes and Conſents for the making and uſing a "new Great Seal, had thereby Counterfeited the King's Great Seal, "and therein committed High Treaſon.

5. "THAT the Lords and Commons remaining at *Weſtminſter*, "who had given their conſents to the preſent coming in of the *Scots* in "a Warlike manner, had therein committed High Treaſon: and that "in theſe three laſt Crimes, they had broken the Truſt repoſed in them "by their Country, and ought to be proceeded againſt as Traytors to "the King, and Kingdom.

SO that the Engagements ſeem'd fuller of Animoſity on both ſides, than ever; and the King exceedingly ſtrengthen'd by the Lords and Commons having more poſitively and concernedly wedded his Cauſe than they were before underſtood to have done; and in truth, in the Civil Counſels, nothing was left undone to give it all imaginable Advancement.

IT had been very happy for the King, if the Winter had been ſpent only in thoſe Counſels which might have provided Money, and facilitated the making his Army ready to take the Field in the Spring; when he was ſure to have occaſion enough to uſe it, and to be in great diſtreſs, if it ſhould not be then in a condition to march; but the Invaſion, which the *Scots* made in the depth of Winter, and the Courage the Enemy took from thence, deprived his Majeſty even of any reſt in that Seaſon. Upon the *Scots* unexpected march into *England* in *January*, in a moſt violent Froſt and Snow, hoping to reach *New-Caſtle* before it could be Fortified, and perſwading their Common Soldiers, that it would be deliver'd to them aſſoon as required; thither the vigilant Sr *Thomas Glemham* had been before ſent to attend their coming, and the Marquis of *New-Caſtle* with his Army, upon the fame of their Invaſion, marched thither with a reſolution to Fight with them before they ſhould be able to joyn with the *Engliſh* Rebels; leaving in the mean time the Command of *York*, and the Forces for the guard of that County, to Colonel *John Bellaſis*, Son to the Lord *Falconbridge*, a Perſon of great Intereſt in the Country, and of exemplary Induſtry and Courage. But by this means, and the remove of the Marquis with his Army ſo far North, the Enemy grew to a great ſtrength in thoſe Parts; and not only able to diſquiet *York-ſhire*, but drawing a great Body of Horſe and Foot out of *Derby-ſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, and *Lincoln-ſhire*, ſat down before his Majeſty's Garriſon of *Newark* upon *Trent*, with a full confidence to take it; and ſo to cut off all correſpondence between his Majeſty and the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*. And Sr *Thomas Fairfax* from *Hull*, in the head of a ſtrong Party, had fallen upon a Quarter not far from *York*, Commanded by Colonel *John Bellaſis* at *Selby*, and had totally Defeated it, taken the Cannon, and many Officers Priſoners, and amongſt thoſe the Colonel himſelf. This was the firſt Action for which Sr *Thomas Fairfax*

The Marquis of New-Caſtle *marches to oppoſe the* Scots.

Sr Thomas Fairfax *Defeats and takes Coll.* Bellaſis *at* Selby.

Fairfax was taken Notice of; who in a ſhort time grew the ſupreme General under the Parliament. This Defeat, which was great in it ſelf, was made much greater by the terrible apprehenſions the City of *York* had upon it; inſomuch that the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*, who till then had kept the *Scots* at a Bay, found it neceſſary to withdraw his Army, and with great part of it to make haſt into *York*, to prevent any farther miſchief there; by which means the *Scots* were at liberty to advance as they pleaſed; and *Fairfax* improved his reputation by a ſpeedy, and unlook'd for march into *Cheſhire*.

Whereupon the Marquis of New-Caſtle *retires to* York.

UPON the Ceſſation in *Ireland*, the King made the Marquis of *Ormond* his Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and appointed him to make uſe of the Winter Seaſon (when the Parliament Ships could not attend that Coaſt) to tranſport thoſe Regiments of Foot which might be well ſpared during the Ceſſation, and which could not be ſupported there, to *Cheſter*; from whence his Majeſty could eaſily draw them in the Spring to *Oxford*; and were, in truth, the principal Recruit, upon which he depended to enable him to take the Field. The Lord *Byron* then Commanded *Cheſter*, and that County; and was appointed to take care for the reception, and accommodation of thoſe Troops; which was a right good Body of Foot, and being excellent Men, both Officers and Soldiers, carried great terror with them from the time of their Landing; and quickly freed North *Wales* from the Enemy; who at that time begun to have great power there. It was towards the end of *November* when they Landed, and being a People who had been uſed to little eaſe in *Ireland*, the King having given the Lord *Byron* leave to employ them in ſuch Services as might ſecure that Country, the Seaſon of the year made little impreſſion on them; they were allways ready, and deſirous of Action; and in the ſpace of a Month reduced, by Aſſault and Storm, many places of notable importance, as *Howarden*-Gaſtle, *Beeſton*-Caſtle, *Crew*-Houſe, and other places of ſtrength; and encountering the whole Body of the Rebels, at *Middlewich* in *Cheſhire*, Broke and Defeated them with great Slaughter; and drove all that Survived, and were at Liberty, into *Nantwich*; the ſingle Garriſon they had then left in *Cheſhire*: into which the whole Party was retired, and which had been Fortified and Garriſoned from the beginning of the Troubles, as the only refuge for the diſaffected in that County, and the Counties adjacent. The Pride of the late Succeſs, and the terror the Soldiers believ'd their Names carried with them, carried them at this moſt unſeaſonable time of the year thither: for it was about the firſt week in *January* when the Lord *Byron* came with his Army before the Town, and Summon'd it. It cannot be denied the reducing of that place at that time would have been of unſpeakable importance to the King's Affairs, there being, between that and *Carliſle*, no one Town of Moment (*Manchester* only excepted) which declared againſt the King; and thoſe two populous Counties of *Cheſter*, and *Lancaſhire*, if they had been united againſt the Parliament, would have been a ſtrong Bulwark againſt the *Scots*.

The Marquis of Ormond *made Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, *ſends the King Aſſiſtance.*

THESE conſiderations, and an opinion that the Town would yield aſſoon as Summon'd, brought the Army firſt thither; and then a paſſionate deſire of Honour, and Contempt of the Enemy within, or of any other who could undertake their relief, engaged them to a farther attempt; and ſo they raiſed Batteries, and undertook a formal Siege

againſt the Town. The ſeventeenth day of *January* they made a general Aſſault upon five ſeveral Quarters of the Town, ſomewhat before day-break, but were with equal Courage oppoſed from within, and near three hundred Men loſt, or wounded in the Service; which ſhould have prevailed with them to have quitted their deſign. But thoſe repulſes ſharpen, rather than abate the edge and appetite to danger; and the Aſſailants, no leſs than the Beſieged, deſiring an Army would come for their relief, both with equal impatience longed for the ſame thing; the *Iriſh* (for under that name, for diſtinction ſake, we call that Body of Foot, though there was not an *Iriſh* Man amongſt them) ſuppoſing themſelves Superior to any that would encounter them in the Field, and the Horſe being ſuch as might as reaſonably undervalue thoſe who were to oppoſe them.

The Iriſh *Forces routed by* Sr Thomas Fairfax *at* Nantwich.

IN this their confidence, ſupply came too ſoon to the Town, and confuſion to the King's Forces: For Sr *Thomas Fairfax*, upon his Victory at *Selby*, brought out of *York-ſhire* a good Body of Horſe to *Mancheſter*; and, out of that place, and the neighbour places, drew near three thouſand Foot, with which joyning with Sr *William Bruerton*, and ſome other ſcattered Forces from *Stafford-ſhire*, and *Derby*, who had been routed at *Middlewich*, he advanced near *Nantwich*, before he was looked for; the *Iriſh* being ſo over confident that he would not preſume to attack them, that, though they had Advertiſement of their motion, they ſtill believ'd that his utmoſt deſign was by Alarms to force them to riſe from the Town, and then to retire without fighting with them. This made them keep their Poſts too long; and when they found it neceſſary to draw off, a little River, which divided their Forces, on a ſuddain thaw, ſo much ſwelled above it's Banks, that the Lord *Byron*, with the greateſt part of the Horſe, and the Foot which lay on one ſide of the Town, were ſever'd from the reſt, and compelled to march four or five miles, before he could joyn with the other; before which time the other part being Charged by Sr *Thomas Fairfax* on the one ſide, and from the Town on the other, were broken: and all the Chief Officers forced to retire to a Church called *Acton* Church, where they were caught as in a Trap, and the Horſe by reaſon of the deep ways with the ſuddain thaw, and narrow Lanes, and great Hedges, not being able to relieve them, were compelled to yield themſelves Priſoners to thoſe whom they ſo much deſpiſed two hours before. There were taken, beſides all the Chief and Conſiderable Officers of Foot, near fifteen hundred Soldiers, and all their Cannon, and Carriages: the Lord *Byron* with his Horſe, and the reſt of his Foot, retiring to *Cheſter*. There cannot be given a better, or it may be another reaſon for this Defeat, beſides the Providence of God, which was the effect of the other, than the extreme contempt and diſdain this Body had of the Enemy; and the preſumption in their own Strength, Courage, and Conduct; which made them not enough think, and rely upon Him who alone diſpoſes of the event of Battles, though it muſt be acknowledged, moſt of the Officers were Perſons of ſignal Virtue, and Sobriety; and, in their own Natures, of great Modeſty and Piety; ſo hard it is to ſuppreſs thoſe motions, which Succeſs, Valour, and even the Conſcience of the Cauſe, is apt to produce in Men not overmuch inclined to preſumption.

THERE was another reſult of Council at *Oxford*, in this Winter Seaſon, which deſerves to be mention'd; and the rather, becauſe all

the inducements thereunto were not generally underſtood, nor known to many; and therefore grew afterwards to be the more cenſured. When the *Scots* were viſibly Arm'd, and upon their march into *England*, which the King was the laſt Man in believing; and when there was no way to ſtop, or divert them, his Majeſty was the better inclined to hearken to ſome Men of that Nation, who had been long propoſing a way to give them ſo much trouble at home, that they ſhould not be at leiſure to infeſt or trouble their Neighbours; to which Propoſitions leſs care had been given, out of too much confidence in Perſons, upon whoſe integrity or intereſt there had been too great a dependence. The Earl of *Mountroſe*, a young Man of a great Spirit, and of the moſt ancient Nobility, had been one of the moſt principal and active Covenanters in the beginning of the Troubles; but ſoon after, upon his obſervation of the unwarrantable proſecution of it, he gave over that Party, and his Command in that Army; and at the King's being in *Scotland*, after the pacification, had made full tender of his Service to his Majeſty; and was ſo much in the jealouſy, and deteſtation of the violent Party, whereof the Earl of *Argyle* was the Head, that there was no cauſe or room left to doubt his ſincerity to the King.

The Earl of Mountroſe *comes to the King, and informs him of the ſtate of* Scotland.

UPON the beginning of the Parliament at *Edenborough*, and the manifeſtation that Duke *Hamilton* would give no oppoſition to the proceedings thereof (as hath been mention'd before) the Earl privately withdrew out of *Scotland*, and came to the King few days before the Siege was raiſed from *Glocester*, and gave his Majeſty the firſt clear information of the carriage and behaviour of Duke *Hamilton*, and of the poſture that Kingdom would ſpeedily be in, and of the reſolutions that would be there taken; and made ſome ſmart Propoſitions to the King for the remedy; which there was not then time to conſult; but aſſoon as the King retired to *Oxford*, after the Battle of *Newbury*, and had had fuller Intelligence, by the reſort of others of that Nobility who deſerved to be truſted, how the Affairs ſtood in *Scotland*; and heard that Duke *Hamilton*, and his Brother, the Earl of *Lanrick*, were upon their way as far as *York* towards *Oxford*; his Majeſty was very willing to hearken to the Earl of *Mountroſe*, and the reſt, what could be done to prevent that miſchief that was like to enſue. But they all unanimouſly declared, "that they durſt make no Propoſitions for the "advancement of the King's Service, except they might be firſt aſ- "ſured, that no part of it ſhould be communicated to Duke *Hamil- "ton*; nor He ſuffer'd to have any part or ſhare in any Action that "ſhould depend upon it; for they were moſt aſſured, that he had al- "ways betrayed his Majeſty; and that it had been abſolutely in his "power, to have prevented this new Combination, if he would reſo- "lutely have oppoſed it. But if they might be ſecure in that particu- "lar, they would make ſome ſuch attempt under his Majeſty's Com- "miſſion in their own Country, as might poſſibly make ſome diſtur- "bance there. His Majeſty thought he had much leſs reaſon to be confident of the Duke than formerly; for he had expreſsly failed of doing ſomewhat which he had promiſed to do; yet he thought, he had not ground enough to withdraw all kind of Truſt from him, except he did, at the ſame time, ſecure him from being able to do him farther miſchief; towards which kind of ſeverity, he did not think he

he had evidence enough. Beſides he had a very good opinion of the Earl of *Lanrick*, as a Man of much more plainneſs and ſincerity, than his Brother; as in truth he was. That he might bring himſelf to a full reſolution in this important Affair, his Majeſty appointed the Lord Keeper, his two Secretaries, the Maſter of the Rolls, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to examine the Earl of *Mountroſe*, the Earl of *Kinnoul*, the Lord *Ogilby*, and ſome others, upon Oath, of all things they could accuſe Duke *Hamilton*, or his Brother *Lanrick* of; and to take their Examinations in writing; that ſo his Majeſty might diſcover, whether their Errors proceeded from infidelity, and conſider the better, what Courſe to obſerve in his proceedings with them; and this was carried with as much ſecrecy, as an Affair of that Nature could be, wherein ſo many were truſted.

UPON their Examination, there appear'd too much cauſe to conclude, that the Duke had not behaved himſelf with that Loyalty, as he ought to have done. The Earl of *Mountroſe*, whilſt he had been of that Party, had been privy to much of his Correſpondence, and Intelligence. But moſt of the particulars related to the time when he Commanded the Fleet in the *Frith*, and when he had many Conferences with his Mother (who was a Woman moſt paſſionate in thoſe contrivances) and with others of that Party; and when he did nothing to hurt, or incommodate the Enemy; all which was expreſsly pardoned by the Act of Oblivion, which had been paſſed with all formality and ſolemnity by the King in the Parliament of both Kingdoms: And, ſo much as to queſtion what was ſo forgot, might raiſe a greater fire, than that which they deſired to quench; though the knowing ſo many particulars might be a good and proper caution. In the late tranſactions of *Scotland*, it was manifeſt that the Duke had abſolutely oppoſed all Overtures of force, and of ſeiſing thoſe Perſons who could only be able to raiſe new Troubles; which had been very eaſy to have done; and that he had betrayed the King, and all the Lords, in conſenting to the meeting of the Parliament, called and ſummoned againſt the King's expreſs Pleaſure and Command, and without any pretence of Law. And to this, the King's Approbation and Conſent had been ſhew'd to them, by the Duke, under the King's own hand; which they durſt not diſobey, though they foreſaw the miſchief.

THE Caſe was thus; the Duke had given the King an account, after he had himſelf promiſed him that the Parliament ſhould never be aſſembled (which his Majeſty abhorr'd) "that though ſome few hot, "and paſſionate Men, deſired to put themſelves in Armes, to ſtop both "Elections of the Members and any meeting together in Parliament; "yet, that all ſober Men who could bear any conſiderable part in the "Action, were clearly of the opinion, to take as much pains as they "could to cauſe good Elections to be made, and then to appear them-"ſelves; and that they had hope to have ſuch a Major part, that they "might more advantageouſly diſſolve the Meeting aſſoon as they came "together, than prevent it; however, that Then would be the fit "time to proteſt againſt it, and immediately to put themſelves into "Armes, for which they would be well provided at the ſame time; and to this he deſired the King's poſitive direction. And his Majeſty, in Anſwer to it, had ſaid, "ſince it was the opinion of all his Friends, "he would not Command them to do that which was againſt their

"Judgement; but would attend the Succeſs; and was content that they "ſhould all appear in the Parliament at it's firſt meeting: and the Duke had ſhew'd the Lords thoſe words in the King's Letter, with which they acquieſced, without knowing any thing of the ground of ſuch his permiſſion: whereas, in truth, there was no one Perſon who was of that opinion, or had given that Counſel, but had ſtill deteſted the Expedient when propoſed.

THEN the Duke's Carriage in the Parliament, and his Brother's, at their firſt coming together, appear'd to be as is ſet down before, by the teſtimony of thoſe who were preſent; and the Earl of *Lanrick*'s applying the Signet to the Proclamation for that Rendezvous where the Army was to be compounded, was not thought capable of any excuſe; and ſo the clear ſtate of the Evidence, upon the Depoſitions of the Perſons examined, was preſented to the King for his own determination. His Majeſty had ſome thoughts of ſending to the Marquis of *New-Caſtle* to ſtop the Duke and his Brother at *York*, and not ſuffer them to come nearer; but whilſt that was in deliberation, they both came to *Oxford*, and meant the ſame night to have kiſſed their Majeſties hands; but aſſoon as they arrived, they receiv'd a Command from the King, "to keep their Chambers; and had a Guard attended them. The King reſolv'd to conſult the whole Affair then with the Council Board, whereas, hitherto the Examinations had been taken by a Committee, to the end that he might reſolve what way to proceed; and to that purpoſe directed that a Tranſcript might be prepared, of all the Examinations at large; and that the Witneſſes might be ready to appear before the Board, if it ſhould be thought neceſſary: His Majeſty at that time inclining to have both the Lords preſent, and the Depoſitions read, and the Witneſſes confronted before them. But whilſt this was preparing, the ſecond Morning after their coming to the Town, the Earl of *Lanrick*, either having corrupted or deluded the Guard, found a means to eſcape; and by the aſſiſtance of one *Cunningham* (a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and of that Nation) had Horſes ready; with which the Earl and his Friend fled, and went directly to *London*; where he was very well receiv'd. Hereupon the King inform'd the Board of the whole Affair; and becauſe one of them was eſcaped, and the matters againſt the other having been tranſacted in *Scotland*, and ſo, in many reſpects, it was not a Seaſon to proceed judicially againſt him, it was thought enough for the preſent to prevent his doing farther miſchief, by putting him under a ſecure reſtraint: and ſo he was ſent in Cuſtody to the Caſtle at *Briſtol*, and from thence to *Exeter*, and ſo to the Caſtle at *Pendennis* in *Cornwal*; where We ſhall at the preſent leave him.

Duke Hamilton *made Priſoner at* Oxford.

ABOUT this time the Councils at *Weſtminſter* loſt a principal Supporter, by the death of *Jo. Pym*; who died with great Torment and Agony of a diſeaſe unuſual, and therefore the more ſpoken of, *Morbus pediculoſus*, as was reported; which render'd him an object very loathſome to thoſe who had been moſt delighted with him. No Man had more to anſwer for the miſeries of the Kingdom, or had his Hand, or Head, deeper in their contrivance. And yet, I believe, they grew much higher even in his life, than he deſign'd. He was a Man of a private Quality and Condition of life; his Education in the Office of the Exchequer, where he had been a Clerk; and his parts rather acquired by

Mr. Pym's *death.*

Induſtry, than ſupplied by Nature, or adorned by Art. He had been well known in former Parliaments; and was one of thoſe few, who had ſate in many; the long intermiſſion of Parliaments having worn out moſt of thoſe who had been acquainted with the Rules, and Orders obſerv'd in thoſe Conventions. This gave him ſome reputation, and reverence amongſt thoſe who were but now introduced.

HE had been moſt taken notice of, for being concern'd and paſſionate in the jealouſies of Religion, and much troubled with the countenance which had been given to thoſe opinions that had been imputed to *Arminius*; and this gave him great Authority and Intereſt with thoſe who were not pleaſed with the Government of the Church, or the growing power of the Clergy: yet himſelf induſtriouſly took care to be believ'd, and he profeſs'd to be, very entire to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*. In the ſhort Parliament before this, he ſpoke much, and appeared to be the moſt leading Man; for beſides the exact knowledge of the Former, and Orders of that Council, which few Men had, he had a very comely and grave way of expreſſing himſelf, with great volubility of words, natural, and proper; and underſtood the Temper and Affections of the Kingdom as well as any Man; and had obſerv'd the errors and miſtakes in Government; and knew well how to make them appear greater than they were. After the unhappy Diſſolution of that Parliament, he continued for the moſt part about *London*, in Converſation and great Repute amongſt thoſe Lords who were moſt ſtrangers to the Court, and were believ'd moſt averſe to it: in whom he improved all imaginable jealouſies, and diſcontents towards the State; and aſſoon as this Parliament was reſolv'd to be ſummon'd, he was as diligent to procure ſuch Perſons to be elected as he knew to be moſt inclined to the way he meant to take.

AT the firſt opening of this Parliament, he appeared paſſionate and prepared againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; and though in private deſigning he was much govern'd by Mr *Hambden*, and Mr *Saint John*, yet he ſeem'd to all Men to have the greateſt Influence upon the Houſe of Commons of any Man; and, in truth, I think he was at that time, and ſome Months after, the moſt popular Man, and the moſt able to do hurt, that hath lived in any time. Upon the firſt deſign of ſoftning, and obliging the powerful Perſons in both Houſes, when it was reſolv'd to make the Earl of *Bedford* Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, the King likewiſe intended to make Mr *Pym* Chancellor of the Exchequer; for which he receiv'd his Majeſty's promiſe, and made a return of a ſuitable profeſſion of his ſervice and devotion; and thereupon, the other being no ſecret, ſomewhat declined from that ſharpneſs in the Houſe, which was more Popular than any Man's, and made ſome Overtures to provide for the Glory and Splendor of the Crown; in which he had ſo ill ſucceſs, that his Intereſt and Reputation there, viſibly abated; and he found that he was much better able to do Hurt than Good; which wrought very much upon him to Melancholy, and complaint of the violence and diſcompoſure of the People's Affections, and Inclinations. In the end, whether, upon the death of the Earl of *Bedford*, he deſpaired of that preferment, or whether he was guilty of any thing, which, upon his Converſion to the Court, he thought might be diſcover'd to his damage, or for pure want of Courage, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be carried by thoſe who would not follow Him, and ſo con-

tinued in the head of thoſe who made the moſt deſperate Propoſitions.

IN the proſecution of the Earl of *Strafford*, his Carriage and Language was ſuch as expreſs'd much perſonal Animoſity; and he was accuſed of having practiced ſome Arts in it not worthy a good Man: as an *Iriſh* Man of very mean and low condition afterwards acknowledged, that being brought to him, as an Evidence of one part of the Charge againſt the Lord Lieutenant, in a particular of which a Perſon of ſo vile Quality would not be reaſonably thought a competent Informer; Mr *Pym* gave him Money to buy him a Sattin Sute and Cloak; in which Equipage he appear'd at the Tryal, and gave his Evidence; which if true, may make many other things which were confidently reported afterwards of him to be believ'd; as that he receiv'd a great Sum of Money from the *French* Embaſſadour (which hath been before mention'd) to hinder the Tranſportation of thoſe Regiments of *Ireland* into *Flanders*, upon the disbanding that Army there, which had been prepar'd by the Earl of *Strafford* for the buſineſs of *Scotland*; in which if his Majeſtie's directions and commands had not been diverted, and contradicted, by the Houſes, many do believe the Rebellion in *Ireland* had not happen'd.

CERTAIN it is, that his power of doing ſhrew'd turns was extraordinary, and no leſs in doing good Offices for particular Perſons; and that he did preſerve many from cenſure, who were under the ſevere diſpleaſure of the Houſes, and looked upon as eminent Delinquents; and the Quality of many of them made it believ'd, that he had ſold that protection for valuable conſiderations. From the time of his being accuſed of High Treaſon by the King, with the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the other Members, he never entertain'd thoughts of moderation, but allways oppoſed all Overtures of Peace, and Accommodation; and when the Earl of *Eſſex* was diſpoſed, the laſt Summer, by thoſe Lords to an inclination towards a Treaty, as is before remember'd, Mr *Pym*'s power and dexterity wholely changed him, and wrought him to that temper, which he afterwards ſwerv'd not from. He was wonderfully ſollicitous for the *Scots* coming in to their Aſſiſtance, though his indiſpoſition of body was ſo great, that it might well have made another impreſſion upon his mind. During his ſickneſs, he was a very ſad Spectacle; but none being admitted to him who had not concurr'd with him, it is not known what his laſt thoughts, and conſiderations were. He died towards the end of *December*, before the *Scots* enter'd; and was buried with wonderful Pomp and Magnificence, in that place where the Bones of our *Engliſh* Kings and Princes are committed to their reſt.

The Prince Elector Arrives at London.

THE Arrival of the Prince Elector at *London* was no leſs the diſcourſe of all Tongues, than the death of Mr *Pym*. He had been in *England* before the Troubles, and was receiv'd and cheriſh'd by the King with great demonſtration of grace and kindneſs, and ſupplied with a Penſion of twelve thouſand pounds ſterling yearly. When the King left *London*, he attended his Majeſty to *York*, and reſided there with him till the differences grew ſo high, that his Majeſty found it neceſſary to reſolve to raiſe an Army for his Defence. Then, on the ſuddain, without giving the King many days notice of his reſolution, that Prince left the Court; and taking the opportunity of an ordinary Veſſel, embarked himſelf for *Holland*, to the wonder of all Men; who thought

it an unſeaſonable Declaration of his fear at leaſt of the Parliament, and his deſire of being well eſteem'd by them, when it was evident They eſteem'd not the King as they ſhould. And this was the more ſpoken of, when it was afterwards known that the Parliament expreſſed a good Senſe of his having deſerted the King, and imputed it to his Conſcience, "that he knew of ſome ſuch deſigns of his Majeſty, as he could not "comply with. At this time, after many loud diſcourſes of his coming (which were deriv'd to *Oxford*, as ſomewhat that might have an Influence upon his Majeſtie's Counſels, there being then ſeveral whiſpers of ſome high proceedings they intended againſt the King) he arriv'd at *London*, and was receiv'd with Ceremony; Lodged in *White-Hall*, and Order taken for the payment of that Penſion which had been formerly aſſign'd to him by his Majeſty; and a particular direction by both Houſes, "that he ſhould be admitted to ſit in the Aſſembly of "Divines; where, after he had taken the Covenant, he was contented to be often preſent: of all which the King took no other notice, than ſometimes to expreſs, "that he was ſorry on his Nephew's behalf, that "he thought fit to declare ſuch a compliance.

THE Defeat of Colonel *John Bellaſis* at *Selby* by Sr *Thomas Fairfax*, and the deſtruction of all the *Iriſh* Regiments under the Lord *Byron*, together with the terror of the *Scots* Army, had ſo let looſe all the King's Enemies in the Northern parts, which were lately at the King's Devotion, that his Friends were in great diſtreſs in all places before the Seaſon was ripe to take the Field. The Earl of *Derby*, who had kept *Lancaſhire* in reaſonable Subjection, and incloſed all the Enemies of that County within the Town of *Mancheſter*, was no longer able to continue that reſtraint, but forced to place himſelf at a farther diſtance from them; which was like, in a ſhort time, to encreaſe the Number of the Rebels there. *Newark*, a very neceſſary Garriſon in the County of *Nottingham*, which had not only ſubjected that little County, the Town of *Nottingham* only excepted, which was upon the matter confin'd within it's own Walls, but had kept a great part of the large County of *Lincoln* under contribution, was now reduced to ſo great ſtreights by the Forces of that Country, under the Command of *Meldrum* a *Scots*-man, with addition of others from *Hull*, that they were compell'd to beg relief from the King at *Oxford*; whilſt the Marquis of *New-Caſtle* had enough to do to keep the *Scots* at a Bay, and to put *York* in a condition to endure a Siege, if he ſhould be forced to continue within thoſe Walls.

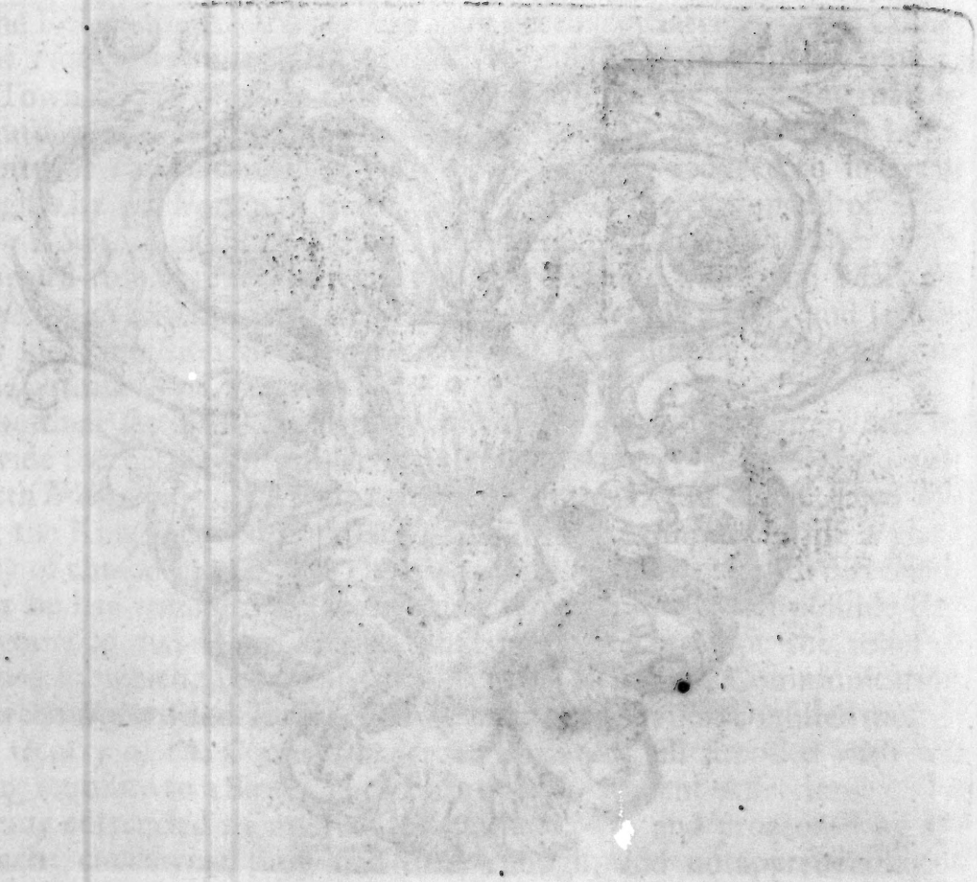
IN theſe ſtreights, though it was yet the depth of Winter, and to provide the better for the ſecurity of *Shrewsbury*, and *Cheſter*, and North *Wales*, all which were terrified with the Defeat of the Lord *Byron*, the King found it neceſſary to ſend Prince *Rupert*, with a good Body of choſen Horſe, and Dragoons, and ſome Foot, with direction, after he had viſited *Shrewsbury* and *Cheſter*, and uſed all poſſible Endeavours to make new Levies, that he ſhould attempt the relief of *Newark*; which, being loſt, would cut off all poſſible Communication between *Oxford* and *York*. In *Newark*, the Garriſon conſiſted moſt of the Gentry of the County, and the Inhabitans, ill ſupplied with any thing requiſite to a Siege, but Courage and excellent Affections. The Enemy entrench'd themſelves before the Town, and proceeded by approach; conceiving they had time enough, and not apprehending it

Prince Rupert *is ſent to relieve* Newark, *and effects it.*

poſſible to be diſturb'd: and indeed it was not eaſy for the King to find a way for their relief. To ſend a Body from *Oxford* was very hazardous, and the Enemy ſo ſtrong, as they would quickly follow; ſo that there was no hope but from *Shrewsbury*, and *Cheſter*, where Prince *Rupert* had given ſo much life to thoſe parts, and drawn ſo conſiderable a Body together, that the Enemy found little advantage by their late Victory, in the enlargement of their Quarters. His Highneſs then reſolv'd to try what he could do for *Newark*, and undertook it before he was ready for it, and thereby perform'd it. For the Enemy, who had all-
10 ways excellent Intelligence, was ſo confident that he had not a ſtrength ſufficient to attempt that work, that he was within ſix miles of them, before they believ'd he thought of them; and Charging and Routing ſome of their Horſe, purſued them with that expedition, that he Beſieged them in their own Intrenchment, with his Horſe, before his Foot came within four miles. In that conſternation, they concluding that he muſt have a vaſt power and ſtrength, to bring them into thoſe ſtreights, He, with a Number inferior to the Enemy, and utterly unaccommodated for an Action of time, brought them to accept of leave to depart, that is to disband, without their Armes, or any Carriage or Baggage.
20 Thus he reliev'd *Newark*, and took above four thouſand Armes, eleven pieces of Braſs Cannon, two Mortar pieces, and above fifty Barrels of Powder; which was as unexpected a Victory, as any happen'd throughout the War; with this proſperous Action, which was perform'd on the 22[d] of *March*, We ſhall conclude the Tranſactions of this Year.

THE END OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.

THE

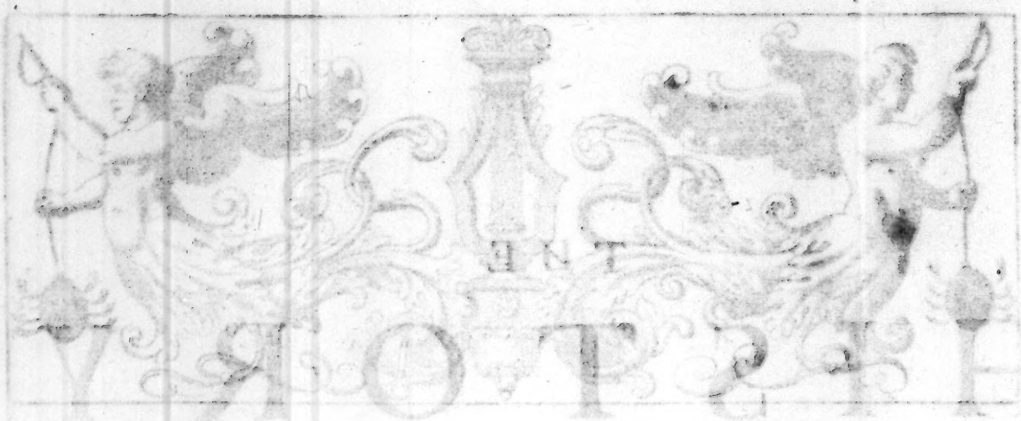


THE HISTORY OF THE *REBELLION* AND CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Paſſages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Concluſion thereof by the KING's bleſſed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 1660.

THE EIGHTH BOOK.



THE

Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c.

BOOK VIII.

2 Eſd. v. 9.

And ſalt waters ſhall be found in the ſweet, and all friends ſhall deſtroy one another; then ſhall Wit hide it ſelf, and Underſtanding withdraw it ſelf into his ſecret Chamber.

Iſ. III. 5.

And the People ſhall be oppreſſed every one by another, and every one by his Neighbour; the Child ſhall behave himſelf proudly againſt the Ancient, and the Baſe againſt the Honourable.



S the Winter had been very unproſperous, and unſucceſsful to the King, in the diminution and loſs of thoſe Forces, upon which he chiefly depended to ſuſtain the power of the Enemy the year enſuing; ſo the Spring enter'd with no better preſage. When both Armies had enter'd into their Winter Quarters, to refreſh themſelves after ſo much fatigue, the great preparation that was made at *London*, and the fame of ſending Sr *William Waller* into the Weſt, put the King upon the reſolution of having ſuch a Body in his way, as might give him interruption, without Prince *Maurice*'s being diſturbed in his Siege of *Plymouth*; which was not thought to be able to make long reſiſtance. To this purpoſe, the Lord *Hopton* was appointed to Command an Army apart, to be levied out of the Garriſon of *Briſtol*, and thoſe Weſtern Counties adjacent newly reduced; where his Reputation and Intereſt was very great; and by it he had in a ſhort time raiſed a pretty Body of Foot and Horſe; to which receiving an Addition of two very good Regiments (though not many in Number) out of *Munſter*, under the Command of Sr *Charles Vavaſour*, and Sr *John Pawlet*, and a good Troop of Horſe under the Command of Captain *Bridges*, all which had been tranſported, according to former

Orders, out of *Ireland* to *Briſtol*, ſince the Ceſſation, that Lord advanced to *Salisbury*, and ſhortly after to *Wincheſter*; whither Sr *John Berkley* brought him two Regiments more of Foot, raiſed by him in *Devon-ſhire*; ſo that he had in all, at leaſt, three thouſand Foot, and about fifteen hundred Horſe; which, in ſo good a Poſt as *Wincheſter* was, would in a ſhort time have grown to a conſiderable Army; and was at preſent ſtrong enough to have ſtopped, or attended *Waller* in his Weſtern Expedition; nor did He expect to have found ſuch an obſtruction in his way. And therefore, when he was upon his March, and was informed of the Lord *Hopton*'s being at *Wincheſter* with ſuch a ſtrength, he retired to *Farnham*; and Quarter'd there, till he gave his Maſters an Account that he wanted other Supplies.

IT was a general misfortune, and miſcomputation of that time, that the Party, in all places, that wiſh'd well to the King (which conſiſted of moſt of the Gentry in moſt Counties; and for the preſent were aw'd, and kept under by the Militia, and the Committees of Parliament) had ſo good an opinion of their own Reputation and Intereſt, that they believ'd they were able, upon the Aſſiſtance of few Troops, to ſuppreſs their Neighbours who were of the other Party, and who, upon the advantage of the power they were poſſeſſed of, exerciſed their Authority over them with great rigour, and inſolence. And ſo the Lord *Hopton* was no ſooner poſſeſſed of *Wincheſter*, where Sr *William Ogle* had likewiſe ſeiſed upon the Caſtle for the King, and put it into a tenable condition, than the Gentlemen of *Suſſex*, and of the adjacent parts of *Hampſhire*, ſent privately to him, "that if he would advance into Their "Country, they would undertake, in a ſhort time, to make great Le-"vies of Men for the recruit of his Army; and likewiſe to poſſeſs them-"ſelves of ſuch places as they ſhould be well able to defend; and thereby "keep that part of the Country in the King's Obedience.

Sr *Edward Ford*, a Gentleman of a good Family, and fair Fortune in *Suſſex*, had then a Regiment of Horſe in the Lord *Hopton*'s Troops, and the King had made him High Sheriff of *Suſſex* that year, to the end that, if there were occaſion, he might the better make impreſſion upon that County. He had with him, in his Regiment, many of the Gentlemen of that County of good Quality: And they all beſought the Lord *Hopton*, "that he would, ſince *Waller* was not like to advance, "at leaſt ſend ſome Troops into thoſe parts, to give a little Countenance "to the Levies they ſhould be well able to make; aſſuring him, "that "they would, in the firſt place, ſeiſe upon *Arundel*-Caſtle; which, "ſtanding near the Sea, would yield great advantage to the King's Ser-"vice, and keep that rich Corner of the Country at his Majeſty's De-"votion. Theſe, and many other ſpecious undertakings, diſpoſed the Lord *Hopton*, who had an extraordinary appetite to engage *Waller* in a Battle, upon old accounts, to wiſh himſelf at Liberty to comply with thoſe Gentlemens deſires: of all which, he gave ſuch an Account to the King, as made it appear, that he liked the deſign, and thought it practicable, if he had an addition of a Regiment or two of Foot, under good Officers; for that Quarter of *Suſſex*, which he meant to viſit, was a faſt and incloſed Country, and *Arundel*-Caſtle had a Garriſon in it, though not numerous, or well provided, as being without apprehenſion of an Enemy.

IT was about Chriſtmas, and the King had no farther deſign for the Winter, than to keep *Waller* from viſiting and diſturbing the Weſt, and

to recruit his Army to ſuch a degree as to be able to take the Field early; which he knew the Rebels reſolv'd to do: yet the good Poſt the Lord *Hopton* was already poſſeſs'd of at *Wincheſter*, and theſe poſitive undertakings from *Suſſex*, wrought upon many to think, that this opportunity ſhould not be loſt. The King had likewiſe great Aſſurance of the general good Affections of the County of *Kent*; inſomuch as the People had with difficulty been reſtrain'd from making ſome attempt, upon the confidence of their own ſtrength; and if there could be now ſuch a foundation laid, that there might be a conjunction between that and *Suſſex*, it might produce an Aſſociation little inferior to that of the Southern Counties under the Earl of *Mancheſter*; and might, by the Spring, be an occaſion of that diſtraction to the Parliament, that they ſhould not well know to what part to diſpoſe their Armies; and the King might apply his own to that part, and purpoſe, as ſhould ſeem moſt reaſonable to him.

THESE, and other reaſons prevailing, the King gave the Lord *Hopton* order to proſecute his deſign upon *Suſſex*, in ſuch manner as he thought fit; provided, that he was well aſſured, that *Waller* ſhould not make advantage, upon that Enterpriſe, to find the way open to him to march into the Weſt. And that he might be the better able to proſecute the one, and to provide for the other, Sr *Jacob Aſtley* was likewiſe ſent to him from *Reading*, with a thouſand commanded Men of that Garriſon, *Wallingford*, and *Oxford*; which ſupply no ſooner arrived at *Wincheſter*, but the Lord *Hopton* reſolv'd to viſit *Waller*'s Quarters, if it were poſſible to engage him; however that he might judge by the poſture he was in, whether he were like to purſue his purpoſe for the Weſt. *Waller* was then Quarter'd at *Farnham*, and the Villages adjacent, from whence he drew out his Men, and faced the Enemy, as if he intended to Fight, but, after ſome light Skirmiſhes for a day or two, in which he always receiv'd loſs, he retired himſelf into the Caſtle of *Farnham*, a place of ſome ſtrength: and drew his Army into the Town; and within three or four days, went himſelf to *London*, more effectually to ſollicite Recruits, than his Letters had been able to do.

WHEN the Lord *Hopton* ſaw that he could attempt no farther upon thoſe Troops, and was fully aſſured that Sr *William Waller* was himſelf gone to *London*, he concluded, that it was a good time to comply with the importunity of the Gentlemen of *Suſſex*; and march'd thither, with ſuch a Body of Horſe and Foot, as he thought competent for the Service. The exceeding hard Froſt made his march more eaſy through thoſe deep dirty ways, than better weather would have done; and he came to *Arundel* before there was any imagination that he had that place in his proſpect. The place in it's Situation was ſtrong; and though the Fortifications were not regular, but of the old faſhion, yet the Walls were good, and the Graff broad, and deep; and though the Garriſon was not numerous enough to have defended all the large circuit againſt a powerful Army, yet it was ſtrong enough, in all reſpects, to have defied any ſuddain Aſſault; and might, without putting themſelves to much trouble, have been very ſecure againſt the Attempts of thoſe without. But the Proviſions of Victual, or Ammunition, was not ſufficient to have endured any long Siege; and the Officer who Commanded, had not been accuſtom'd to the proſpect of an Enemy. So upon an eaſy and ſhort Summons, that threaten'd his obſtinacy with a very rigorous chaſtiſement, if he ſhould defer the giving it up, either

Arundel-*Caſtle Surrender'd to the Lord* Hopton:

from the effect of his own fear, and want of Courage, or from the good inclinations of ſome of the Soldiers, the Caſtle was Surrender'd the third day; and appear'd to be a place worth the keeping, and capable, in a ſhort time, to be made ſecure againſt a good Army.

THE Lord *Hopton*, after he had ſtay'd there five or ſix days, and cauſed Proviſions of all kinds to be brought in, committed the Command and Government thereof to Sr *Edward Ford*, High Sheriff of the County, with a Garriſon of above two hundred Men; beſides many good Officers, who deſired, or were very willing, to ſtay there: as a place very favourable for the making Levies of Men, which they all intended. And, it may be, the more remain'd there, out of the wearineſs and fatigue of their late marches, and that they might ſpend the remainder of the Winter with better Accommodation.

THE News of Sr *William Waller*'s return to *Farnham* with ſtrong recruits of Horſe and Foot, made it neceſſary to the Lord *Hopton* to leave *Arundel*-Caſtle before he had put it into the good poſture he intended. And, without well conſidering the mixture of the Men he left there, whereof many were of Natures not eaſy to be govern'd, nor like to conform themſelves to ſuch ſtrict Rules as the condition of the place required, or to uſe that induſtry, as the exigence, they were like to be in, made neceſſary, the principal thing he recommended and enjoyn'd to them was, "in the firſt place, ſetting all other things aſide, to draw "in ſtore of Proviſions of all kinds, both for the Numbers they were "already, and for ſuch as would probably in a ſhort time be added to "them; all which from the great plenty that Country then abounded in, was very eaſy to have been done. And if it had been done, that place would have remain'd long ſuch a Thorn in the ſide of the Parliament, as would have render'd it very uneaſy to them, at leaſt have interrupted the current of their proſperity.

WALLER's Journey to *London* anſwer'd his expectation; and his preſence had an extraordinary operation, to procure any thing deſired. He reported the Lord *Hopton*'s Forces to be much greater than they were, that his own might be made proportionable to encounter them. And the quick progreſs that Lord had made in *Suſſex*, and his taking *Arundel*-Caſtle, made them thought to be greater than He reported them to be. His ſo eaſily poſſeſſing himſelf of a place of that ſtrength, which they ſuppoſed to have been impregnable, and in a County where the King had before no footing, awaken'd all their Jealouſies and Apprehenſions of the Affections of *Kent*, and all other places; and looked like a Land-flood, that might roll they knew not how far; ſo that there needed no importunate ſollicitation to provide a remedy againſt this growing evil. The ordinary method they had uſed for recruiting their Armies, by Levies of Volunteers, and perſwading the Apprentices of the City to become Soldiers, upon the Privilege they gave them for their freedom, for the time they fought for them, as if they had remain'd in their Maſter's Service, was now too dull and lazy an expedient to reſiſt this Torrent; they therefore reſort to their inexhauſtible Magazine of Men, their devoted City, to whoſe Affections the Perſon of Sr *William Waller* was moſt acceptable; and perſwaded them, immediately to cauſe two of their ſtrongeſt Regiments of Auxiliaries, to march out of the Line to *Farnham*; which they conſented to. Then they appointed the Earl of *Eſſex* to give his Orders to Sr *William Balfour*, with one thouſand of the Horſe of his Army, likewiſe to obſerve

ſerve *Waller*'s Commands; who, with this great addition of Forces, made haſt to his other Troops at *Farnham*; where he ſcarce reſted, but after he had informed himſelf how the Lord *Hopton*'s Troops lay Quarter'd at too great a diſtance from each other, he marched, according to his cuſtom in thoſe occaſions (as beating up of Quarters was his Maſter-piece) all the night; and, by the break of day, encompaſs'd a great Village call'd *Alton*, where a Troop or two of Horſe, and a Regiment of Foot of the King's lay in too much ſecurity. However, the Horſe took the Alarm quickly, and, for the moſt part, made their eſcape to *Wincheſter*, the head Quarter; whither the Lord *Hopton* was return'd but the night before from *Arundel*. Colonel *Boles*, who Commanded his own Regiment of Foot there, conſiſting of about five hundred Men, which had been drawn out of the Garriſon of *Wallingford*, when he found himſelf encompaſs'd by the Enemies Army of Horſe and Foot, ſaw he could not defend himſelf, or make other reſiſtance than by retiring with his Men into the Church, which he hoped to maintain for ſo many hours, that relief might be ſent to him; but he had not time to Barricadoe the doors; ſo that the Enemy enter'd almoſt aſſoon, and after a ſhort reſiſtance, in which many were killed, the Soldiers, overpower'd, threw down their Armes, and asked Quarter; which was likewiſe offer'd to the Colonel; who refuſed it, and valiantly defended himſelf, till, with the death of two or three of the Aſſailants, he was killed in the place; his Enemies giving him a teſtimony of great Courage and Reſolution.

WALLER knew well the impreſſion the loſs of this very good Regiment would make upon the Lord *Hopton*'s Forces, and that the report which the Troops of Horſe which had eſcaped, would make, would add nothing of Courage to their fellows; ſo that there was no probability that they would make haſt to advance; and therefore with great celerity, the hard Froſt continuing, he march'd with all his Army to *Arundel*-Caſtle, where he found that Garriſon as unprovided as he could wiſh. For inſtead of encreaſing the Magazine of Victual by Supplies from the Country, they had ſpent much of that ſtore which the Lord *Hopton* had provided. The Governour was a Man of Honeſty and Courage, but unacquainted with that Affair, having no other experience in War, than what he had learn'd ſince theſe Troubles. The Officers were many without Command, amongſt whom one Colonel *Bamford*, an *Iriſh*-man, though he called himſelf *Bamfield*, was one; who, being a Man of wit and parts, applied all his faculties to improve the Faction, to which they were all naturally inclined, with a hope to make himſelf Governour. In this diſtraction *Waller* found them, and by ſome of the Soldiers running out to him, he found means again to ſend in to them; by which he ſo encreaſed their Faction, and Animoſity againſt one another, that, after he had kept them waking, with continual Alarms, three or four days, near half the Men being ſick, and unable to do duty, rather than they would truſt each other longer, they gave the Place and Themſelves up, as Priſoners of war upon Quarter; the place being able to have defended it ſelf againſt all that power, for a much longer time. *It is retaken by Sr William Waller.*

Here the Learned and Eminent Mr *Chillingworth* was taken Priſoner; who, out of kindneſs and reſpect to the Lord *Hopton*, had accompanied him in that march; and, being indiſpoſed by the terrible coldneſs of the Seaſon, choſe to repoſe himſelf in that Garriſon, till the Weather ſhould mend. Aſſoon as his Perſon was known, which would have drawn

reverence from any noble Enemy, the Clergy that attended that Army, profecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable; ſo that, by their Barbarous uſage, he died within few days; to the grief of all that knew him, and of many who knew him not but by his Book, and the Reputation he had with Learned Men.

THE Lord *Hopton* ſuſtain'd the loſs of that Regiment with extraordinary trouble of mind, and as a wound that would bleed inward; and therefore was the more inflamed with deſire of a Battle with *Waller*, to make even all Accounts; and made what haſt he could, upon the firſt advertiſement, to have redeemed that misfortune; and hoped to have come time enough to relieve *Arundel*-Caſtle; which he never ſuſpected would ſo tamely have given themſelves up: But that hope quickly vaniſh'd, upon the undoubted Intelligence of that Surrender, and the News that *Waller* was return'd with a full reſolution to proſecute his deſign upon the Weſt: to which, beſides the encouragement of his two late ſucceſſes, with which he was marvellouſly elated, he was in ſome degree neceſſitated, out of apprehenſion that the Horſe which belong'd to the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, might be ſpeedily recalled: and the time would be quickly expired, that he had promiſed the Auxiliary Regiments of *London* to diſmiſs them.

UPON the News the King receiv'd of the great ſupply the Parliament had ſo ſuddainly ſent to *Waller*, both from the Earl of *Eſſex* his Army, and from the City, he thought it neceſſary to ſend ſuch an addition of Foot as he could draw out of *Oxford*, and the neighbour Garriſons. And the Earl of *Brentford*, General of the Army, who had a faſt friendſhip with the Lord *Hopton*, expreſſing a good inclination to make him a viſit, rather than to ſit ſtill in his Winter Quarters, his Majeſty was very willing he ſhould, and cheriſhed that diſpoſition, being deſirous that ſo great an Officer might be preſent in an Army, upon which ſo much of his hopes depended; and which did not abound with Officers of great experience. So the General, with ſuch Volunteers as were ready to accompany him, went to *Wincheſter*; where he found the Lord *Hopton* in trouble for the loſs of the Regiment of Foot at *Alton*, and with the unexpected Aſſurance of the giving up of *Arundel*-Caſtle. He was exceedingly revived with the preſence of the General, and deſired to receive his Orders, and that he would take upon him the abſolute Command of the Troops; which he as poſitively refuſed to do; only offer'd to keep him company in all expeditions, and to give him the beſt aſſiſtance he was able; which the Lord *Hopton* was compell'd to be contented with; nor could there be a greater union and conſent between two Friends: The General being ready to give his advice upon all particulars; and the other doing nothing without communication with him, and then conforming to his opinion, and giving Orders accordingly.

ASSOON as they were inform'd that *Waller* had drawn all his Troops together about *Farnham*, and meant to march towards them, they chearfully embraced the occaſion, and went to meet him; and about *Alresford*, near the midway between *Wincheſter* and *Farnham*, they came to know how near they were to each other; and, being in View, choſe the ground upon which they meant the Battle ſhould be Fought; of which *Waller*, being firſt there, got the advantage for the drawing up his Horſe. The King's Army conſiſted of about five thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe; and *Waller* with Sr *William Balfour*, exceeded

ceeded in Horſe; but they were upon the matter equal in Foot; with this only advantage, that both his Horſe and Foot were, as they were always, much better Arm'd; no Man wanting any Weapon Offenſive, or Defenſive, that was proper for him; and Sr *Arthur Haſlerig*'s Regiment of Cuiraſſiers, called the *Lobſters*, were ſo formidable, that the King's naked and unarm'd Troops, among which few were better arm'd than with Swords, could not bear their impreſſion.

THE King's Horſe never behaved themſelves ſo ill, as that day. For the main Body of them, after they had ſuſtained one fierce Charge, wheeled about to an unreaſonable diſtance; and left their principal Officers to ſhift for themſelves. The Foot behaved themſelves very gallantly, and had not only the better of the other Foot, but bore two or three Charges from the Horſe with notable Courage, and without being broken; whilſt thoſe Horſe which ſtood upon the Field, and ſhould have aſſiſted them, could be perſwaded but to ſtand. When the Evening drew near, for the approach whereof neither Party was ſorry, the Lord *Hopton* thought it neceſſary to leave the Field; and drawing off his Men, and carrying with him many of the wounded, he retired with all his Cannon and Ammunition, whereof he loſt none, that night to *Reading*: the Enemy being ſo ſcatter'd, that they had no mind to purſue; only *Waller* himſelf made haſt to *Wincheſter*, where he thought, upon this Succeſs, to have been immediately admitted into that Caſtle; which was his own Inheritance. But he found that too well defended; and ſo return'd with taking revenge upon the City, by plundering it with all the inſolence and rapine imaginable.

The Battle at Alresford, where Sr William Waller had the advantage over the Lord Hopton.

THERE could not then be any other eſtimate made of the loſs *Waller* ſuſtain'd, than by the not purſuing the viſible advantage he had, and by the utter refuſal of the Auxiliary Regiments of *London* and *Kent*, to march farther; who, within three or four days, left him; and return'd to their Habitations, with great Lamentation of their Friends who were miſſing. On the King's ſide, beſides common Men, and many good Officers, there fell that day the Lord *John Stuart*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, and General of the Horſe of that Army; and Sr *John Smith*, Brother to the Lord *Carrington*, and Commiſſary General of the Horſe. They were both brought off the Field by the few Horſe that ſtay'd with them, and did their duty; carried to *Reading*; and the next day to *Abingdon*, that they might be nearer to the Aſſiſtance of the beſt remedies by Phyſicians and Surgeons. But they lived only to the ſecond dreſſing of their wounds; which were very many upon both of them.

THE former was a young Man of extraordinary hope, little more than one and twenty years of Age; who being of a more cholerick and rough Nature, than the other Branches of that illuſtrious and princely Family, was not delighted with the ſoftneſſes of the Court, but had dedicated himſelf to the profeſſion of Armes, when he did not think the Scene ſhould have been in his own Country. His Courage was ſo ſignal that day, that too much could not be expected from it, if he had out-lived it; and he was ſo generally beloved, that he could not but be very generally lamented. The other, Sr *John Smith*, had been train'd up from his youth in the War of *Flanders*; being of an Ancient Roman Catholick Family; and had long the Reputation of one of the beſt Officers of Horſe. Aſſoon as the firſt Troubles appear'd in *Scotland*, he betook himſelf to the Service of his own Prince; and from the beginning of the War to his own end, perform'd many ſignal Actions of Courage.

Courage. The death of theſe two eminent Officers, made the names of many who periſh'd that day, the leſs inquired into and mention'd.

THIS Battle was Fought the 29th day of *March*; which was a very doleful entring into the beginning of the year 1644, and broke all the meaſures, and alter'd the whole ſcheme of the King's Counſels: for whereas before he hoped to have enter'd the Field early, and to have acted an Offenſive part; he now diſcern'd, he was wholely to be upon the Defenſive; and that was like to be a very hard part too. For he found, within very few days after, that he was not only deprived of the Men he had loſt at *Alresford*, but that he was not to expect any recruit of his Army by a conjunction with Prince *Rupert*; who, he believ'd, would have return'd in time, after his great Succeſs at *Newark*, with a ſtrong Body both of Horſe and Foot, from *Shropſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and North *Wales*: all which hopes were ſoon blaſted; for the Prince had ſcarce put the Garriſon of *Newark* in Order, and provided it to endure another Attack, which they might have reaſonably expected upon his Highneſs's departure (though indeed the ſhame of the defeat he had given that Party, and the rage among the Officers, and Soldiers, when they ſaw by what a handful of Men they had been terrified, and ſubdued, broke and diſſolv'd that whole Body within few days) when he was earneſtly preſs'd from the Earl of *Derby*, to come into *Lancaſhire* to relieve him, who was already Beſieged in his own ſtrong Houſe at *Latham*, by a great Body, with whom he was not able to contend. And to diſpoſe the Prince the more willingly to undertake his relief, the Earl made ample promiſes, "that within ſo many days after the Siege "ſhould be raiſed, with any defeat to the Enemy, he would advance "his Highneſs's Levies with two thouſand Men, and ſupply him with "a conſiderable Sum of Money. And the Earl had likewiſe, by an Expreſs, made the ſame inſtance to the King at *Oxford*; from whence his Majeſty ſent his Permiſſion, and Approbation to the Prince, before his departure from *Newark*; hoping ſtill that his Highneſs would be able to diſpatch that Service in *Lancaſhire*, and with the more notable recruits of Men in thoſe parts, be able to return to *Oxford* by the time that it would be neceſſary for his Majeſty to take the Field. But within a ſhort time, he was diſappointed of that expectation; for before the Prince could finiſh his Expedition into *Lancaſhire* (which he did with wonderful Gallantry; raiſed the Siege at *Latham* with a great execution upon the Enemy; and took two or three of their Garriſons, obſtinately defended; and therefore with the greater ſlaughter) the Marquis of *New-Caſtle* was compelled to retire, with his whole Army, within the Walls of *York*. He had been well able to have defended himſelf againſt the numerous Army of the *Scots*, and would have been glad to have been engaged with them, but he found he had a worſe Enemy to deal with, as will appear.

The Aſſociation of ſeveral Counties form'd under the Earl of Mancheſter.

FROM the time that the ruling Party of the Parliament diſcern'd that their General, the Earl of *Eſſex*, would never ſerve their turn, or comply with all their deſires, they reſolv'd to have another Army apart, that ſhould be more at their devotion; in the forming whereof, they would be ſure to chooſe ſuch Officers, as would probably not only obſerve their Orders, but have the ſame inclinations with them. Their pretence was, "that there were ſo many diſaffected Perſons of the No-"bility, and Principal Gentry, in the Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, "that if great care was not taken to prevent it, there might a Body

"ſtart

"ſtart up there for the King; which, upon the ſucceſs of the Marquis "of *New-Caſtle*, whoſe Armes then reach'd into *Lincoln-ſhire*, might "grow very formidable. For prevention whereof, they had form'd an Aſſociation between *Eſſex* (a County, upon the influence of the Earl of *Warwick*, and the power of his Clergy, they moſt Confided in) *Cambridge-ſhire*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Bedford*, and *Huntington*; in all which they had many Perſons of whoſe entire Affections they were well aſſured; and, in moſt of them, there were few conſiderable Perſons who wiſh'd them ill. Of this Aſſociation they had made the Earl of *Manchester* General, to be ſubject only to their own Commands, and independent upon the Earl of *Eſſex*. Under Him, they choſe *Oliver Cromwell* to Command their Horſe; and many other Officers, who never intended to be ſubject again to the King, and avow'd other Principles in Conſcience and Religion, than had been before publickly declared.

To this General they gave Order, "to reſide within that Aſſociation; "and to make Levies of Men, ſufficient to keep thoſe Counties in obe- "dience: for at firſt they pretended no more. But, in the ſecret Treaty made by Sr *Harry Vane* with the *Scots*, they were bound, aſſoon as the *Scots* ſhould enter into *York-ſhire* with their Army, that a Body of *Engliſh* Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, ſhould be ready to aſſiſt them, Commanded by their own Officers, as a Body apart: The *Scots* not then truſting their own great Numbers, as equal to fight with the *Engliſh*. And from that time they were much more careful to raiſe, and liberally ſupply, and provide for that Army under the Earl of *Manchester*, than for the other under the Earl of *Eſſex*. And now, according to their agreement, upon the *Scots* firſt entrance into *York-ſhire*, the Earl of *Manchester* had likewiſe order to march with his whole Body thither; having, for the moſt part, a Committee of the Parliament, where- of Sr *Harry Vane* was one, with him; as there was another Committee of the *Scotiſh* Parliament always in that Army; there being alſo now a Committee of both Kingdoms reſiding at *London*, for the carrying on the War.

The Earl of Manchester *is order'd with his Army to march into the North to joyn the* Scots.

THE Marquis of *New-Caſtle* being thus preſſed on both ſides, was neceſſitated to draw all his Army of Foot and Cannon into *York*, with ſome Troops of Horſe; and ſent the Body of his Horſe, under the Command of General *Goring*, to remain in thoſe places he ſhould find moſt convenient, and from whence he might beſt infeſt the Enemy. Then he ſent an Expreſs to the King, to inform him of the condition he was in; and to let him know, "that he doubted not to defend himſelf in "that Poſt, for the term of ſix Weeks, or two Months; in which time, "he hoped, his Majeſty would find ſome way to relieve him. Upon receipt of this Letter, the King ſent Orders to Prince *Rupert*, that "aſ- "ſoon as he had reliev'd the Lord *Derby*, and recruited, and refreſhed "his Men, he ſhould march, with what expedition he could, to relieve "*York*; where being joyn'd with the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*'s Army, "there was hope they might fight the Enemy: and his Majeſty would "put himſelf into as good a poſture as he could to take the Field, with- "out expecting the Prince.

ALL theſe ill Accidents falling out ſucceſſively in the Winter, the King's condition appear'd very ſad; and the Queen being now with Child, it wrought upon her Majeſty's mind very much; and diſpoſed her to ſo many Fears and Apprehenſions of her ſafety, that ſhe was very uneaſy to her ſelf. She heard every day "of the great Forces raiſed, and

The Queen retires from Oxford *to* Exeter.

"in a readineſs, by the Parliament, much greater than they yet ever "had been; which was very true; and "that they reſolv'd, aſſoon as "the Seaſon was ripe, to march all to *Oxford*. She could not endure to think of being Beſieged; and, in concluſion, reſolv'd not to ſtay there, but to go into the Weſt; from whence, in any diſtreſs, ſhe might be able to Embark for *France*. Though there ſeem'd reaſons enough to diſſwade her from that inclination, and his Majeſty heartily wiſh'd that ſhe could be diverted, yet the perplexity of her mind was ſo great, and her fears ſo vehement, both improved by her indiſpoſition of Health, that all civility and reaſon obliged every Body to ſubmit. So, about the beginning of *April*, ſhe begun her Journey from *Oxford* to the Weſt; and, by moderate Journies, came well to *Exeter*; where ſhe intended to ſtay, till ſhe was deliver'd; for ſhe was within little more than one Month of her time; and, being in a place out of the reach of any Alarm, ſhe recover'd her Spirits to a reaſonable convaleſcence.

IT was now about the middle of *April*, when it concern'd the King with all poſſible ſagacity, to foreſee what probably the Parliament meant to attempt with thoſe vaſt Numbers of Men which they every day levied; and thereupon to conclude, what it would be poſſible for his Majeſty to do, in thoſe exigencies to which he was like to be reduced. The Intelligence, that *Waller* was ſtill deſign'd for the Weſtern expedition, made the King appoint his whole Army to be drawn together to a Rendezvous at *Marlborough*; where himſelf was preſent, and, to his great ſatisfaction, found the Body to conſiſt, after all the loſſes and miſadventures, of no leſs than ſix thouſand Foot, and above four thouſand Horſe. There that Body remain'd for ſome weeks, to watch, and intend *Waller*'s motion, and to Fight with him aſſoon as was poſſible. Many things were there conſulted for the future; and the quitting *Reading*, and ſome other Garriſons, propoſed, for the encreaſing the Field Forces: yet nothing was poſitively reſolv'd, but to expect clearer evidence what the Parliament Armies would diſpoſe themſelves to do.

The Parliament at Oxford *Prorogued to* October.

SO the King return'd to *Oxford*, where, upon the deſire of the Members of Parliament who had been called thither, and done all the Service they could for the King, they were for the preſent diſmiſſed, that they might, in their ſeveral Counties, ſatisfy the People of the King's importunate deſire of Peace, but how inſolently it had been rejected by the Parliament; and thereupon induce them to contribute all they could to his Majeſty's Aſſiſtance. They were to meet there again in the Month of *October* following.

THEN, that his Majeſty might draw moſt of the Soldiers of that Garriſon with him out of *Oxford*, when he ſhould take the Field, that City was perſwaded to compleat the Regiment they had begun to form, under the Command of a Colonel whom the King had recommended to them; which they did raiſe to the Number of a thouſand Men. There were likewiſe two other Regiments raiſed of Gentlemen and their Servants, and of the Scholars of the ſeveral Colleges and Halls of the Univerſity; all which Regiments did Duty there punctually, from the time that the King went into the Field, till he return'd again to *Oxford*; and all the Lords declared, "that, upon any emergent occaſion, they "would mount their Servants upon their Horſes, to make a good Troop "for a ſuddain Service; which they made good; and thereby, that Summer, perform'd two or three very conſiderable and important Actions.

BY this time there was reaſon to believe, by all the Intelligence that could

could be procured, and be the change of his Quarters, that *Waller* had laid aſide his Weſtern March, at leaſt that it was ſuſpended; and that, on the contrary, all endeavours were uſed to recruit both His, and the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, with all poſſible expedition; and that neither of them ſhould move upon any Action till they ſhould be both compleat in greater Numbers, than either of them had yet marched with. Hereupon, the King's Army removed from *Marlborough* to *Newbury*; where they remained near a Month, that they might be in a readineſs to attend the motion of the Enemy, and to aſſiſt the Garriſons of *Reading*, or *Wallingford*; or to draw out either, as there ſhould be occaſion.

THERE had been ſeveral deliberations in the Council of War, and always very different opinions, what ſhould be done with the Garriſons when the King ſhould take the Field; and the King himſelf was irreſolute upon thoſe Debates, what to do. He communicated the ſeveral reaſons to Prince *Rupert* by Letters, requiring His advice; who, after he had return'd Anſwers, and receiv'd Replies, made a haſty journey to *Oxford* from *Cheſter*, to wait upon his Majeſty. And it was then poſitively reſolv'd, "that the Garriſons of *Oxford*, *Wallingford*, "*Abingdon*, *Reading*, and *Banbury*, ſhould be reinforced, and ſtrengthen'd "with all the Foot; that a good Body of Horſe ſhould remain about "*Oxford*, and the reſt ſhould be ſent into the Weſt to Prince *Maurice*. If this Counſel had been purſued ſteadily and reſolutely, it might probably have been attended with good Succeſs: Both Armies of the Enemy would have been puzled what to have done, and either of them would have been unwilling to have engaged in a Siege againſt any place ſo well provided, and reſolv'd; and it would have been equally uncounſellable to have marched to any diſtance, and have left ſuch an Enemy at their backs, that could ſo eaſily and quickly have united, and incommoded any March they could have made.

BUT as it was even impoſſible to have adminiſter'd ſuch advice to the King, in the ſtreight he was in, which being purſued might not have proved inconvenient; ſo it was the unhappy temper of thoſe who were called to thoſe Councils, that reſolutions, taken upon full Debate, were ſeldom proſecuted with equal reſolution and ſteadineſs; but changed upon new, ſhorter Debates, and upon objections which had been anſwer'd before: Some Men being in their Natures irreſolute, and inconſtant, and full of objections, even after all was determin'd according to their own propoſals; others being poſitive, and not to be alter'd from what they had once declared, how unreaſonably ſoever, or what alterations ſoever there were in the Affairs. And the King himſelf frequently conſider'd more the Perſon who ſpoke, as he was in his grace, or his prejudice, than the Counſel it ſelf that was given; and always ſuſpected, at leaſt truſted leſs to his own judgement than he ought to have done; which rarely deceiv'd him ſo much as that of other Men.

The Perſons with whom the King conſulted in his Military Affairs at this time.

THE Perſons with whom he only conſulted in his Martial Affairs, and how to carry on the War, were (beſides Prince *Rupert*, who was at this time abſent) the General, who was made Earl of *Brentford*; the Lord *Wilmot*, who was General of the Horſe; the Lord *Hopton*, who uſually commanded an Army apart, and was not often with the King's Army, but now preſent; Sr *Jacob Aſtley*, who was Major General of the Army, the Lord *Digby*, who was Secretary of State: and Sr *John Colepepper* Maſter of the Rolls; for none of the Privy Council, thoſe

two only excepted, were called to thoſe Conſultations; though ſome of them were ſtill adviſed with, for the better Execution, or Proſecution, of what was then and there reſolv'd.

THE General, though he Had been, without doubt, a very good Officer, and had great Experience, and was ſtill a man of unqueſtionable Courage and Integrity; yet he was now much decayed in his parts, and, with the long continued cuſtom of immoderate drinking, dozed in his Underſtanding, which had been never quick and vigorous; he having been always illiterate to the greateſt degree that can be imagin'd. He was now become very deaf, yet often pretended not to have heard what he did not then contradict, and thought fit afterwards to diſclaim. He was a Man of few Words, and of great Complyance, and uſually deliver'd that as His opinion, which he foreſaw would be grateful to the King.

WILMOT was a Man of a haughty and ambitious Nature, of a pleaſant Wit, and an ill Underſtanding, as never conſidering above one thing at once; but he conſider'd that one thing ſo impatiently, that he would not admit any thing elſe to be worth any Conſideration. He had, from the beginning of the War, been very averſe to any advice of the Privy Council, and thought fit that the King's Affairs (which depended upon the Succeſs of the War) ſhould entirely be govern'd and conducted by the Soldiers, and Men of War; and that no other Counſellors ſhould have any Credit with his Majeſty. Whilſt Prince *Rupert* was preſent, his exceeding great prejudice, or rather Perſonal Animoſity againſt him, made any thing that *Wilmot* ſaid or propoſed, enough ſlighted and contradicted: and the King himſelf, upon ſome former account and obſervation, was far from any indulgence to his Perſon, or eſteem of his Parts. But now, by the Prince's abſence, and his being the ſecond Man in the Army, and the Contempt he had of the old General, who was there the only Officer above him, he grew marvellouſly elated, and looked upon himſelf as one whoſe advice ought to be follow'd, and ſubmitted to in all things. He had, by his exceſſive good Fellowſhip (in every part whereof he excelled, and was grateful to all the Company) made himſelf ſo popular with all the Officers of the Army, eſpecially of the Horſe, that he had, in truth, a very great Intereſt; which he deſired might appear to the King, that he might have the more Intereſt in him. He was poſitive in all his Advices in Council, and bore Contradiction very impatiently; and becauſe he was moſt Contradicted by the two Privy Counſellors, the Secretary, and the Maſter of the Rolls, who, he ſaw, had the greateſt Influence upon the King, he uſed all the Artifices he could to render them unacceptable and ſuſpected to the Officers of the Army, by telling them, what they had ſaid in Council; which he thought would render them the more ungrateful; and, in the Times of Jollity, perſwaded the old General to believe that they invaded his Prerogative, and meddled more in the Buſineſs of the War, than they ought to do; and thereby made him the leſs diſpoſed to concur with them in Advice, how rational and ſeaſonable ſoever it was; which often put the King to the trouble of converting him.

THE Lord *Hopton* was a Man Superior to any Temptation, and abhorred enough the licence, and the levities, with which he ſaw too many corrupted. He had a good Underſtanding, a clear Courage, an Induſtry not to be tired, and a Generoſity that was not to be exhauſted; a Virtue that none of the reſt had: but in the Debates concerning the

War, was longer in reſolving, and more apt to change his mind after he had reſolv'd, than is agreeable to the Office of a Commander in Chief; which render'd him rather fit for the Second, than for the Supreme Command in an Army.

Sr *Jacob Aſtley* was an honeſt, brave, plain Man, and as fit for the Office he exerciſed, of Major General of the Foot, as Chriſtendom yielded; and was ſo generally eſteem'd; very diſcerning and prompt in giving Orders, as the occaſions required, and moſt chearful, and preſent in any Action. In Council he uſed few, but very pertinent words; and was not at all pleaſed with the long Speeches uſually made there; and which rather confounded, than inform'd his Underſtanding: ſo that he rather collected the ends of the Debates, and what he was himſelf to Do, than enlarged them by his own Diſcourſes; though he forbore not to deliver his own mind.

THE two Privy Couſellors, though they were of the moſt different Natures and Conſtitutions that can be imagined, always agreed in their Opinions; and being, in their parts, much Superior to the other, uſually prevailed upon the King's Judgement to like what they approved: yet one of them, who had in thoſe Caſes the Aſcendent over the other, had that Exceſs of Fancy, that he too often, upon his own recollecting and revolving the grounds of the Reſolutions which had been taken, or upon the Suggeſtions of other Men, changed his own mind; and thereupon cauſed Orders to be alter'd, which produced, or were thought to produce, many Inconveniences.

THIS unſteadineſs in Counſels, and in matters reſolv'd upon, made the former Determination concerning the Garriſons, to be little conſider'd. The King's Army had lain above three Weeks at, and about *Newbury*; in which time their Numbers were nothing improved, beyond what they had been upon their Muſter near *Marlborough*, when the King was preſent. When it was known that both the Parliament Armies were marched out of *London*; That under *Eſſex* to *Windſor*; and That of *Waller*, to the parts between *Hertford*-Bridge and *Baſing*, without any purpoſe of going farther Weſt; the King's Army marched to *Reading*; and in three days, his Majeſty being preſent, they ſlighted and demoliſhed all the works of that Garriſon: And then, which was about the middle of *May*, with the Addition of thoſe Soldiers, which encreaſed the Army five and twenty hundred old Soldiers more, very well Officer'd, the Army retired to the Quarters about *Oxford*, with an opinion, that it would be in their power to Fight with one of the Enemies Armies; which they longed exceedingly to do.

Reading quitted by the King's Forces.

THE King return'd to *Oxford*, and reſolv'd to ſtay there till he could have better Information what the Enemy intended; which was not now ſo eaſy as it had formerly been. For, ſince the Conjunction with the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners in one Council, for the carrying on the War, little buſineſs was brought to be Conſulted in either of the Houſes; and there was much greater Secrecy than before; few or none being admitted into any kind of Truſt, but They whoſe Affections were known to concur to the moſt deſperate Counſels. So that the Deſigns were ſtill entirely form'd, before any part of them were communicated to the Earl of *Eſſex*; nor was more communicated at a Time than was neceſſary for the preſent Execution; of which he was ſenſible enough, but could not help it. The Intention was, "that the two Armies, which "march'd out together, ſhould afterward be diſtinct; and ſhould only

"keep together, till it appear'd what Courſe the King meant to take; "and if he ſtay'd in *Oxford*, it would be fit for both to be in the Siege; "the Circumvallation being very great, and to be divided in many "places by the River; which would keep both Armies ſtill aſunder un- "der their ſeveral Officers. But, if the King marched out, which they might reaſonably preſume he would, then the purpoſe was, "that the "Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould follow the King, wherever he went; which, they imagined, would be Northward; "and that *Waller* ſhould march into "the Weſt, and ſubdue That. So that, having ſo ſubſtantially provided for the North, by the *Scots*, and the Earl of *Mancheſter*; and having an Army under the Earl of *Eſſex*, much Superior in Number to any the King could be attended with; and the third, under *Waller*, at Liberty for the Weſt; they promiſed themſelves, and too reaſonably, that they ſhould make an End of the War that Summer.

IT was about the Tenth of *May*, that the Earl of *Eſſex* and Sr *William Waller* marched out of *London*, with both their Armies; and the very next day after the King's Army had quitted *Reading*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, from *Windſor*, ſent Forces to poſſeſs it; and recommended it to the City of *London*, to provide both Men, and all other things neceſſary for the keeping it; which the Memory of what they had ſuffer'd for the two paſt years, by being without it, eaſily diſpoſed them to do. By this means, the Earl had the Opportunity to joyn with *Waller*'s Army when he ſhould think fit; which before they could not do with Convenience, or Security. Nor did they ever after joyn in one Body, but kept at a fit Diſtance, to be able, if there were Occaſion, to help each other.

THE Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army conſiſted of all his old Troops, which had Winter'd about St *Albans*, and in *Bedfordſhire*; and being now encreaſed with four Regiments of the Train'd-bands, and Auxiliaries within the City of *London*, did not amount to leſs than ten thouſand Horſe and Foot. *Waller* had likewiſe receiv'd a large Recruit from *London*, *Kent*, and *Suſſex*; and was little inferior in Numbers to *Eſſex*, and in Reputation above him. When the King's Army retired from *Reading*, the Horſe Quarter'd about *Wantage*, and *Farrington*, and all the Foot were put into *Abingdon*, with a Reſolution to quit, or defend that Town, according to the manner of the Enemy's Advance towards it; that is, if they came upon the Eaſt ſide, where, beſides ſome indifferent Fortifications, they had the advantage of the River, they would maintain and defend it; if they came on the Weſt ſide from *Wantage*, and *Farrington*, they would draw out and Fight, if the Enemy were not by much Superior in Number; and, in that Caſe, they would retire with the whole Army to *Oxford*.

BEING ſatisfied with this Reſolution, they lay in that quiet Poſture, without making the leaſt Impreſſion upon the Enemy, by beating up his Quarters; which might eaſily have been done; or reſtraining them from making Incurſions where they had a mind; all which was imputed to the ill Humour, and Negligence of *Wilmot*. The Earl of *Eſſex* advanced with his Army towards *Abingdon*; and upon the Eaſt part of the Town; which was that which they had hoped for, in order to their Defending it. But they were no ſooner advertiſed of it, but the General, early the next Morning, marched with all the Foot out of *Abingdon*, the Horſe being come thither in the Night to make good the Retreat: and all this was done before his Majeſty had the leaſt notice,

Abingdon *quitted by the King's Forces.*

notice, or ſuſpicion of it. Aſſoon as his Majeſty was inform'd of it by Sr *Charles Blunt*, the Scout-Maſter-General, whom the General had ſent to acquaint the King with the Reſolution, he ſent Sr *Charles Blunt* back to the General, to let him know the great diſlike he had of their purpoſe to quit the Town, and to command him to ſtay, and not to advance till his Majeſty came to him; which he made all poſſible haſt to do. But before the Meſſenger could return, the Army was within ſight of *Oxford*; and ſo the Foot was drawn through the City, and the Horſe Quarter'd in the Villages about the Town.

ABINGDON was in this manner, and to the King's infinite Trouble, quitted; whither a Party of *Eſſex*'s Army came the ſame Night; and the next Day, himſelf with all his Foot enter'd the Town; his Horſe being Quarter'd about it. He then called *Waller* to bring up his Army near him, that they might reſolve in what manner to proceed; and he had his head Quarter at *Wantage*: and ſo, without the ſtriking one Blow, they got the Poſſeſſion of *Reading*, *Abingdon*; and were Maſters of all *Berk-ſhire*; and forced the King to draw his whole Army of Horſe and Foot on the North ſide of *Oxford*; where they were to feed on his own Quarters, and to conſider, how to keep *Oxford* it ſelf from being Beſieged, and the King from being incloſed in it. *Poſſeſs'd by the Earl of Eſſex.*

THIS was the deplorable Condition to which the King was reduced before the end of the Month of *May*; inſomuch that it was generally reported at *London*, "that *Oxford* was taken, and the King a Priſoner; and others more Confidently gave it out, "that his Majeſty reſolv'd to "come to *London*: of which the Parliament was not without ſome Apprehenſion, though not ſo much, as of the King's putting himſelf into the hands of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and into his Protection; which They could not endure to think of; and this troubled them ſo much, that the Committee of both Kingdoms, who Conducted the War, writ this Letter to their General.

My Lord,

"WE are credibly informed, that his Majeſty intends to come for "*London*. We deſire you, that you will do your Endeavour to inform "your ſelf of the ſame; and if you think that his Majeſty intends at "all to come to the Armies, that you acquaint us with the ſame; and "do nothing therein, until the Houſes ſhall give Direction.

SO much Jealouſy they had of the Earl, and the more, becauſe they ſaw not elſe what the King could do; who could not entertain any reaſonable Expectation of Encreaſe, or Addition of Force from the North, or from the Weſt; Prince *Rupert* being then in his march into *Lancaſhire*, for the Relief of the Earl of *Derby* (beſieged in his Caſtle of *Latham*) and Prince *Maurice* being ſtill engaged in the unfortunate Siege of *Lyme* in *Dorſet-ſhire*, a little Fiſher Town; which, after he had lain before it a Month, was much more like to hold out, than it was the firſt day he came before it. In this Perplexity, the King ſent the Lord *Hopton* to *Briſtol*, to provide better for the Security of that important City; where he knew *Waller* had many Friends; and himſelf reſolv'd yet to ſtay at *Oxford*, till he ſaw how the two Armies would diſpoſe themſelves; that, when they were ſo divided that they could not preſently joyn, he might Fight with one of them; which was the greateſt hope he had now left.

IT

IT was very happy that the two Armies lay ſo long quiet near each other, without preſſing the Advantages they had, or improving the Confuſion, and Diſtraction, which the King's Forces were, at that time, too much inclined to. Orders were given ſo to Quarter the King's Army, that it might keep the Rebels from paſſing over either of the Rivers, *Cherwel*, or *Iſis*, which run on the Eaſt and Weſt ſides of the City; the Foot being, for the moſt part, Quarter'd towards the *Cherwel*, and the Horſe, with ſome Dragoons, near the *Iſis*.

IN this poſture all the Armies lay quiet, and without Action, for the ſpace of a day; which ſomewhat compoſed the minds of thoſe within *Oxford*, and of the Troops without; which had not yet recover'd their diſlike of their having quitted *Abingdon*, and thereby of being ſo ſtreighten'd in their Quarters. Some of *Waller*'s Forces attempted to paſs the *Iſis* at *Newbridge*, but were repulſed by the King's Dragoons. But the next day *Eſſex*, with his whole Army, got over the *Thames* at *Sanford*-Ferry, and march'd to *Iſlip*, where he made his Quarters; and, in his way, made a halt upon *Bullington*-Green, that the City might take a full view of his Army, and he of It. In order to which, himſelf, with a ſmall Party of Horſe, came within Cannon-ſhot; and little Parties of Horſe came very near the Ports, and had light Skirmiſhes with ſome of the King's Horſe, without any great hurt on either ſide.

THE next Morning, a ſtrong Party of the Earl's Army endeavour'd to paſs over the *Cherwel*, at *Goſworth*-Bridge; but were repulſed by the Muſqueteers with very conſiderable loſs; and ſo retired to their Body. And now the Earl, being engaged, with his whole Army, on the Eaſt ſide of the River *Cherwel*, whereby he was diſabled to give, or receive any ſpeedy Aſſiſtance to, or from *Waller*; the King reſolv'd to attempt the repoſſeſſing himſelf of *Abingdon*, and to take the Opportunity to Fight with *Waller* ſingly, before he could be reliev'd from the other Army. In order to this, all the Foot were in the Evening drawn off from the Guard of the Paſſes, and march'd through *Oxford* in the Night towards *Abingdon*; and the Earl of *Cleveland*, a Man of ſignal Courage, and an excellent Officer upon any bold Enterpriſe, advanced, with a Party of one hundred and fifty Horſe, to the Town it ſelf; where there were a thouſand Foot, and four hundred Horſe of *Waller*'s Army; and enter'd the ſame, and kill'd many, and took ſome Priſoners: but upon the Alarm, he was ſo overpower'd, that his Priſoners eſcaped, though he killed the Chief Commander, and made his Retreat good, with the loſs only of two Officers, and as many Common Soldiers; and ſo, both the attempt upon *Abingdon* was given over, and the deſign of Fighting *Waller* laid aſide; and the Army return'd again to their old Poſt, on the North ſide of *Oxford*.

Sr *Jacob Aſtley* undertook the Command himſelf at *Goſworth*-Bridge, where he perceiv'd the Earl intended to force his Paſſage; and preſently caſt up Breaſt-works, and made a Redoubt for the Defence of his Men, and Repulſed the Enemy, the ſecond Time, very much to their Damage and Loſs; who renew'd their Aſſault two or three days together, and planted Cannon to facilitate their paſſage; which did little hurt; but they ſtill loſt many Men in the Attempt. On the other ſide, *Waller*'s Forces from *Abingdon* did not find the new Bridge ſo well defended; but overpowering thoſe Guards, and having got Boats, in which they put over their Men, both above and below, they got that Paſſage over the River *Iſis*: by which they might have brought over

all

all their Army, and fallen upon the King's Rear, whilſt he was defending the other ſide.

IT was now high time for the King to provide for his own ſecurity, and to eſcape the danger he was in, of being ſhut up in *Oxford*. *Waller* loſt no time, but the next day paſſed over five thouſand Horſe and Foot, by *Newbridge*: the Van whereof Quarter'd at *Enſam*, and, the King's Foot being drawn off from *Goſworth*-Bridge, *Eſſex* immediately brought his Men over the *Cherwel*; and Quarter'd that night at *Blechingdon*; many of his Horſe advancing to *Woodſtock*; ſo that the King ſeem'd to Them to be perfectly ſhut in between them; and to his own People, his Condition ſeem'd ſo deſperate, that one of thoſe with whom he uſed to adviſe in his moſt Secret Affairs, and whoſe Fidelity was never ſuſpected, propoſed to him to render himſelf, upon Conditions, to the Earl of *Eſſex*; which his Majeſty rejected with great Indignation; yet had the Goodneſs to conceal the Name of the Propoſer; and ſaid, "that "poſſibly he might be found in the hands of the Earl of *Eſſex*, but he "would be dead firſt. Word was given, "for all the Horſe to be together, "at ſuch an Hour, to expect Orders; and a good Body of Foot with Cannon, march'd through the Town towards *Abingdon*; by which, it was concluded, that both Armies would be amuſed, and *Waller* induced to draw back over *Newbridge*: and, aſſoon as it was Evening, the Foot, and Cannon, return'd to their old Poſt on the North ſide.

THE King reſolv'd, for the Encouragement of the Lords of the Council, and the Perſons of Quality who were in *Oxford*, to leave his Son the Duke of *York* there; and promiſed, if they ſhould be Beſieged, "to "do all he could to relieve them, before they ſhould be reduced to Ex- "tremity. He appointed then, "that two thouſand and five hundred "choice Muſqueteers ſhould be drawn out of the whole Foot, under "the Command of Sr *Jacob Aſtley*, and four experienced Colonels; all "which ſhould, without Colours, repair to the place where the Horſe "attended to receive Orders, and that the reſt of the Foot ſhould re- "main together on the North ſide, and ſo be applied to the Defence of "*Oxford*, if it ſhould be Beſieged.

ALL things being in this order, on *Monday* the third of *June*, about nine of the Clock at Night, the King, with the Prince, and thoſe Lords, and others who were appointed to attend him, and many others of Quality who were not appointed, and only thought themſelves leſs ſecure if they ſhould ſtay behind, marched out of the North Port, attended by his own Troop, to the place where the Horſe, and commanded Foot, waited to receive them; and from thence, without any halt, march'd between the two Armies, and by Day-break were at *Hanborough*, ſome miles beyond all their Quarters. But the King reſted not till the Afternoon, when he found himſelf at *Burford*; and then concluded that he was in no danger to be overtaken by any Army that was to follow with Baggage, and a Train of Artillery: ſo that he was content to refreſh his Men there; and ſupp'd himſelf; yet was not without Apprehenſion that he might be follow'd by a Body of the Enemies Horſe; and therefore, about nine of the Clock, he continued his March from *Burford* over the *Cotſwold*, and by Mid-night reached *Burton* upon the Water; where he gave himſelf, and his wearied Troops, more reſt and refreſhment.

THE Morning after the King left *Oxford*, the Foot marched again through *Oxford*, as if they meant to go to *Abingdon*, to continue that

Amuſement which the day before had prevailed with *Waller*, to ſend many of his Men back, and to delay his own Advance; and likewiſe, that Quarters might be provided for them againſt their return; which they did by Noon. The Earl of *Eſſex* had that Morning, from *Blechingdon*, ſent ſome Horſe to take a view of *Oxford*; and to learn what was doing there. And they ſeeing the Colours ſtanding, as they had done two days before, made him conclude, that the King was ſtill there, and as much in his power as ever. *Waller* had earlier Intelligence of his Majeſty's motion, and ſent a good Body of Horſe to follow him, and to retard his March, till he could come up: and his Horſe made ſuch haſt, that they found in *Burford* ſome of the ſtraggling Soldiers, who out of wearineſs, or for love of Drink, had ſtaid behind their Fellows. The Earl of *Eſſex* follow'd likewiſe with his Army, and Quarter'd at *Chippen-Norton*; and *Waller*'s Horſe were as far as *Broadway*, when the King had reach'd *Eveſham*; where he intended to reſt, as in a ſecure place; though his Garriſon at *Tewkesbury* had been, the Night before, ſurpriſed by a ſtrong Party from *Gloceſter*; the Chief Officers being kill'd, and the reſt taken Priſoners; moſt of the Common Soldiers making their Eſcape, and coming to *Eveſham*. But, upon Intelligence that both Armies follow'd by ſtrong marches, and it being poſſible that they might get over the River *Avon* about *Stratford*, or ſome other place, and ſo get between the King and *Worceſter*, his Majeſty changed his purpoſe of ſtaying at *Eveſham*, and preſently march'd to *Worceſter*; having given order for the breaking of the Bridge at *Parſhore*; which was, unwarily, ſo near done before all the Troops were paſs'd, that, by the ſuddain falling of an Arch, Major *Bridges*, of the Prince's Regiment, a Man of good Courage and Conduct, with two or three other Officers of Horſe, and about twenty common Men, fell unfortunately into the *Avon*, and were drown'd.

The Earl of Eſſex *marches towards the Weſt*;

THE Earl of *Eſſex*, when he ſaw the King was got full two days March before him, and that it was impoſſible ſo to overtake him, as to bring him into their Power, reſolv'd to purſue him no farther, but to conſult what was elſe to be done; and, to that purpoſe, called a Council of all the principal Officers of both Armies, to attend him at *Burford*; where it was reſolv'd, "that *Waller*, who had the lighter "Ordnance, and the leſs Carriages, ſhould have ſuch an Addition of "Forces, as *Maſſey*, the Governour of *Gloceſter*, ſhould be able to "furniſh him with; and ſo ſhould purſue and follow the King, where-"ſoever he ſhould go; and that the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had the greater "Ordnance, and the heavier Carriages, ſhould proſecute the other De-"ſign of relieving *Lyme*, and reducing the Weſt to the Obedience of "the Parliament.

WALLER oppoſed this Reſolution all he could; and urged ſome Order, and Determination of the Committee of both Kingdoms in the point; and, "that the Weſt was aſſign'd to Him, as His Province, when "the two Armies ſhould think fit to ſever from each other. However, *Eſſex* gave him poſitive Orders, as his General, "to march according "to the advice of the Council of War; which he durſt not diſobey, but ſent grievous Complaints to the Parliament, of the uſage he was forced to ſubmit to. And they at *Weſtminſter*, were ſo incenſed againſt the Earl of *Eſſex*, that they writ a very angry, and imperious Letter to him, in which they reproach'd him, "for not ſubmitting to the Di-"rections which They had given; and required him "to follow their

"former Directions, and to ſuffer *Waller* to attend the Service of the "Weſt. Which Letter was brought to him before he had marched above two days Weſtward. But the Earl choſe rather to Anſwer their Letter, than to Obey their Order; and writ to them, "that their Directions "had been contrary to the Diſcipline of War, and to Reaſon; and that, "if he ſhould now return, it would be a great Encouragement to the "Enemy in all places; and Subſcribed his Letter, "Your innocent, "though ſuſpected Servant, *Eſſex*; and then proſecuted his Reſolution, and continued his March for the Weſt.

Waller *towards* Worceſter, *after the King.*

WHEN *Waller* found there was no remedy, he obeyed his Orders with much Diligence and Vigour; and proſecuted his Match towards *Worceſter*, where his Majeſty then was; and, in his way, perſwaded, rather than forced, the Garriſon of *Sudely* Caſtle, the ſtrong Houſe of the Lord *Chandois*, to deliver up that place to him. The Lord of that Caſtle was a young Man of Spirit and Courage; and had, for two Years, ſerv'd the King very bravely in the head of a Regiment of Horſe, which himſelf had raiſed at his own Charge; but had lately, out of pure wearineſs of the Fatigue, and having ſpent moſt of his Money, and without any Diminution of his Affection, left the King, under pretence of Travel; but making *London* his way, he gave himſelf up to the pleaſures of that place; which he enjoy'd, without Conſidering the Iſſue of the War, or ſhewing any Inclination to the Parliament; nor did he, in any degree, contribute to the delivery of his Houſe; which was at firſt imagined, becauſe it was ſo ill, or not at all defended. It was under the Government of Sr *William Morton*, a Gentleman of the long Robe; who, in the beginning of the War, caſt off his Gown, as many other gallant Men of that Profeſſion of the Law did, and ſerv'd as Lieutenant Colonel in the Regiment of Horſe under the Lord *Chandois*; and had given ſo frequent Teſtimony of ſignal Courage in ſeveral Actions, in which he had receiv'd many wounds, both by the Piſtol and the Sword, that his Mettle was never ſuſpected; and his Fidelity as little queſtion'd: and after many Years of Impriſonment, ſuſtain'd with great Firmneſs and Conſtancy, he lived to receive the Reward of his Merit, after the Return of the King: who made him firſt a Serjeant at Law, and afterwards a Judge of the King's Bench; where he ſate many years, and diſcharged the Office with much Gravity and Learning; and was very terrible to thoſe who choſe to live by Robbing on the High-way. He was unfortunate, though without Fault, in the giving up that Caſtle in ſo unſeaſonable a Conjuncture; which was done by the Faction and Artifice of an Officer within, who had found means to go out to *Waller*, and to acquaint him with the great wants of the Garriſon; which indeed had not plenty of any thing: and ſo, by the Mutiny of the Soldiers, it was given up; and the Governour made Priſoner, and ſent to the Tower; where he remain'd ſome Years after the end of the War. From hence *Waller*, with great Expedition, marched to *Eveſham*; where the evil Inhabitants receiv'd him willingly; and had, aſſoon as the King left them, repair'd their Bridge over the *Avon*, to facilitate his coming to them; which he could not elſe ſo ſoon have done.

THE King reſted ſome days at *Worceſter*, whereby he very much refreſhed his Troops, which were there ſpared from doing duty; and likewiſe, by the Loyalty of that good Town, and the Affection of the Gentry of that County, who retired thither for their Security, he procured both Shoes and Stockings, and Money for his Soldiers: and

then, upon good Information, that *Waller* was marched out of *Eveſham* with his whole Army towards *Worceſter*, which he would probably Beſiege, the King reſolv'd not to be found there; and therefore, having left that City well provided, and in good heart, his Majeſty removed with his little Army to *Bewdley*, that he might keep the River *Severn* between Him and the Enemy; the Foot being Quarter'd together at *Bewdley*, and the Horſe by the ſide of the River towards *Bridgenorth*. The poſture in which the King was, made *Waller* conclude that his Majeſty intended his Courſe to *Shrewsbury*, and to the more Northern Parts. And it is true, that, without any ſuch Reſolution, Orders were ſent to *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgenorth*, *Ludlow*, and other Garriſons, "that "they ſhould make all poſſible Proviſions of Corn, and other Victual; "which they ſhould cauſe, in great Quantities, to be brought thither; which confirm'd *Waller* in his former Conjecture, and made him advance with his Army beyond the King, that he might be nearer *Shrewsbury* than He. But, God knows, the King was without any other Deſign, than to avoid the Enemy; with whom he could not, with ſuch a handful of Foot, and without Cannon, propoſe reaſonably to fight a Battle: and he had too many good Reaſons againſt going to either of thoſe places, or to thoſe parts, which *Waller* conceiv'd him inclined to; and his Majeſty might well aſſume the Complaint, and Expreſſion of King *David*, "that he *was hunted as a Patridge upon the Mountains*; and knew not whither to reſort, or to what place to repair for reſt.

IN this Perplexity, it looked like the Bounty of Providence, that *Waller* was advanced ſo far: upon which, the King took a ſuddain Reſolution, to return with all Expedition to *Worceſter*, and to make haſt to *Eveſham*; where, having broke the Bridge, and ſo left the River of *Avon* at his Back, he might be able, by quick Marches, to joyn with that part of his Army, which he had left at *Oxford*; and might thereby be in a Condition to Fight with *Waller*, and to proſecute any other Deſign. Upon this good Reſolution, care was taken for all the Boats to come both from *Bridgenorth*, and *Worceſter*, that the Foot might, with the more ſpeed and eaſe, be carried thither; all which ſucceeded to wiſh. Inſomuch, that the next day, being embarqued early in the Morning, the Foot arriv'd ſo ſoon at *Worceſter*, that they might very well have marched that Night to *Eveſham*, but that many of the Horſe, which were Quarter'd beyond *Bewdely* towards *Bridgenorth*, could not poſſibly march at that rate, nor come up ſoon enough; ſo that it was neceſſary that both Horſe and Foot ſhould remain that Night together at *Worceſter*; which they did accordingly.

THE next Morning, the King found no cauſe to alter any thing in his former Reſolution; and receiv'd good Intelligence, that *Waller*, without knowing any thing of his Motion, remained ſtill in his old Quarters; whereupon he marched very faſt to *Eveſham*; nor would he ſtay there; but gave order for the Horſe and Foot, without delay, to march through it; after he had provided for the breaking down the Bridge, and made the Inhabitants of the Town pay two hundred Pounds, for their alacrity in the reception of *Waller*; and likewiſe compelled them to deliver a thouſand pair of Shoes for the uſe of the Soldiers; which, without any long pauſe, was ſubmitted to, and perform'd. Then the Army marched that Night to *Broadway*, where they Quarter'd; and very early the next Morning, they mounted the Hills near *Cambden*; and there they had time to breath, and, to look with pleaſure on the

places they had paſſed through; having now left *Waller*, and the ill ways he muſt paſs, far enough behind; for even in that Seaſon of the Year, the ways in that Vale were very deep.

Now the King ſent Colonel *Fielding*, and leſt he might miſcarry (for both from *Gloceſter*, *Tewkesbury*, and *Sudely*-Caſtle, the Enemy had many Scouts abroad) two or three other Meſſengers, to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, to let them know "of his happy Return; "and that he meant to Quarter that Night at *Burford*; and the next, "at *Whitney*; where he did expect, that all his Foot, with their Colours "and Cannon, would meet him; which, with unſpeakable Joy, they did. So that, on *Thurſday* the twentieth of *June*, which was within ſeventeen days after he had left *Oxford* in that diſconſolate Condition, the King found himſelf in the head of his Army, from which he had been ſo ſevered, after ſo many Accidents and melancholick Perplexities, to which Majeſty has been ſeldom expoſed. Nor can all the Circumſtances of that peregrination be too particularly, and punctually ſet down. For as they adminiſter'd much delight after they were paſſed, and gave them great Argument of acknowledging God's good Providence in the preſervation of the King, and, in a manner, ſnatching him as a Brand out of the Fire, and redeeming him even out of the hands of the Rebels; ſo it cannot be ungrateful, or without ſome pleaſure to poſterity, to ſee the moſt exact Relation of an Action ſo full of danger in all reſpects, and of an Eſcape ſo remarkable. And now the King thought himſelf in a poſture not only to abide *Waller*, if he approached towards him, but to follow and find him out, if he had a mind, or did endeavour to decline fighting with his Majeſty.

In the ſhort time the King had been abſent, the Garriſon at *Oxford* was not idle. When the King in the Spring had prepared for the Field, and in order thereunto had drawn out the Garriſon at *Reading*, it was thought to no purpoſe to keep leſſer Garriſons, at a leſs diſtance from *Oxford*; and thereupon the Garriſon at *Boſtal*-Houſe, reputed a ſtrong place, upon the Edge of *Oxford-ſhire* and *Buckinham-ſhire*, was appointed to demoliſh the Works and Fortifications, and to retire, and joyn with the Army: which was no ſooner done, but the Garriſon at *Aylesbury*, that had felt the Effects of the others ill Neighbourhood, poſſeſſed the place, and put a Garriſon into it; which, after the King had left *Oxford*, and both the Armies of *Eſſex* and *Waller*, were gone from before it, gave little leſs Trouble to that City, and obſtructed the Proviſions which ſhould come thither, almoſt as much as one of the Armies had done. This brought great complaints and clamour from the Country, and from the Town, to the Lords of the Council; and was ever made an Excuſe for their not complying with the Commands they ſent out, for Labourers to work upon the Fortifications; which was the principal work in hand; or for any other ſervice of the Town. When both Armies were drawn off to ſuch a diſtance in following the King, that there ſeemed for the preſent no reaſonable apprehenſion of being beſieged, the Lords conſider'd of a Remedy to apply to this evil from *Boſtal*-Houſe; and receiving encouragement from Colonel *Gage* (of whom they had a great eſteem, and of whom we ſhall ſpeak ſhortly more at large) who offer'd to undertake the reducing it, they appointed a Party of commanded Men of the Foot, which the King had left there, with three pieces of Cannon, and a Troop of Horſe of the Town, to obey His Orders, who, by the break of day, appear'd before the place; and

in a ſhort time, with little reſiſtance, got poſſeſſion of the Church, and the Out-Houſes, and then batter'd the Houſe it ſelf with his Cannon; which they within, would not long endure; but defired a Parley. Upon which the Houſe was render'd, with the Ammunition, one piece of Ordinance, which was all they had; and much good proviſion of Victual, whereof they had plenty for Horſe and Man; and had Liberty given them to go away with their Armes, and Horſes; very eaſy Conditions for ſo ſtrong a Poſt; which was obtain'd with the loſs of one Inferior Officer, and two or three Common Men. Here the Colonel left a Garriſon, that did not only defend *Oxford* from thoſe miſchievous Incurſions, but did very near ſupport it ſelf, by the Contribution it drew from *Buckingham-ſhire*, beſides the Prey it frequently took from the very neighbourhood of *Aylesbury*.

THE Earl of *Eſſex*, by ſlow and eaſy Marches, and without any Oppoſition or Trouble, enter'd into *Dorſet-ſhire*; and by his great Civility, and Affability towards all Men, and the very good Diſcipline in his Army, wrought very much upon the People. Inſomuch that his Forces rather encreaſed, than diminiſhed; which had, during his being before *Oxford*, been much leſſen'd, not only by the Numbers which were kill'd and hurt, but by the running away of many, whilſt the ſharp Encounters continued at *Goſworth*-Bridge. It can hardly be imagin'd, how great a Difference there was in the humour, diſpoſition, and manner of the Army under *Eſſex*, and the other under *Waller*, in their behaviour and humanity towards the People; and, conſequently, in the Reception they found among them; the demeanour, and carriage of thoſe under *Waller* being much more ungentlemanly, and barbarous, than that of the other: beſides that the People, in all places, were not without ſome Affection, and even Reverence towards the Earl, who, as well upon his own account, as the memory of his Father, had been always univerſally popular.

WHEN he came to *Blandford*, he had a great mind to make himſelf Maſter of *Weymouth*, if he could compaſs it without engaging his Army before it; which he reſolv'd Not to do; however it was little out of his way to paſs near it. Colonel *Aſhburnham*, then Governour of *Weymouth*, was made choice of for that Command, upon the Opinion of his Courage, and Dexterity; and, to make way for him, Sr *Anthony Aſhley Cooper* had been, the Year before, removed from that Charge; and was thereby ſo much diſobliged, that he quitted the King's Party, and gave himſelf up, Body and Soul, to the Service of the Parliament, with an implacable Animoſity againſt the Royal Intereſt. The Colonel had been intent upon other things, and not enough ſollicitous to finiſh the Fortifications, which were not ſtrong enough to defy an Army, yet too ſtrong to be deliver'd upon the Approach of one. I ſhall ſay the leſs of this matter, becauſe the Governour afterwards preſſed to have the whole examin'd before a Council of War, where he produced a Warrant, under the hand of Prince *Maurice*, "that, the Town being un-"tenable, he ſhould, upon the advance of the Earl of *Eſſex*, put a ſuf-"ficient ſtrength into *Portland*-Caſtle, and retire thither; which he had done; and was, by the Council of War, abſolv'd from any Crime. Yet, the truth is, however abſolv'd, he loſt Reputation by it; and was thought to have left the Town too ſoon, though he meant to have return'd again, after he had viſited *Portland*. But in the mean time the Townſmen mutiny'd, and ſent to the Earl of *Eſſex* when he was near the Town; whereupon

Weymouth *deliver'd to the Earl of* Eſſex.

whereupon he came thither; which he would not otherwiſe have done; and gave the Garriſon leave to march with their Armes to Prince *Maurice*; and ſo became Maſter of *Weymouth*; and leaving Men enough out of the Country to defend it, without any delay, he proſecuted his march to *Lyme*; from whence Prince *Maurice*, upon the news of the loſs of *Weymouth*, had retired with haſt enough towards *Exeter*, with a Body of full five and twenty hundred Foot, and eighteen hundred Horſe; after he had put a Garriſon of five hundred Men into *Wareham*, and with ſome loſs of Reputation, for having lain ſo long with ſuch a ſtrength before ſo vile and untenable a place, without reducing it.

Lyme *reliev'd by him.*

ASSOON as the King had joyn'd his Army at *Whitney*, which now conſiſted of full five thouſand five hundred Foot, and very near four thouſand Horſe, with a convenient Train of Artillery, he reſolv'd no longer to live upon his own Quarters, which had been too much waſted by Friends and Enemies; but to viſit the Enemies Country; and ſo, the next day, he march'd towards *Buckingham*; where he would ſtay, and expect *Waller* (of whoſe motion he yet heard nothing) and from whence, if he appear'd not, his Majeſty might enter into the Aſſociated Counties, and ſo proceed Northward, if, upon Intelligence from thence, he found it reaſonable. Whilſt the King ſtaid at *Buckingham*, and thought himſelf now in a good Condition to fight with the Enemy (his Troops, every day bringing in ſtore of Proviſions, and, being now in a Country where they were not expected, met with many Cart-loads of Wine, Grocery, and Tobacco, which were paſſing, as in ſecure roads, from *London* to *Coventry*, and *Warwick*; all which were very welcome to *Buckingham*) a new, and unexpected Trouble fell upon him by the ill humour, and Faction in his own Army. *Wilmot* continued ſtill ſullen and perverſe, and every day grew more inſolent; and had contracted ſuch an Animoſity againſt the Lord *Digby*, and the Maſter of the Rolls, that he perſwaded many Officers of the Army, eſpecially of the Horſe, where he was moſt entirely obeyed, to joyn in a Petition to the King, "that thoſe two Counſellors might be excluded, and be no more preſent "in Councils of War; which they promiſed to do.

WALLER remain'd ſtill in *Worceſter-ſhire*; upon which it was again Conſulted, what the King was to do. Some propoſed "the marching "preſently into the Aſſociated Counties; others, "to loſe no time in endeavouring to joyn with Prince *Rupert*. *Wilmot*, without ever communicating it with the King, poſitively adviſed, "that they might pre- "ſently march towards *London*, and now both their Generals, and Ar- "mies were far from them, make tryal what the true affection of the "City was; and that, when the Army was march'd as far as St *Albans*, "the King ſhould ſend ſuch a gracious Meſſage both to the Parliament, "and City, as was moſt like to prevail upon them; and concluded, as if he knew "that this way of Proceeding would be very much approv'd "of by the Army. This extravagant motion, with all the Circumſtances of it, troubled the King very much; yet he thought not fit abſolutely to reject it, leſt it might promote that Petition, which he knew was framing among the Officers; but wiſh'd them, "that ſuch a Meſſage "ſhould be prepared, and then that he would Communicate both that, "and what concern'd his march towards *London*, to the Lords of the "Council at *Oxford*; that in ſo weighty an Affair he might receive Their "Counſel. To that purpoſe the Lord *Digby*, and the Maſter of the Rolls, were ſent to *Oxford*; who, after two days, return'd without any Approbation

probation of the march, or the Meſſage by the Lords. But all that Intrigue fell of it ſelf, upon the ſure Intelligence, "that *Waller* had left "*Worceſter-ſhire*, and marched, with what ſpeed he could, to find his "Majeſty; which gave new Argument of Debate.

WHEN the King had ſo dextrouſly deceiv'd, and eluded him by his quick march to and from *Worceſter*, *Waller*, who had not timely Information of it, and leſs ſuſpected it, thought it not to the purpoſe to tire his Army with long marches in hope to overtake him; but firſt ſhew'd it at all the Walls of *Worceſter*, to terrify that City, which had contemn'd his power a year before, when it was not ſo well able to reſiſt it. But he quickly diſcern'd he could do no good there: then he marched towards *Gloceſter*, having ſent to Colonel *Maſſey* to ſend him ſome Men out of *Gloceſter*; which he, being a Creature of *Eſſex*'s, refuſed to do. Upon this Denial, he march'd into *Warwick-ſhire*; and appointed his Rendezvous in *Keinton* Field, the place where the firſt Battle was fought. There he receiv'd an addition of ſeven Troops of Horſe, and about ſix hundred Foot, from *Warwick* and from *Coventry*, with eleven pieces of Ordnance. With this Recruit he march'd confidently towards the King; of which his Majeſty being inform'd, that he might the ſooner meet him, he march'd with his Army to *Brackley*, when *Waller* was near *Banbury*; and the Armies coming ſhortly in view of each other, upon a fair Sun-ſhine in the Afternoon, after a very wet Morning, both endeavour'd to poſſeſs a piece of Ground they well knew to be of Advantage; which being nearer to *Waller*, and the King paſſing his whole Army through the Town of *Banbury*, before he could come to it, *Waller* had firſt his Men upon it in good Order of Battle, before the King could reach thither: ſo that the King lay that Night in the Field, half a mile Eaſt of *Banbury*, the River of *Cherwel* being between the two Armies.

The fight at Cropredy-Bridge.

THE King reſolv'd to make *Waller* draw off from that Advantage ground, where he had ſtood two days; and in order thereunto, march'd away, as if he would enter further into *Northampton ſhire*: and he no ſooner moved, but *Waller* likewiſe drew off from his ground, and coaſted on the other ſide of the River, but at ſuch a diſtance, that it was thought he had no mind to be engaged. The Van of the King's Army was led by the General, and *Wilmot*: in the Body was the King, and the Prince, and the Rear conſiſted of one thouſand commanded Foot, under Colonel *Thelwell*, with the Earl of *Northampton*'s and the Earl of *Cleveland*'s Brigades of Horſe. And, that the Enemy might not be able to take any advantage, a Party of Dragoons was ſent to keep *Cropredy*-Bridge, until the Army was paſſed beyond it. The Army marching in this order, Intelligence was brought to the King, "that there was a "Body of three hundred Horſe, within leſs than two miles of the Van "of the Army, that march'd to joyn with *Waller*; and that they might "be eaſily cut off, if the Army mended their pace. Whereupon, Orders were ſent to the foremoſt Horſe, "that they ſhould move faſter, the Van and the middle having the ſame Directions, without any notice given to the Rear. *Waller* quickly diſcern'd the great diſtance that was ſuddainly grown between the King's Body and his Rear, and preſently advanced with fifteen hundred Horſe, one thouſand Foot, and eleven pieces of Cannon to *Cropredy*-Bridge, which were quickly too ſtrong for the Dragoons that were left to keep it, and which made a very faint Reſiſtance: ſo that this Party advanced above half a mile, purſuing their

their Deſign of cutting off the King's Rear, before they ſhould be able to get up to the Body of the Army. To facilitate this Execution, he had ſent one thouſand Horſe more, to paſs over at a Ford a mile below *Cropredy*-Bridge, and to fall upon the Rear of all. Timely notice being given of this to the Earl of *Cleveland*, who was in the Van of that Diviſion, and "of the Enemies having paſſed at *Cropedy* (which was confirm'd by the running of the Horſe, and ſcatter'd Foot) "and that there "ſtood two Bodies of Horſe without moving, and faced the Army: Thereupon the Earl preſently drew up his Brigade to a riſing ground that faced that paſs, where he diſcern'd a great Body of the Rebels Horſe drawn up, and ready to have fallen upon his Rear. It was no time to expect Orders; but the Earl, led by his own great Spirit, Charged preſently that body with great fury, which ſuſtain'd it not with equal Courage; loſing a Cornet, and many Priſoners.

THIS Alarm had quickly reached the King, who ſent to the Van to return, and himſelf drew up thoſe about him, to a little Hill beyond the Bridge; where he ſaw the Enemy preparing for a ſecond Charge upon the Earl of *Cleveland*. The King commanded the Lord *Bernard Stuart*, a valiant young Gentleman, who commanded his own Guards, "to make haſt to the Aſſiſtance of the Rear; and, in his way, to Charge "thoſe two Bodies of Horſe which faced his Majeſty. He, with above a hundred of gallant and ſtout Gentlemen, return'd inſtantly over the Bridge, and made haſt towards thoſe two Bodies of Horſe; who, ſeeing their fellows Routed by the Earl of *Cleveland*, were then advancing to Charge him in the Flank, as he was following the Execution. But the preſence of this Troop made them change their mind; and, after a very little ſtay, accompany their fellows in their Flight; which very much facilitated the Defeat, that quickly enſued.

THE Earl of *Cleveland*, after his ſhort encounter, made a ſtand under a great Aſh (where the King had but half an hour before ſtay'd and dined) not underſtanding what the Enemy could mean by advancing ſo faſt, and then flying ſo ſoon; when he perceiv'd a Body of their Horſe of ſixteen Cornets, and as many Colours of Foot, placed within the Hedges, and all within Muſquet ſhot of him, and advancing upon him; which He likewiſe did upon Them with notable vigour; and having ſtood their Muſquet and Carabine ſhot, he Charged them ſo furiouſly, being reſolutely ſeconded by all the Officers of his Brigade, that he Routed both Horſe and Foot, and chaſed them with good Execution beyond their Cannon: all which, being eleven pieces, were taken; with two Barricadoes of Wood, which were drawn upon Wheels, and in each ſeven ſmall Braſs and Leather Guns, charged with Caſe-ſhot; moſt of their Cannoneers were killed, and the General of their Ordinance taken Priſoner. This Man, one *Weemes*, a *Scots*-man, had been as much obliged by the King, as a Man of His condition could be, and in a manner very unpopular: for he was made Maſter-Gunner of *England*, with a Penſion of three hundred pounds *per annum* for his life (which was looked upon as ſome diſreſpect to the *Engliſh* Nation) and having never done the King the leaſt Service, he took the firſt opportunity to Diſſerve him; and having been engaged againſt him, from the beginning of the Rebellion, he was now preferr'd by them, for his eminent Diſloyalty, to be General of the Ordinance in the Army of Sr *William Waller*; who was very much adviſed by him in all matters of Importance. Beſides *Weemes*, there was taken Priſoner *Baker*, Lieutenant Colonel

to Sr *William Waller*'s own Regiment, and five or ſix Lieutenant Colonels, and Captains, of as good Names as were amongſt them; with many Lieutenants, Enſigns, and Cornets, Quartermaſters; and above one hundred Common Soldiers; many more being ſlain in the Charge. The Earl purſued them as far as the Bridge; over which he forced them to retire, in ſpight of their Dragoons, which were placed there to make good their Retreat: all which fled with them, or before. And ſo the Earl, having clear'd that ſide of the River, and not knowing how far he was from the Army, retired, as he had good reaſon to do; having loſt, in this notable Action, two Colonels, Sr *William Boteler*, and Sr *William Clarke*, both Gentlemen of *Kent*, of fair Fortunes, who had raiſed, and arm'd their Regiments at their own Charge; who were both kill'd dead upon the place, with one Captain more of another Regiment, and not above fourteen Common Soldiers.

AT the ſame time, the Earl of *Northampton* diſcover'd that Party of the Enemies Horſe, which had found a paſſage over the River a mile below, to follow him in the Rear; and preſently faced about with thoſe Regiments of his Brigade. Upon which, without enduring the Charge, the whole Body betook themſelves to flight, and got over the paſs they had ſo newly been acquainted with, with little loſs, becauſe they prevented the Danger; though many of them, when they were got over, continued their flight ſo far, as if they were ſtill purſued, that they never return'd again to their Army. The Lord *Bernard*, with the King's Troop, ſeeing there was no Enemy left on that ſide, drew up in a large Field oppoſite to the Bridge; where he ſtood, whilſt the Cannon, on the other ſide, play'd upon him, until his Majeſty and the reſt of the Army paſſed by them, and drew into a Body upon the Fields near *Wilſcot*. *Waller* inſtantly quitted *Cropredy*, and drew up his whole Army upon the high grounds, which are between *Cropredy* and *Hanwell*, oppoſite to the King's Quarters about a mile; the River of *Cherwel*, and ſome low grounds, being between both Armies; which had a full view of each other.

IT was now about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, the Weather very fair, and very warm (it being the 29th day of *June*) and the King's Army being now together, his Majeſty reſolv'd to proſecute his good Fortune, and to go to the Enemy, ſince They would not come to Him: and to that purpoſe, ſent two good Parties, to make way for him to paſs both at *Cropredy*-Bridge, and the other paſs a mile below; over which the Enemy had ſo newly paſſed: both which places were ſtrongly guarded by them. To *Cropredy* they ſent ſuch ſtrong Bodies of Foot, to relieve each other as they ſhould be preſſed, that thoſe ſent by the King thither could make no Impreſſion upon them; but were repulſed, till the Night came, and ſevered them; all Parties being tired with the Duty of the Day. But they who were ſent to the other paſs, a mile below; after a ſhort Reſiſtance, gained it, and a Mill adjoyning; where, after they had kill'd ſome, they took the reſt Priſoners; and from thence, did not only defend themſelves, that, and the next Day, but did the Enemy much hurt; expecting ſtill that their Fellows ſhould maſter the other paſs, that ſo they might advance together.

HERE the King was prevailed with to make trial of another Expedient. Some Men, from the Conference they had with the Priſoners, others from other Intelligence, made no doubt, but that if a Meſſage were now ſent of Grace and Pardon to all the Officers and Soldiers of that

that Army, they would forthwith lay down their Armes: and it was very notorious, that Multitudes ran every day from thence. How this Meſſage ſhould be ſent, ſo that it might be effectually deliver'd, was the only Queſtion that remain'd: and it was agreed, "that Sr *Edward Walker* (who was both Garter King at Armes, and Secretary to the Council of War) "ſhould be ſent to publiſh that his Majeſty's Grace. But he wiſely deſired, "that a Trumpet might be firſt ſent for a Paſs; the barbarity of that People being notorious, that they regarded not the Laws of Armes, or of Nations. Whereupon a Trumpet was ſent to Sr *William Waller*, to deſire "a ſafe Conduct for a Gentleman, who "ſhould deliver a gracious Meſſage from his Majeſty. After two hours Conſideration, he return'd Anſwer, "that he had no power to receive "any Meſſage of Grace, or Favour from his Majeſty, without the Con-"ſent of the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, to whom his "Majeſty, if he pleaſed, might make his addreſſes. And aſſoon as the Trumpet was gone, as an Evidence of his Reſolution, he cauſed above twenty ſhot of his greateſt Cannon to be made at the King's Army, and as near the place as they could, where his Majeſty uſed to be.

WHEN both Armies had ſtood upon the ſame ground, and in the ſame Poſture, for the ſpace of two Days, they both drew off to a greater Diſtance from each other; and, from that time, never ſaw each other. It then quickly appear'd, by *Waller*'s ſtill keeping more aloof from the King, and his marching up and down from *Buckingham*, ſometimes towards *Northampton*, and ſometimes towards *Warwick*, that he was without other deſign, than of recruiting his Army; and that the Defeat of that day at *Cropredy* was much greater, than it then appear'd to be; and that it even broke the heart of his Army. And it is very probable, that if the King, after he had reſted and refreſhed his Men three or four days, which was very neceſſary, in regard they were exceedingly tired with continual Duty, beſides that the Proviſions would not hold longer in the ſame Quarters, had followed *Waller*, when it was evident He would not follow the King, he might have deſtroy'd that Army without fighting: for it appear'd afterwards, without it's being purſued, that within fourteen days after that Action at *Cropredy*, *Waller*'s Army, that before conſiſted of eight thouſand, was ſo much waſted, that there remain'd not with him half that Number.

BUT the truth is, from the time that the King diſcover'd that mutinous Spirit in the Officers, govern'd by *Wilmot*, at *Buckingham*, he was unſatisfied with the Temper of his own Army, and did not deſire a through Engagement, till he had a little time to reform ſome, whom he reſolv'd never more heartily to truſt; and to undeceive others, who, he knew, were miſled without any malice, or evil Intention. But when he now found himſelf ſo much at Liberty from two great Armies, which had ſo ſtreightly encompaſſed him, within little more than a Month; and that he had, upon the matter, defeated one of them, and reduced it to a State, in which it could, for the preſent, do him little harm; his heart was at no eaſe, with apprehenſion of the terrible fright the Queen would be in (who was newly deliver'd of a Daughter, that was afterwards Married to the Duke of *Orleans*) when ſhe ſaw the Earl of *Eſſex* before the Walls of *Exeter*, and ſhould be at the ſame time inform'd, that *Waller* was with another Army in purſuit of himſelf. His Majeſty reſolv'd therefore, with all poſſible Expedition, to follow the Earl of *Eſſex*, in hopes that he ſhould be able to fight a Battle with him,

before *Waller* ſhould be in a Condition to follow him: and his own ſtrength would be much improv'd, by a Conjunction with Prince *Maurice*; who, though he retired before *Eſſex*, would be well able, by the North of *Devonſhire*, to meet the King, when he ſhould know that he marched that way.

HIS Majeſty had no ſooner taken this Reſolution, than he gave notice of it to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*; and ſent an Expreſs into the Weſt, to inform the Queen of it; who, by the way, carried Orders to the Lord *Hopton*, "to draw what Men he could out of *Mon-*
"*mouth-ſhire*, and South *Wales*, into *Briſtol*; that himſelf might meet
"his Majeſty with as many as he could poſſibly draw out of that Gar-
"riſon. So, without any delay, the whole Army, with what Expedition was poſſible, marched towards the Weſt over the *Cotſwold* to *Cirenceſter*; and ſo to *Bath*; where he arriv'd on the 15th day of *July*, and ſtayed there one whole day, to refreſh his Army; which ſtood enough in need of it.

The King marches towards the Weſt.

THE King had ſcarce marched two days Weſtward, when he was ſurpriſed with ill news from the North; for, after he had, by an Expreſs from *Oxford*, receiv'd intelligence, "that Prince *Rupert* had not only
"reliev'd *York*, but totally defeated the *Scots*, with many particulars to
confirm it (all which was ſo much believ'd there, that they had made publick Fires of Joy for the Victory) he now receiv'd quite contrary Information, and was too ſurely convinced, that his whole Army was defeated. It was very true, that, after many great and noble Actions perform'd by Prince *Rupert* in the Relief of *Latham*, and the Reduction of *Bolton*, and all other places in that large County (*Mancheſter* only excepted) in which the Rebels loſt very many, much Blood having been ſhed, in taking places by Aſſault, which were too obſtinately defended; the Prince had marched out of *Lancaſhire* with ſo good Reputation, and had given his Orders ſo effectually to *Goring*, who lay in *Lincoln-ſhire* with that Body of Horſe that belong'd to the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*'s Army, that they happily joyn'd him; and marched together towards *York*, with ſuch Expedition, that the Enemy was ſo ſurpriſed, that they found it neceſſary to raiſe the Siege in Confuſion enough; and leaving one whole ſide of the Town free, drew to the other ſide, in great Diſorder and Conſternation; there being irreconcilable differences, and jealouſies, between the Officers, and, indeed, between the Nations: the *Engliſh* reſolving to joyn no more with the *Scots*, and They, on the other ſide, as weary of Their Company, and Diſcipline; ſo that the Prince had done his Work; and if he had ſate ſtill, the Enemies great Army would have moulder'd to nothing, and been expoſed to any advantage his Highneſs would take of them.

An Account of the Battle of Marſton-moor.

BUT the diſmal Fate of the Kingdom would not permit ſo much Sobriety of Counſel: One ſide of the Town was no ſooner free, by which there was an entire Communication with thoſe in the Town, and all Proviſion brought in abundantly out of the Country, but the Prince, without conſulting with the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*, or any of the Officers within the Town, ſent for all the Soldiers to draw out, and put the whole Army in Battalia, on that ſide where the Enemy was drawn up; who had no other hope to preſerve them but a preſent Battle, to prevent the reproaches and mutinies which diſtracted them. And though that Party of the King's Horſe which Charged the *Scots*, ſo totally routed and defeated their whole Army, that they fled all ways for many miles together,

together, and were knocked on the head, and taken Priſoners by the Country, and *Leſly* their General fled ten miles, and was taken Priſoner by a Conſtable (from whence the News of the Victory was ſpeedily brought to *Newark*, and thence ſent by an Expreſs to *Oxford*; and ſo receiv'd and ſpread as aforeſaid) yet the *Engliſh* Horſe, Commanded by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, Charged ſo well, and in ſuch excellent Order, being no ſooner broken than they rallied again, and Charged as briskly, that, though both *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* were hurt, and both above the Shoulders, and many good Officers kill'd, they prevail'd over that Body of Horſe which oppoſed them, and totally routed, and beat them off the Field; and almoſt the whole Body of the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*'s Foot were cut off.

THE Marquis himſelf, and his brave Brother, Sr *Charles Cavendiſh* (who was a Man of the nobleſt, and largeſt mind, though the leaſt, and moſt inconvenient Body that liv'd) Charged in the head of a Troop of Gentlemen, who came out of the Town with him, with as much gallantry and courage, as Men could do. But it was ſo late in the Evening before the Battle begun, that the Night quickly fell upon them; and the Generals return'd into the Town, not enough knowing their own loſs, and perform'd very few Compliments each to other. They who moſt exactly deſcribe that unfortunate Battle, and more unfortunate abandoning that whole Country (when there might have been means found to have drawn a good Army together) by Prince *Rupert*'s haſty departure with all his Troops, and the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*'s as haſty departure to the Sea-ſide, and taking Ship, and tranſporting himſelf out of the Kingdom, and all the ill Conſequences thereupon, give ſo ill an Account of any conduct, or diſcretion, in the managery of that Affair, that, as I can take no pleaſure in writing of it, ſo poſterity would receive little Pleaſure, or Benefit, in the moſt particular Relation of it.

THIS may be ſaid of it, that the like was never done, or heard, or read of before; that two great Generals, whereof one had ſtill a good Army left, his Horſe, by their not having perform'd their Duty, remaining upon the matter entire, and much the greater part of his Foot having retired into the Town, the great Execution having faln upon the Northern Foot; and the other, having the abſolute Commiſſion over the Northern Counties, and very many Conſiderable places in them ſtill remaining under his Obedience, ſhould both agree in nothing elſe, but in leaving that good City, and the whole Country, as a prey to the Enemy; who had not yet the Courage to believe that they had the Victory; the *Scots* having been ſo totally routed (as hath been ſaid before) their General made Priſoner by a Conſtable, and detain'd in Cuſtody, till moſt part of the next day was paſt; and moſt of the Officers, and Army, having march'd, or run above ten miles Northward, before they had News that they might ſecurely return: And though the Horſe under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, had wone the day, yet they were both much wounded, and many others of the beſt Officers kill'd, or ſo maim'd that they could not, in any ſhort time, have done more hurt: ſo that if there had been any Agreement to have concealed their loſs, which might have been done to a good Degree (for the Enemy was not poſſeſſed of the Field, but was drawn off at a diſtance, not knowing what the Horſe, which had done ſo little, might do the next Day) there might probably many Advantages have appear'd, which were not at the In-

ſtant in view; however, they might Both have done that as ſecurely afterwards, as they did then unſeaſonably.

BUT neither of them were Friends to ſuch Deliberation; but, aſſoon as they were refreſhed with a little ſleep, they both ſent a Meſſenger to each other, almoſt at the ſame time; the one, "that he was reſolv'd, "that Morning, to march away with his Horſe, and as many Foot as "he had left; and the other, "that he would, in that Inſtant, repair to "the Sea-ſide, and tranſport himſelf beyond the Seas; both which they immediately perform'd; the Marquis making haſt to *Scarborough*, there embarqued in a poor Veſſel, and arriv'd at *Hamburgh*: the Prince, with his Army, begun his March the ſame Morning towards *Cheſter*. And ſo *York* was left to the diſcretion of Sr *Thomas Glemham*, the Governour thereof, to do with it as He thought fit; being in a Condition only to deliver it up with more Decency, not to defend it againſt an Enemy that would require it.

WHEREAS, if Prince *Rupert* had ſtay'd with the Army he march'd away with, at any reaſonable Diſtance, it would have been long before the Jealouſies, and Breaches, which were between the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Armies, would have been enough compoſed to have agreed upon the renewing the Siege; ſuch great quantities of Proviſion being already brought into the Town: and the *Scots* talked of nothing but returning into their own Country, where the Marquis of *Mountroſe* had kindled already a Fire, which the Parliament of *Edenborough* could not quench. But the certain Intelligence, "that the Prince was march'd away with-"out thought of returning, and that the Marquis had embarqued him-"ſelf, reconciled them ſo far (and nothing elſe could) that, after two days, they return'd to the Poſts they had before had in the Siege; and ſo ſtreighten'd the Town, that the Governour, when he had no hope of Relief, within a Fortnight was compelled to deliver it up, upon as good Articles for the Town, and the Gentry that were in it, and for Himſelf, and the few Soldiers he had left, as he could propoſe: and ſo he march'd with all his Troops to *Carliſle*; which he afterwards defended with very remarkable Circumſtances of Courage, Induſtry, and Patience.

York deliver'd to the Parliament Forces.

THE Times afterwards grew ſo bad, and the King's Affairs ſucceeded ſo ill, that there was no Opportunity to call either of thoſe two great Perſons to Account for what they had done, or what they had left undone. Nor did either of them ever think fit to make any particular Relation of the Grounds of their Proceeding, or the cauſes of their miſadventures, by way of Excuſe to the King, or for their own Vindication. Prince *Rupert*, only to his Friends, and after the Murther of the King, produced a Letter in the King's own hand, which he receiv'd when he was upon his March from *Lancaſhire* towards *York*; in which his Majeſty ſaid, "that his Affairs were in ſo very ill a State, that it "would not be enough, though his Highneſs raiſed the Siege from *York*, "if he had not likewiſe beaten the *Scotiſh* Army; which he underſtood "to amount to no leſs than a peremptory Order to Fight, upon what "diſadvantage ſoever: and added, "that the diſadvantage was ſo great, "the Enemy being ſo much Superior in number, it was no wonder he "loſt the day. But as the King's Letter would not bear that ſenſe, ſo the greateſt Cauſe of the misfortune was the precipitate entring upon the Battle, aſſoon as the Enemy drew off; and without conſulting at all with the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*, and his Officers; who muſt needs know more of the Enemy, and conſequently how they were beſt to be

dealt with, than his Highneſs could do. For he ſaw not the Marquis, till, upon his Summons, he came into the Field, in the head of a Troop of Gentlemen, as a private Captain, when the Battle was ranged; and which, after a very ſhort ſalutation, immediately begun; thoſe of the Marquis's Army, who came out of the Town, being placed upon the ground left by the Prince, and aſſign'd to them; which much indiſpoſed both Officers and Soldiers to the work in hand, and towards thoſe with whom they were to joyn in it.

THEN it was too late in the day to begin the Fight, if all the other ill circumſtances had been away: for it was paſt three in the Afternoon: whereas, if it had been deferr'd till next Morning, in which time a full conſultation might have been had, and the Officers and Soldiers grown a little acquainted with each other, better ſucceſs might have been reaſonably expected; nor would the confuſion and conſternation the other Armies were then in, which was the only excuſe for the preſent Engagement, have been the leſs; but, on the Contrary, very much improv'd by the delay; for the bitterneſs and animoſity between the Chief Commanders was ſuch, that a great part of the Army was marched ſix miles, when it appear'd, by the Prince's manner of drawing his Army together to that ground, that his reſolution was to Fight: the ſpeedy Intelligence whereof prevailed, and nothing elſe could, with thoſe who were gone ſo far, to return; and with the reſt, to unite and concur in an Action, that, in human reaſon, could only preſerve them: and if that opportunity had not then been ſo unhappily offer'd, it was generally believ'd that the *Scots* would, the next morning, have continued their March Northward; and the Earl of *Mancheſter* would have been neceſſitated to have made his retreat, as well as he could, into his Aſſociated Counties; and it would have been in the Prince's power to have choſen which of them he would have deſtroyed.

BUT then of all the reſt, his going away the next Morning with all his Troops, in that manner, was moſt unexcuſable; becauſe moſt prejudicial, and moſt ruinous to the King's Affairs in thoſe parts. Nor did thoſe Troops ever after bring any conſiderable advantage to the King's Service, but moulder'd away by degrees, and the Officers, whereof many were Gentlemen of Quality and great merit, were kill'd upon beating up of Quarters, and little Actions not worth their preſence. The truth is, the Prince had ſome ſecret Intimation of the Marquis's purpoſe of immediately leaving the Town, and embarking himſelf for the parts beyond the Seas, before the Marquis himſelf ſent him word of it; upon which, in great paſſion and rage, he ſent him notice of his reſolution preſently to be gone, that he who had the Command of all thoſe parts, and thereby an obligation not to deſert his Charge, might, be without any imagination, that the Prince would take ſuch a diſtracted Government upon him, and leave him any Excuſe for his departure: and if in this joynt diſtemper, with which they were both tranſported, any Perſons of diſcretion and honour, had interpoſed, they might in all probability, have prevailed with both, for a good underſtanding between them, or at leaſt for the ſuſpenſion of their preſent Reſolutions, and conſidering what might beſt be done. But they both reſolv'd ſo ſoon, and ſo ſoon executed what they reſolv'd, that very few had the leaſt ſuſpicion of their Intentions, till they were both out of diſtance to have their Converſion attempted.

ALL that can be ſaid for the Marquis is, that he was ſo utterly tired

with a condition and employment ſo contrary to his Humour, Nature, and Education, that he did not at all conſider the means, or the way that would let him out of it, and free him for ever from having more to do with it. And it was a greater wonder, that he ſuſtain'd the vexation and fatigue of it ſo long, than that he broke from it with ſo little circumſpection. He was a very fine Gentleman, active, and full of Courage, and moſt accompliſh'd in thoſe Qualities of Horſmanſhip, Dancing, and Fencing, which accompany a good breeding; in which his delight was. Beſides that he was amorous in Poetry, and Muſick, to which he indulged the greateſt part of his time; and nothing could have tempted him out of thoſe paths of pleaſure, which he enjoy'd in a full and ample fortune, but Honour and Ambition to ſerve the King when he ſaw him in diſtreſs, and abandon'd by moſt of thoſe who were in the higheſt degree obliged to him, and by him. He lov'd Monarchy, as it was the foundation and ſupport of his own greatneſs; and the Church, as it was well conſtituted for the ſplendour and ſecurity of the Crown; and Religion, as it cheriſhed, and maintain'd that Order and Obedience that was neceſſary to Both; without any other paſſion for the particular Opinions which were grown up in it, and diſtinguiſhed it into Parties, than as he deteſted whatſoever was like to diſturb the publick Peace.

He had a particular Reverence for the Perſon of the King, and the more extraordinary Devotion for that of the Prince, as he had had the honour to be truſted with his Education as his Governour; for which Office, as he excelled in ſome, ſo he wanted other Qualifications. Though he had retired from his great Truſt, and from the Court, to decline the inſupportable Envy which the powerful Faction had contracted againſt him, yet the King was no ſooner neceſſitated to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome place of ſtrength, and to raiſe ſome Force for his Defence, but the Earl of *New-Caſtle* (he was made Marquis afterwards) obeyed his firſt call; and, with great expedition and dexterity, ſeiſed upon that Town; when till then there was not one Port Town in *England*, that avow'd their obedience to the King: and he then preſently raiſed ſuch Regiments of Horſe and Foot, as were neceſſary for the preſent ſtate of Affairs; all which was done purely by his own Intereſt, and the Concurrence of his numerous Allies in thoſe Northern Parts; who with all alacrity obeyed his Commands, without any charge to the King; which he was not able to ſupply.

And after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, when the Rebels grew ſo ſtrong in *York-ſhire*, by the influence their Garriſon of *Hull* had upon both the Eaſt and Weſt riding there, that it behoved the King preſently to make a General, who might unite all thoſe Northern Counties in his Service, he could not chooſe any Man ſo fit for it, as the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, who was not only poſſeſs'd of a preſent Force, and of that important Town, but had a greater Reputation and Intereſt in *York-ſhire* it ſelf, than, at that preſent, any other Man had: the Earl of *Cumberland* being at that time, though of entire Affection to the King, much decayed in the vigour of his Body, and his Mind, and unfit for that Activity which the Seaſon required. And it cannot be denied, that the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, by his quick march with his Troops, aſſoon as he had receiv'd his Commiſſion to be General, and in the depth of Winter redeem'd, or reſcued the City of *York* from the Rebels, when they look'd upon it as their own, and had it even within their graſp: and aſſoon as he was Maſter of it, he raiſed Men apace, and drew an Army together,

with

with which he fought many Battles, in which he had always (this laſt only excepted) Succeſs and Victory.

HE liked the Pomp, and abſolute Authority of a General well, and preſerv'd the dignity of it to the full; and for the diſcharge of the outward State, and Circumſtances of it, in acts of Courteſy, Affability, Bounty, and Generoſity, he abounded; which, in the infancy of a War, became him, and made him, for ſome time, very acceptable to Men of all conditions. But the ſubſtantial part, and fatigue of a General, he did not in any degree underſtand (being utterly unacquainted with War) nor could ſubmit to; but referr'd all matters of that Nature to the diſcretion of his Lieutenant General *King*; who, no doubt, was an Officer of great experience and ability, yet, being a *Scots*-man, was in that conjuncture, upon more diſadvantage than he would have been, if the General himſelf had been more intent upon his Command. In all Actions of the Field he was ſtill preſent, and never abſent in any Battle; in all which he gave Inſtances of an invincible courage and fearleſsneſs in danger; in which the expoſing himſelf notoriouſly did ſometimes change the fortune of the day, when his Troops begun to give ground. Such Articles of Action were no ſooner over, than he retired to his delightful Company, Muſick, or his ſofter pleaſures, to all which he was ſo indulgent, and to his eaſe, that he would not be interrupted upon what occaſion ſoever; inſomuch as he ſometimes denied Admiſſion to the Chiefeſt Officers of the Army, even to General *King* himſelf, for two days together; from whence many Inconveniencies fell out.

FROM the beginning, he was without any reverence or regard for the Privy Council, with few of whom he had any acquaintance; but was of the other Soldiers mind, that all the buſineſs ought to be done by Councils of War, and was always angry when there were any Overtures of a Treaty; and therefore, eſpecially after the Queen had landed in *York ſhire* and ſtaid ſo long there, he conſider'd any Orders he receiv'd from *Oxford*, though from the King himſelf, more negligently than he ought to have done; and when he thought himſelf ſure of *Hull*, and was ſure that he ſhould be then Maſter entirely of all the North, he had no mind to march nearer the King (as he had then Orders to march into the Aſſociated Counties, when, upon the taking of *Briſtol*, his Majeſty had a purpoſe to have march'd towards *London* on the other ſide) out of apprehenſion that he ſhould be eclipſed by the Court, and his Authority overſhadow'd by the Superiority of Prince *Rupert*; from whom he deſired to be at diſtance: Yet when he found himſelf in diſtreſs, and neceſſitated to draw his Army within the Walls of *York*, and ſaw no way to be reliev'd but by Prince *Rupert*, who had then done great feats of Armes in the relief of *Newark*, and afterwards in his Expedition into *Lancaſhire*, where he was at that time, he writ to the King to *Oxford*, either upon the knowledge that the abſoluteneſs, and illimitedneſs of his Commiſſion was generally much ſpoken of, or out of the conſcience of ſome diſcourſe of his own to that purpoſe; which might have been reported; "that he hoped his Majeſty did believe, that "he would never make the leaſt ſcruple to obey the Grandchild of King "*James*: and aſſuredly, if the Prince had cultivated the good inclinations the Marquis had towards him, with any civil and gracious Condeſcenſions, he would have found him full of duty and regard to his Service, and Intereſt.

BUT the ſtrange manner of the Prince's coming, and undeliberated

throwing himſelf, and all the King's hopes into that ſuddain and unneceſſary Engagement, by which all the force the Marquis had raiſed, and with ſo many difficulties preſerv'd, was in a moment caſt away and deſtroy'd, ſo tranſported him with paſſion and deſpair, that he could not compoſe himſelf to think of beginning the work again, and involving himſelf in the ſame undelightful condition of Life, from which he might now be free. He hoped his paſt meritorious Actions, might outweigh his preſent abandoning the thought of future Action; and ſo, without farther conſideration, as hath been ſaid, he tranſported himſelf out of the Kingdom, and took with him General *King*; upon whom, they who were content to ſpare the Marquis, poured out all the Reproaches of "Infidelity, Treaſon, and Conjunction with his Country Men; which, without doubt, was the effect of the univerſal diſcontent, and the miſerable condition to which the People of thoſe Northern Parts were on the ſuddain reduced, without the leaſt foundation, or ground for any ſuch reproach: and as he had, throughout the whole Courſe of his Life, been generally reputed a Man of Honour, and had exerciſed the higheſt Commands under the King of *Sweden* with extraordinary ability, and ſucceſs, ſo he had been proſecuted by ſome of his Country Men with the higheſt malice, from his very coming into the King's Service; and the ſame malice purſued him after he had left the Kingdom, even to his death.

THE loſs of *England* came ſo ſoon to be lamented, that the loſs of *York*, or the too ſoon deſerting the Northern Parts, were comparatively no more ſpoken of; and the conſtant and noble behaviour of the Marquis in the change of his fortune, and his chearful ſubmiſſion to all the ſtreights, neceſſities, and diſcomforts, which are inſeparable from baniſhment, without the leaſt application to the Uſurpers, who were poſſeſſed of his whole Eſtate, and upon which they committed all imaginable and irreparable Waſt, in deſtroying all his Woods of very great Value, and who were ſtill equally abhorr'd, and deſpiſed by him; with his readineſs and alacrity, again to have embarked himſelf in the King's Quarrel, upon the firſt reaſonable occaſion, ſo perfectly reconciled all good Men to him, that they rather obſerv'd, what he had Done, and Suffer'd for the King and for his Country, without farther inquiring what he had Omitted to do, or been overſeen in doing.

THIS fatal blow, which ſo much changed the King's condition, that till then was very hopeful, made not ſuch an impreſſion upon his Majeſty, but that it made him purſue his former Reſolution, to follow the Earl of *Eſſex*, with the more impatience; having now in truth nothing elſe to do. But being inform'd that the Earl had not made any long marches, and that the Queen, upon the firſt News of the Earl's drawing near, though ſhe had been little more than a fortnight deliver'd, had left *Exeter*, and was removed into *Cornwall*; from whence, in a ſhort time, ſhe embarked for *France* (the Prince of *Orange* having ſent ſome *Dutch* Ships of War, to attend her Commands in the Harbour of *Falmouth*; and from thence her Majeſty tranſported her ſelf) his Majeſty march'd more ſlowly, that he might encreaſe his Army from *Briſtol*, and other places; making no doubt, but that he ſhould engage the Army of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was already near *Exeter*, before he ſhould be able to return to *London*.

The Queen retires into France.

THE Earl of *Eſſex*'s good Fortune now begun to decline: he had not proceeded with his accuſtom'd warineſs, and skill; but run into Labyrinths,

Labyrinths, from whence he could not disintangle himself. When he had marched to the length of *Exeter*, which he had some thought of Besieging, without any imagination that he could find an Enemy to contend with him, having left the King in so ill a condition, and Sr *William Waller* with so good an Army waiting upon him, he had the News of the "disappointment Sr *William Waller* had receiv'd; and that the King "was come with his whole Army into the West in pursuit of him, without being follow'd by *Waller*, or any Troops to disquiet or retard his "March; which exceedingly surprised him, and made him suspect that the Parliament it self had betrayed him, and conspired his ruin.

THE Jealousies were now indeed grown very great between them; the Parliament looking upon his march into the West, and leaving *Waller*, to whom they intended the other Province, to follow the King, but as a Declaration that he would no more fight against the Person of the King; and the Earl, on the other side, had well observ'd the difference betwixt the care and affection the Parliament expressed for, and towards His Army, and the other under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*; which they set so great a price upon, that he thought they would not so much care what became of His. Otherwise, it could not be possible, that upon so little a brush as *Waller* had sustain'd, he could not be able to follow, and disturb the King, in a Country so enclosed, as he must pass through. In this unexpected streight, upon the first reception of the News, he resolv'd to return back, and meet and fight with the King, either before he enter'd *Devon-shire*, or else in *Somersetshire*; in either of which places he could not be streighten'd in room, or provisions, or be compelled to fight in a place disadvantageous, or when he had no mind to it; and if he had pursued this Resolution, he had done prudently. But the Lord *Roberts*, who was a General Officer in his Army, of an insociable Nature, and impetuous Disposition, full of contradiction in his Temper, and of Parts so much superior to any in the Company, that he could too well maintain and justify all those contradictions, positively opposed the return of the Army; but pressed, with His confidence, "that the Army should continue it's March to "*Cornwal*; where he undertook to have so great Interest, that he made no question, "but the presence of the Earl of *Essex*, with his Army, "would so unite that County to the Parliament's Service, that it would "be easy to defend the passes into the whole County (which are not "many) in such a manner, that the King's Army should never be able "to enter into *Cornwal*, nor to retire out of *Devon-shire* without great "loss, nor before the Parliament would send more Forces upon their "backs.

THE Lord *Roberts*, though inferior in the Army, had much greater credit in the Parliament than the Earl of *Essex*; and the Earl did not think him very kind to him, he being then in great conjunction with Sr *Harry Vane*, whom of all Men the Earl hated, and look'd upon as an Enemy. He had never been in *Cornwal*; so he knew not the Situation of the Country: some of the Officers, and some others of that Country (as there were with him four or five Gentlemen of that Country of Interest) concurr'd fully with the Lord *Roberts*, and promised great matters, if the Army marched thither: whereupon the Earl departed from his own understanding, and complied with their advice; and so marched the direct way with all his Army, Horse, Foot, and Cannon, into that narrow County; and pursued Prince *Maurice* and those Forces,

The Earl of Essex *marches into* Cornwal.

Forces, which eaſily retired, Weſtward; until he found himſelf in ſtreights; where we ſhall leave him for the preſent.

AFTER the King had made a ſmall ſtay at *Exeter*, where he found his young Daughter, of whom the Queen had been ſo lately deliver'd, under the care and Government of the Lady *Dalkeith* (ſhortly after Counteſs of *Morton* by the death of her Husband's Father) who had been long before deſign'd by both their Majeſties to that Charge; and having a little refreſh'd, and accommodated his Troops, he marched directly to *Cornwal*; where he found the Earl of *Eſſex* in ſuch a part of the Country on the Sea-ſide, that he quickly, by the general Conflux and Concourſe of the whole People, upon which the Earl had been perſwaded ſo much to depend, found means, with very little fighting, ſo to ſtreighten his Quarters, that there ſeem'd little appearance that he could poſſibly march away with his Army, or compel the King to fight. He was, upon the matter, incloſed in, and about *Foy*; whilſt the King lay encamped about *Liskard*; and no day paſſed without ſome Skirmiſhes; in which the Earl was more diſtreſſed, and many of his principal Officers taken Priſoners. Here there happen'd an Accident that might very well have turn'd the King's Fortune, and deprived him of all the Advantages which were then in view. The King being always in the Army himſelf, all matters were ſtill debated before him, in the preſence of thoſe Counſellors who were about him; who, being Men of better underſtandings and better expreſſions than the Officers, commonly diſpoſed his Majeſty to Their opinions, at leaſt kept him from concurring in every thing which was propoſed by the Officers. The Counſellors, as hath been ſaid before, were the Lord *Digby*, Secretary of State, and Sr *John Colepepper*, Maſter of the Rolls; of whoſe judgement the King had more eſteem, even with reference to the War, than of moſt of the Officers of the Army; which raiſed an implacable animoſity in the whole Army againſt them.

The King follows him thither.

GENERAL *Ruthen*, who by this time was created Earl of *Brentford*, was General of the Army; but, as hath been ſaid, both by reaſon of his Age, and his extreme deafneſs, was not a Man of Counſel or Words; hardly conceiv'd what was propoſed, and as confuſedly and obſcurely deliver'd his opinion; and could indeed better judge by his Eye than his Ear; and in the Field well knew what was to be done. *Wilmot* was Lieutenant General of the Horſe, and at this time the ſecond Officer of the Army, and had much more Credit and Authority in it, than any Man; which he had not employed to the King's advantage, as his Majeſty believ'd. He was a Man proud, and ambitious, and incapable of being contented; an ordinary Officer in Marches, and governing his Troops. He drank hard, and had a great power over all who did ſo, which was a great People. He had a more companionable Wit even than his Rival *Goring*, and ſway'd more among the good fellows, and could by no means endure that the Lord *Digby*, and Sr *John Colepepper*, ſhould have ſo much credit with the King in Councils of War.

THE King had no kindneſs for him upon an old account, as remembring the part he had acted againſt the Earl of *Strafford*: however, he had been induced, upon the Accidents which happen'd afterwards, to repoſe truſt in him. This *Wilmot* knew well enough; and foreſaw, that he ſhould be quickly overſhadow'd in the War; and therefore deſired to get out of it, by a ſeaſonable Peace; and ſo, in all his diſcourſes, urged the neceſſity of it, as he had begun in *Buckingham-ſhire*; and,

"that the King ought to ſend Propoſitions to the Parliament, in order "to obtaining it; and in this march had proſecuted his former deſign by ſeveral Cabals among the Officers; and diſpoſed them to Petition the King, "to ſend to the Parliament again an offer of Peace; and that the "Lord *Digby*, and Sr *John Colepepper*, might not be permitted to be "preſent in Councils of War; implying, "that if this might not be "granted, they would think of ſome other way. Which Petition, though, by the wiſdom of ſome Officers, it was kept from being deliver'd, yet ſo provoked the King, that he reſolv'd to take the firſt opportunity to free himſelf from his impetuous humour; in which good diſpoſition the Lord *Digby* ceaſed not to confirm his Majeſty; and aſſoon as the News came of the Northern defeat, and that the Marquis of *New-Caſtle* had left the Kingdom, he prevailed that *Goring* might be ſent for to attend his Majeſty; who then propoſed to himſelf to make his Nephew Prince *Rupert* General of the Army, and *Goring* General of the Horſe; which *Wilmot* could not avowedly have excepted againſt, the other having been always Superior to him in Command; and yet would be ſuch a Mortification to him, as he would never have been able to digeſt.

WHETHER his apprehenſions of this, as his jealous nature had much of ſagacity in it, or his reſtleſs and mutinous humour, tranſported him, but he gave not the King time to proſecute that gracious method; but even forced him to a quicker and a rougher remedy: for during the whole march, he diſcourſed, in all places, "that the King muſt ſend to "the Earl of *Eſſex* to invite him to a conjunction with him, that ſo the "Parliament might be obliged to conſent to a Peace; and pretended, "that he had ſo good Intelligence in that Army, as to know that ſuch "an Invitation would prove effectual, and be acceptable to the Earl; "who, he knew, was unſatisfied with the Parliament's behaviour to-"wards him: and he was ſo indiſcreet, as to deſire a Gentleman, with whom he had no intimacy, and who had a Paſs to go beyond the Seas, and muſt go through the Earl's Quarters, "that he would remember "his Service to the Earl of *Eſſex*; and aſſure him, that the Army ſo "much deſired Peace, that it ſhould not be in the Power of any of thoſe "Perſons about the King to hinder it, if his Lordſhip would treat upon "any reaſonable Propoſitions. All which kind of carriage and diſcourſes were quickly repreſented, in their full magnitude, to the King by the Lord *Digby*; and his Majeſty's own averſion kindled any ſpark into a form'd diſtruſt. So that after the King came into *Cornwal*, and had his whole Army drawn up on the top of the Hill, in view of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was in the bottom, and a Battle expected every day, upon ſome new diſcourſe *Wilmot* made out of Pride and Vanity (for there was not in all the former, the leaſt form'd Act of Sedition in his heart) the Knight Marſhal, with the aſſiſtance of *Tom Elliot*, arreſted him in the King's Name of High Treaſon; and diſmounted him from his Horſe in the head of all the Troops; putting a Guard upon him. He was preſently ſent Priſoner to *Exeter*, without any other ill effect, which might very reaſonably have been apprehended in ſuch a conjuncture, when he was indeed generally well belov'd, and none of them for whoſe ſakes he was thought to be ſacrificed, were at all eſteem'd: yet, I ſay, there were no other ill effects of it than a little murmur, which vaniſhed away.

THE ſame day that *Wilmot* was arreſted, the King remov'd another

General Officer of his Army, the Lord *Piercy*; who had been made General of the Ordnance upon very partial, and not enough deliberated Conſiderations; and put into that Office the Lord *Hopton*; whoſe promotion was univerſally approv'd; the one having no friend, and the other being univerſally belov'd. Beſides, the Lord *Piercy* (who was the firſt that had been created a Baron at *Oxford* upon the Queen's Interceſſion; which obliged the King to beſtow the ſame honour on more Men) had been as much inclined to mutiny, as the Lord *Wilmot*; and was much a bolder Speaker, and had none of thoſe faculties, which the other had, of reconciling Men to him. Yet even His removal added to the ill humour of the Army, too much diſpoſed to diſcontent, and cenſuring all that was done: for though he was generally unlov'd, as a proud and ſupercilious Perſon, yet he had always three or four Perſons of good credit and reputation, who were eſteem'd by him, with whom he liv'd very well; and though he did not draw the good fellows to him by drinking, yet he eat well; which, in the General ſcarcity of that time, drew many Votaries to him; who bore very ill the want of his Table, and ſo were not without ſome inclination to murmur even on His behalf.

THE very next day after theſe Removals, Colonel *Goring* appear'd; who had waited upon the King the night before, at his Quarters, with Letters from Prince *Rupert*: and then the Army being drawn up, his Majeſty, attended by the principal Officers of the Army, rode to every Diviſion of the Horſe, and there declared, "that, at the requeſt of his "Nephew Prince *Rupert*, and upon his reſignation, he made Mr *Goring* "General of the Horſe; and commanded them all to obey him; and for "the Lord *Wilmot*, although he had, for very good reaſons, juſtly re- "ſtrain'd him for the preſent, yet he had not taken away from him his "Command in the Army; which Declaration viſibly raiſed the countenance of the Body of Horſe, more than the King was pleaſed with obſerving: and the very next day the greateſt part of the Officers deliver'd a Petition, "that his Majeſty would give them ſo much light of "the Lord *Wilmot*'s Crimes, that they might ſee that Themſelves were "not ſuſpected, who had ſo long obeyed and executed his Orders; which is manifeſtation enough of the ill diſpoſition the Army was in, when they were even in view of the Enemy, and of which the King had ſo much apprehenſion, in reſpect of the preſent poſture he was in, that he was too eaſily perſwaded to give them a Draught of the Articles, by which he was charged; which though they contain'd ſo many Indiſcretions, Vanities, and Inſolencies, that wiſe and diſpaſſionate Men thought he had been proceeded with very juſtly, yet generally they ſeem'd not to make him ſo very black, as he had been repreſented to be: and when the Articles were ſent to him, he return'd ſo ſpecious an Anſwer to them, that made many Men think he had been proſecuted with ſeverity enough. Yet *Wilmot* himſelf, when he ſaw his old mortal Enemy *Goring* put in the Command over him, thought himſelf incapable of reparation, or a full vindication; and therefore deſired leave to retire into *France*; and had preſently a Paſs ſent him to that purpoſe; of which he made uſe aſſoon as he receiv'd it; and ſo tranſported himſelf out of the Kingdom; which open'd the Mouths of many, and made it believ'd, that he had been ſacrificed to ſome Faction and Intrigue of the Court, without any ſuch miſdemeanour as deſerv'd it.

THE King had, ſome days before this, found an opportunity to make a trial

a trial whether the Earl of *Eſſex*, from the notorious Indignities which he receiv'd from the Parliament, and which were viſible to all the world, or from the preſent ill condition which He, and his Army were reduced to, might be induced to make a conjunction with his Majeſty. The Lord *Beauchamp*, eldeſt Son to the Marquis of *Hertford*, deſired, for the recovery of his health, not then good, to tranſport himſelf into *France*; and to that purpoſe had a Paſs from his Uncle, the Earl of *Eſſex*, for himſelf, Monſieur *Richaute* a *French*-man, who had been his Governour, and two Servants, to embark at *Plymouth*; and being now with the King, it was neceſſary to paſs through the Earl's Quarters. By him the King vouchſafed to write a Letter with his own hand to the Earl, in which he told him,

"How much it was in his power to reſtore that Peace to the King-"dom, which he had profeſſed always to deſire; and upon ſuch condi-"tions, as did fully comply with all thoſe ends for which the Parliament "had firſt taken up Armes: for his Majeſty was ſtill ready to ſatisfy all "thoſe ends; but that ſince the Invaſion of the Kingdom by the *Scots*, "all his Overtures of Peace had been rejected; which muſt prove the "deſtruction of the Kingdom, if he did not, with his Authority and "Power, diſpoſe thoſe at *Weſtminſter* to accept of a Peace that might "preſerve it; with all thoſe Arguments, that might moſt reaſonably perſwade to a conjunction with his Majeſty, and ſuch gracious expreſ-ſions of the ſenſe he would always retain of the Service and Merit, as were moſt likely to invite him to it. The King deſired, that a Paſs might be procured for Mr *Harding*, one of the Grooms of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince, a Gentleman, who had been before of much converſation with the Earl, and much lov'd by him; and the procuring this Paſs was recommended to Monſieur *Richaute*.

THE Earl receiv'd his Nephew very kindly; who deliver'd the King's Letter to him; which he receiv'd, and read; and being then told by the Lord *Beauchamp*, that Monſieur *Richaute*, who was very well known to him, had ſomewhat to ſay to him from the King; the Earl called him into his Chamber, in the preſence only of the Lord *Beauchamp*, and asked him, "if he had any thing to ſay to him? *Richaute* told him, "that his principal buſineſs was to deſire his Permiſſion and Paſs, that "Mr *Harding* might come to him, who had many things to offer, which, "he preſumed, would not be unacceptable to him. The Earl Anſwer'd in ſhort, "that he would not permit Mr *Harding* to come to him, nor "would he have any Treaty with the King, having receiv'd no Warrant "for it from the Parliament: upon which, *Richaute* enlarged himſelf upon ſome particulars, which Mr *Harding* was to have urged, "of the "King's deſire of Peace, of the concurrence of all the Lords, as well thoſe "at *Oxford*, as in the Army, in the ſame deſire of preſerving the King-"dom from a Conqueſt by the *Scots*; and other diſcourſe to that pur-poſe; "and of the King's readineſs to give him any ſecurity for the per-"formance of all he had promiſed. To all which the Earl Anſwer'd ſul-lenly, "that according to the Commiſſion he had receiv'd, he would de-"fend the King's Perſon, and Poſterity; and that the beſt Counſel he "could give him was, to go to his Parliament.

ASSOON as the King receiv'd this Account of his Letter, and ſaw there was nothing to be expected by thoſe Addreſſes, he reſolv'd to puſh it on the other way, and to Fight with the Enemy aſſoon as was poſſi-ble; and ſo, the next day, drew up all his Army in ſight of the Enemy; and

and had many Skirmiſhes between the Horſe of both Armies, till the Enemy quitted that part of a large Heath upon which they ſtood, and retired to a Hill near the Park of the Lord *Mohun*, at *Boconnocke*; they having the poſſeſſion of his Houſe, where they Quarter'd conveniently. That Night both Armies, after they had well view'd each other, lay in the Field; and many are of opinion, that if the King had that day vigorouſly advanced upon the Enemy, to which his Army was well inclined, though upon ſome diſadvantage of ground, they would have been eaſily defeated: for the King's Army was in good heart, and willing to engage; on the contrary, the Earl's ſeem'd much ſurpriſed, and in confuſion, to ſee the other Army ſo near them. But ſuch cenſures always attend ſuch Conjunctures, and find fault for what is Not done, as well as with that which is done.

THE next Morning the King called a Council, to conſider whether they ſhould that day compel the Enemy to Fight; which was concluded not to be reaſonable; and that it was better to expect the arrival of Sr *Richard Greenvil*; who was yet in the Weſt of *Cornwal*, and had a Body of eight thouſand Horſe and Foot, as was reported, though they were not near that number. It was hereupon order'd, that all the Foot ſhould be preſently drawn into the Incloſures between *Boconnocke* and the Heath; all the Fences to the Grounds of that Country being very good Breaſt-works againſt the Enemy. The King's head Quarter was made at the Lord *Mohun*'s Houſe, which the Earl of *Eſſex* had kindly quitted, when the King's Army advanced the day before. The Horſe were Quarter'd, for the moſt part, between *Liskard* and the Sea; and, every day, compell'd the Earl's Forces to retire, and to lodge cloſe together; and in this poſture both Armies lay within view of each other for three or four days. In this time, that inconvenient Spirit that had poſſeſſed ſo many of the Horſe Officers, appear'd again; and ſome of them, who had conferr'd with the Priſoners, who were every day taken, and ſome of them Officers of as good Quality as any they had, were perſwaded by them, "that all the obſtinacy in *Eſſex*, in refuſing to treat "with the King, proceeded only from his jealouſy that when the King "had got him into his hands, he would take revenge upon him, for all "the miſchief he had ſuſtain'd by him; and that, if he had any Aſſurance "that what was promiſed would be complyed with, he would be quickly "induced to treat.

UPON this excellent Evidence, theſe Politick Contrivers preſum'd to prepare a Letter, that ſhould be ſubſcribed by the General, and all the Superior Officers of the Army; the beginning of which Letter was, "that they had obtain'd leave of the King to ſend that Letter to him. There they propoſed, "that He with ſix Officers, whom he ſhould chooſe, "would the next Morning meet with their General, and ſix other Of- "ficers, as ſhould be appointed to attend him; and if he would not him- "ſelf be preſent, that then ſix Officers of the King's Army ſhould meet "with ſix ſuch as He ſhould appoint, at any place that ſhould be thought "fit; and that they, and every of them, who ſubſcribed the Letter, "would, upon the honour and reputation of Gentlemen and Soldiers, "with their lives maintain that whatſoever his Majeſty ſhould promiſe, "ſhould be perform'd; and that it ſhould not be in the power of any "private Perſon whatſoever, to interrupt or hinder the execution "thereof. When they had framed this Letter between themſelves, and ſhew'd it to many others, whoſe approbation they receiv'd, they reſolv'd

to preſent it to the King, and humbly to deſire his permiſſion that it might be ſent to the Earl of *Eſſex*.

How unpardonable ſoever the preſumption and inſolence in contriving and framing this Letter was, and how penal ſoever it might juſtly have been to them, yet, when it was preſented to his Majeſty, many who liked not the manner of it, were perſwaded by what they were told, that it might do good; and in the end they prevailed with the King to conſent that the Officers ſhould ſign it; and that the General ſhould ſend a Trumpet with it; his Majeſty at the ſame time concluding, that it would find no better reception than his own Letter had done; and likewiſe believing, that the rejecting of it would purge that unruly ſpirit out of his Army, and that he ſhould never more be troubled with thoſe vexatious Addreſſes, and that it might add ſome Spirit and Animoſity to the Officers and Soldiers, when they ſhould ſee, with how much neglect and contempt the Earl receiv'd their application: And ſo Prince *Maurice*, General *Goring*, and all the Superior Officers of the Army, ſign'd the Letter; which a Trumpet deliver'd to the Earl of *Eſſex*; who, the next day, return'd his Anſwer to them in theſe words: "My Lords, in the beginning of your Letter you expreſs "by what Authority you ſend it; I having no Authority from the Par- "liament, who have employed me, to treat, cannot give way to it with- "out breach of truſt. My Lords, I am your humble Servant, *Eſſex*. "*Liſtithiel Aug.* 10. 1644. This ſhort ſurly Anſwer, produced the Effect the King wiſh'd and expected; they who had been ſo over active in contriving the Addreſs, were moſt aſhamed of their folly; and the whole Army ſeem'd well compoſed to obtain that by their Swords, which they could not by their Pen.

Sr *Richard Greenvil* was now come up to the Poſt where he ſhould be; and, at *Bodmin*, in his March, had fallen upon a Party of the Earl's Horſe, and kill'd many, and taken others Priſoners, and preſented himſelf to the King at *Boconnocke*; giving his Majeſty an account of his proceedings, and a particular of his Forces; which, after all the high diſcourſes, amounted really but to eighteen hundred Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe; above one hundred of which were of the Queen's Troop (left behind when her Majeſty embarked for *France*) under the Command of Captain *Edward Bret*; who had done very good Service in the Weſtern parts of that County, from the time of the Queen's departure, and much confirm'd the Train'd-bands of thoſe parts. This Troop was preſently added to the King's Guards under the Lord *Bernard Stuart*, and Captain *Bret* was made Major of that Regiment.

THOUGH the Earl of *Eſſex* had but ſtreight and narrow room for his Quarters for ſo great an Army of Horſe and Foot, yet he had the good Town of *Foy* and the Sea to friend; by which he might reaſonably aſſure himſelf of ſtore of Proviſions, the Parliament Ships having all the juriſdiction there; and ſo, if he preſerv'd his Poſt, which was ſo ſituated that he could not be compelled to Fight without giving him great Advantage, he might well conclude, that *Waller*, or ſome other force ſent from the Parliament, would be ſhortly upon the King's back, as his Majeſty was upon His: and no queſtion, this rational confidence was a great motive to him to neglect all Overtures made to him by the King; beſides the punctuality, and ſtubborneſs of his own Nature; which whoſoever was well acquainted with, might eaſily have foreſeen, what effect all thoſe Applications would have produced. It was therefore now

reſolv'd to make his Quarters yet ſtreighter, and to cut off even his Proviſions by Sea, or a good part thereof. To which purpoſe Sr *Richard Greenvil* drew his Men from *Bodmin*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Lanhetherick*, a ſtrong Houſe of the Lord *Roberts*, two Miles Weſt of *Boconnocke*, and over the River that runs to *Liſtithiel*, and thence to *Foy*, and likewiſe to *Reprime*-Bridge; by which the Enemy was not only deprived of that uſeful out-let, but a ſafe Communication made between him and the King's Army, which was before interrupted. And on the other ſide, which was of more importance, Sr *Jacob Aſtley*, with a good Party of Horſe and Foot, made himſelf Maſter of *View*-Hall, another Houſe of the Lord *Mohun*'s, over againſt *Foy*, and of *Pernon*-Fort, a mile below it, at the Mouth of the *Haven*; both which places he found ſo tenable, that he put Captain *Page* into one, and Captain *Garraway* into the other, with two hundred Commanded Men, and two or three pieces of Ordnance; which theſe two Captains made good, and defended ſo well, that they made *Foy* utterly uſeleſs to *Eſſex*, ſave for the Quartering his Men; not ſuffering any Proviſions to be brought in to him from the Sea that way. And it was exceedingly wonder'd at by all Men, that he, being ſo long poſſeſſed of *Foy*, did not put ſtrong Guards into thoſe places; by which he might have prevented his Army's being brought into thoſe extreme neceſſities they ſhortly after fell into; which might eaſily be foreſeen, and as eaſily, that way, have been prevented.

Now the King had leiſure to ſit ſtill, and warily to expect what invention or ſtratagem the Earl would make uſe of, to make ſome attempt upon his Army, or to make his own Eſcape. In this poſture both Armies lay ſtill, without any notable Action, for the ſpace of eight or ten days; when the King ſeeing no better fruit from all that was hitherto done, reſolv'd to draw his whole Army together, and to make his own Quarters yet much nearer, and either to force *Eſſex* to Fight, or to be uneaſy even in his Quarters. And it was high time to do ſo: for it was now certain, that either *Waller* himſelf, or ſome other Forces, were already upon their March towards the Weſt. With this reſolution the whole Army advanced in ſuch a manner, that the Enemy was compell'd ſtill to retire before them, and to quit their Quarters; and, among the reſt, a riſing ground called *Beacon*-Hill; which they no ſooner quitted, than the King poſſeſſed; and immediately cauſed a ſquare work to be there raiſed, and a Battery made, upon which ſome pieces of Cannon were planted, that ſhot into their Quarters, and did them great hurt; when Their Cannon, though they return'd twenty ſhot for one, did very little or no harm.

AND now the King's Forces had a full proſpect over all the others Quarters; ſaw how all their Foot and Horſe were diſpoſed, and from whence they receiv'd all their Forage and Proviſions; which when clearly view'd and obſerv'd, *Goring* was ſent with the greateſt part of the Horſe, and fifteen hundred Foot, a little Weſtward to St *Blaſe*, to drive the Enemy yet cloſer together, and to cut off the Proviſions they receiv'd from thence; which was ſo well executed, that they did not only poſſeſs themſelves of S^t *Auſtel*, and the Weſterly part of St *Blaſe* (ſo that the Enemies Horſe was reduced to that ſmall extent of Earth that is between the River of *Foy*, and that at *Blaſe*, which is not above two Miles in breadth, and little more in length; in which they had for the moſt part fed ſince they came to *Liſtithiel*, and therefore it could not now long ſupply them) but likewiſe were Maſters of the *Parr* near St *Blaſe*;

Sr *Blaſe*; whereby they deprived them of the chief place of Landing the Proviſions which came by Sea. And now the Earl begun to be very ſenſible of the ill condition he was in, and diſcern'd that he ſhould not be able long to remain in that poſture; beſides he had receiv'd advertiſement that the Party which was ſent for his relief from *London*, had receiv'd ſome bruſh in *Somerſet-ſhire*, which would much retard their March; and therefore it behoved him to enter upon new Counſels, and to take new Reſolutions.

IT is very true the defeat at *Cropredy* (in wich there did not appear to be one thouſand Men kill'd, or taken Priſoners) had ſo totally broken *Waller*'s Army, that it could never be brought to Fight after; but when he had marched at a diſtance from the King, to recover the broken Spirits of his Men, and heard that his Majeſty was marched directly towards the Weſt, obſerving likewiſe that every Night very many of his Men run from him, he thought it neceſſary to go himſelf to *London*, where he made grievous complaints againſt the Earl of *Eſſex*, as if he had purpoſely expoſed him to be affronted; all which was greedily hearken'd to, and his Perſon receiv'd, and treated, as if he had return'd victorious after having defeated the King's Army: which was a Method very contrary to what was uſed in the King's Quarters, where all accidental Misfortunes, how inevitable ſoever, were ſtill attended with very apparent diſcountenance.

BUT when he went himſelf to *London*, or preſently upon it, he ſent his Lieutenant General *Middleton* (a Perſon of whom We ſhall ſay much hereafter, and who liv'd to wipe out the Memory of the ill footſteps of his youth; for he was but eighteen years of Age, when he was firſt led into Rebellion) with a Body of three thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, to follow the King into the Weſt, and to wait upon his Rear, with orders to reduce in his way *Donnington*-Caſtle, the Houſe of a private Gentleman near *Newbury*, in which there were a Company or two of Foot of the King's; and which they believ'd would be deliver'd up, aſſoon as demanded; being a place, as They thought, of little ſtrength. But *Middleton* found it ſo well defended by Colonel *Bois*, who was Governour of it, that after he had loſt at leaſt three hundred, Officers and Soldiers, in attempting to take it, he was compell'd to recommend it to the Governour of *Abingdon*, to ſend an Officer and ſome Troops to block it up from infeſting that great road into the Weſt; and himſelf proſecuted his March to follow the King.

IN *Somerſet ſhire*, he heard of great Magazines of all Proviſions, made for the Supply of the King's Army, which were ſent every day by ſtrong Convoys to *Exeter*, there to wait farther Orders. To ſurpriſe theſe Proviſions he ſent Major *Carr*, with five hundred Horſe; who fell into the Village where the Convoy was, and was very like to have maſter'd them, when Sr *Francis Doddington*, with a Troop of Horſe, and ſome Foot from *Bridgewater*, came ſeaſonably to their relief; and after a very ſharp conflict, in which two or three good Officers of the King's were kill'd, and, among them, Major *Killigrew*, a very hopeful young Man, the Son of a gallant and moſt deſerving Father, he totally routed the Enemy; killed thirty or forty upon the place; and had the purſuit of them two or three Miles; in which Major *Carr*, who commanded the Party, and many other Officers, were taken; and many others deſperately wounded; and recover'd all that they had taken; which ſharp Encounters, where always many more Men are loſt, than are kill'd, or

taken Priſoners, put ſuch a ſtop to *Middleton*'s march, that he was glad to retire back to *Sherborne*, that he might refreſh the wearineſs, and recover the Spirits of his Men. This was the defeat or obſtruction, which the Earl of *Eſſex* had Intelligence that the Forces had met with coming to his relief; and which made him deſpair of any Succour that way.

WHEN the Earl found himſelf in this condition, and that, within very few days, he muſt be without any Proviſions for his Army; he reſolv'd, that Sr *William Balfour* ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavour to break through with his whole Body of Horſe, and to ſave them the beſt he could; and then that he himſelf would embark his Foot at *Foy*, and with them eſcape by Sea. And two Foot Soldiers of the Army, whereof one was a *French*-man, came over from them, and aſſured the King, "that they intended, that Night, to break through with their Horſe, "which were all then drawn on that ſide the River, and Town of *Liſti-*"*thiel*; and that the Foot were to march to *Foy*, where they ſhould be "embarked. This Intelligence agreed with what they otherwiſe receiv'd, and was believ'd as it ought to be; and thereupon, order was given, "that both Armies (for that under Prince *Maurice* was looked upon as diſtinct, and always ſo Quarter'd) " ſhould ſtand to their Armes all that "Night; and if the Horſe attempted an eſcape, fall on them from both "Quarters; the paſſage between them, through which they muſt go, being but a Muſquet-ſhot over; and they could not avoid going very near a very little Cottage, that was well Fortified; in which fifty Muſqueteers were placed. Advertiſement was ſent to *Goring*, and all the Horſe; and the Orders renew'd, which had formerly been given, for the breaking down the Bridges, and cutting down the Trees near the high way, to obſtruct their paſſage.

Balfour *with the Earl of* Eſſex's *Horſe eſcapes thro' the King's Army.*

THE Effect of all this providence was not ſuch as was reaſonably to be expected. The Night grew dark and miſty, as the Enemy could wiſh; and about three in the Morning, the whole Body of the Horſe paſſed with great Silence between the Armies, and within Piſtol-ſhot of the Cottage, without ſo much as one Muſquet diſcharged at them. At the break of day, the Horſe were diſcover'd marching over the Heath, beyond the reach of the Foot; and there was only at hand the Earl of *Cleveland*'s Brigade, the Body of the King's Horſe being at a greater diſtance. That Brigade, to which ſome other Troops which had taken the Alarm joyn'd, follow'd them in the Rear; and killed ſome, and took more Priſoners: but ſtronger Parties of the Enemy frequently turning upon them, and the whole Body often making a ſtand, they were often compelled to retire; yet follow'd in that manner, that they killed and took about a hundred; which was the greateſt damage they ſuſtain'd in their whole March. The Notice and Orders came to *Goring*, when he was in one of his jovial Exerciſes; which he receiv'd with mirth, and ſlighting thoſe who ſent them, as Men who took Alarms too warmly; and he continued his delights, till all the Enemies Horſe were paſſed through his Quarters; nor did then purſue them in any time. So that, excepting ſuch who, by the tiring of their Horſes, became Priſoners, *Balfour* continued his March even to *London*, with leſs loſs or trouble than can be imagined, to the infinite reproach of the King's Army, and of all his Garriſons in the way. Nor was any Man called in queſtion for this ſupine neglect; it being not thought fit to make ſevere inquiſition into the behaviour of the reſt, when it was ſo notoriouſly known, how the Superior Officer had failed in his duty.

THE

THE next Morning, after the Horſe were gone, the Earl drew all his Foot together, and quitted *Liſtithiel*, and marched towards *Foy*; having left order for the breaking down that Bridge. But his Majeſty himſelf from his new Fort diſcern'd it, and ſent a Company of Muſqueteers, who quickly beat thoſe that were left; and thereby preſerv'd the Bridge; over which the King preſently marched to overtake the Rear of the Army, which marched ſo faſt, yet in good Order, that they left two Demy-Culverins, and two other very good Guns, and ſome Ammunition, to be diſpoſed of by the King. That day was ſpent in ſmart Skirmiſhes, in which many fell; and if the King's Horſe had been more, whereof he had only two Troops of his Guards (which did good Service) it would have proved a bloody day to the Enemy. The night coming on, the King lay in the Field, his own Quarters being ſo near the Enemy, that they diſcharged many Cannon-ſhot, which fell within few yards of him, when he was at Supper. *Sunday* being the next day, and the firſt day of *September*, in the morning, *Butler*, Lieutenant Colonel to the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had been taken Priſoner at *Boconnocke*, and was exchanged for an Officer of the King's, came from the Earl to deſire a Parley. Aſſoon as he was ſent away, the Earl embarked himſelf, with the Lord *Roberts*, and ſuch other Officers as he had moſt kindneſs for, in a Veſſel at *Foy*; and ſo eſcaped into *Plymouth*; leaving all his Army of Foot, Cannon, and Ammunition, to the care of Major General *Skippon*; who was to make as good conditions for them as he could; and after a very ſhort ſtay in *Plymouth*, he went on board a Ship of the Royal Navy, that attended there; and was, within few days, deliver'd at *London*; where he was receiv'd without any abatement of the reſpect they had conſtantly paid him; nor was it leſs than they could have ſhew'd to him, if he had not only brought back his own Army, but the King himſelf likewiſe with him.

The Earl of Eſſex leaves his Army, and eſcapes to Plymouth by Sea.

THE King conſented to the Parley; upon which a Ceſſation was concluded; and Hoſtages interchangeably deliver'd; and then the Enemy ſent Propoſitions, ſuch as upon delivery of a ſtrong fortified Town, after a handſome defence, are uſually granted. But they quickly found they were not looked upon as Men in that condition; and ſo, in the end, they were contented to deliver up all their Cannon; which, with the Four taken two or three days before, were eight and thirty pieces of Cannon; a hundred Barrels of Powder, with Match and Bullets proportionable; and about ſix thouſand Armes; which being done, "the "Officers were to have liberty to wear their Swords, and to Paſs with "their own Money, and proper Goods; and to ſecure them from plun-"der, they were to have a Convoy to *Poole*, or *Southampton*; all their "ſick and wounded might ſtay in *Foy* till they were recover'd, and then "have Paſſes to *Plymouth*.

Skippon makes Conditions for the Foot.

THIS Agreement was executed accordingly, on *Monday* the ſecond of *September*, and though it was near the evening before all was finiſhed, they would march away that night; and though all care was taken to preſerve them from violence, yet firſt at *Liſtithiel*, where they had been long Quarter'd, and in other Towns through which they had formerly paſſed, the Inhabitants, eſpecially the Women, who pretended to ſee their own Cloaths and Goods about them, which they had been plunder'd of, treated them very rudely, even to ſtripping of ſome of the Soldiers, and more of their Wives, who had before behaved themſelves with great Inſolence in the march. That night there came about one hundred

of them to the King's Army, and of the ſix thouſand, for ſo many marched out of *Foy*, there did not a third part come to *Southampton*; where the King's Convoy left them; to which *Skippon* gave a large Teſtimony under his hand, "that they had carried themſelves with great Civility "towards them, and fully complied with their obligation.

Affairs at Oxford during the King's abſence.

WHILST the King was in the Weſt, though he had left *Oxford* in a very ill State in reſpect of Proviſions and Fortifications, and Soldiers, and of the different humours of thoſe who remain'd there, the Town being full of Lords (beſides thoſe of the Council) and of Perſons of the beſt Quality, with very many Ladies, who, when not pleaſed themſelves, kept others from being ſo; yet, in his abſence, they who were ſollicitous to carry on his Service, concurr'd and agreed ſo well together, that they prevailed with the reſt to do every thing that was neceſſary. They cauſed Proviſions of Corn to be laid in, in great proportions; aſſigning the publick Schools to that purpoſe; and committing the Cuſtody of them to the owners of the Corn. They had raiſed ſo many Voluntiers, that their Guards were well kept, and there was need they ſhould be ſo; for when both the Parliament Armies were before the Town, Major General *Brown*, a Citizen of *London* of good reputation, and a ſtout Man, had been left in *Abingdon* with a ſtrong Garriſon; from whence, being ſuperior in number, he infeſted *Oxford* very much; which gave them the more reaſon to proſecute the Fortifications; which, in the moſt important places, they brought to a good perfection; and when they had no more apprehenſion of a Siege, *Waller* being at a diſtance, and not able to follow the King, and leſs able to ſit down before *Oxford*, they reſolv'd to do ſomewhat to be talked of.

THE King had, before his departure, found they were not ſatisfied with their Governour, and very apprehenſive of his rudeneſs, and want of Complacency. Upon the death of Sr *William Penniman*, who had been Governour of *Oxford*, to the great ſatisfaction of all Men, being a very brave and generous Perſon, and who perform'd all manner of Civilities to all ſorts of People, as having had a good Education, and well underſtanding the manners of the Court (the Queen being then in *Oxford*) her Majeſty, who thought her ſelf the ſafer for being under the charge, and care of a Roman Catholick, prevailed with the King, to confer that charge upon Sr *Arthur Aſton*; who had been at *Reading*, and had the fortune to be very much eſteem'd, where he was Not known; and very much diſliked, where he was; and he was by this time too well known at *Oxford*, to be belov'd by any; which the King well underſtood, and was the more troubled, becauſe he ſaw the prejudice was univerſal, and with too much reaſon; and therefore his Majeſty had given an extraordinary Commiſſion to the Lords of his Council, to whoſe Authority he was to ſubmit, which obliged him to live with a little more reſpect towards them, than he deſired to do; being a Man of a rough Nature, and ſo given up to an immoderate love of Money, that he cared not by what unrighteous ways he exacted it. There were likewiſe ſome Officers of Name, who, having then no charge in the Army, ſtayed in the Town; and thoſe, by the King's direction, the Lords diſpoſed to aſſiſt the Governour; and particularly, to take care of the ſeveral Quarters of the Town: one whereof was aſſign'd to each of them: among them, Colonel *Gage* was one; who having the *Engliſh* Regiment in *Flanders*, had got leave there to make offer of his Service to the King; and to that purpoſe was newly come from thence to *Oxford*.

HE

HE was in truth a very extraordinary Man, of a large and very graceful Perſon, of an Honourable extraction, his Grandfather having been Knight of the Garter; beſides his great experience and abilities as a Soldier, which were very eminent, he had very great parts of breeding, being a very good Scholar in the polite parts of Learning, a great Maſter in the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Tongues, beſides the *French* and the *Dutch*, which he ſpoke in great perfection; having ſcarce been in *England* in twenty years before. He was likewiſe very converſant in Courts; having for many years been much eſteem'd in that of the Arch-Duke and Dutcheſs, *Albert* and *Iſabella*, at *Bruſſels*; which was a great and very regular Court at that time; ſo that he deſerv'd to be look'd upon as a wiſe and accompliſh'd Perſon. Of this Gentleman, the Lords of the Council had a ſingular eſteem, and conſulted frequently with him, whilſt they look'd to be Beſieged; and thought *Oxford* to be the more ſecure for His being in it; which render'd him ſo ungrateful to the Governour, Sr *Arthur*, that he croſſed him in any thing he propoſed, and hated him perfectly; as they were of Natures, and Manners, as different as Men can be.

THE Garriſon of *Baſing*-Houſe, the Seat of the Marquis of *Wincheſter*, in which himſelf was and commanded, had been now ſtreightly Beſieged, for the ſpace of above three Months, by a conjunction of the Parliament Troops of *Hampſhire* and *Suſſex*, under the Command of *Norton*, *Onſlow*, *Jarvis*, *Whitehead*, and *Morley*, all Colonels of Regiments, and now united in this Service under the Command of *Norton*; a Man of Spirit, and of the greateſt Fortune of all the reſt. It was ſo cloſely begirt before the King's March into the Weſt, and was looked upon as a place of ſuch importance, that when the King ſent Notice to *Oxford* of his reſolution to march into the Weſt, the Council humbly deſired his Majeſty, "that he would make *Baſing* his way, and there- "by relieve it, which his Majeſty found would have retarded his march too much, and might have invited *Waller* the ſooner to follow him, and therefore declined it. From that time, the Marquis, by frequent expreſſes, importuned the Lords of the Council "to provide, in ſome "manner, for his relief; and not to ſuffer his Perſon, and a place from "whence the Rebels receiv'd ſo much prejudice, to fall into their hands The Lady *Marchioneſs*, his wife, was then in *Oxford*; and ſollicited very diligently the timely preſervation of her Husband; which made every body deſire to gratify her, being a Lady of great Honour and Alliance, as Siſter to the Earl of *Eſſex*, and to the Lady *Marchioneſs* of *Hertford*; who was likewiſe in the Town, and engaged her Husband to take this buſineſs to heart: and all the Roman Catholicks, who were numerous in the Town, look'd upon themſelves as concern'd to contribute all they could to the good work, and ſo offer'd to liſt themſelves, and their Servants in the Service.

Colonel Gage *relieves* Baſing *Houſe*.

THE Council, both upon publick and private motives, was very heartily diſpoſed to effect it; and had ſeveral conferences together, and with the Officers; in all which the Governour too reaſonably oppoſed the deſign, "as full of more difficulties, and liable to greater damages, "than any Soldier who underſtood Command, would expoſe himſelf "and the King's Service to; and proteſted, "that he would not ſuffer "any of the ſmall Garriſon that was under his charge, to be hazarded "in the attempt. It was very true, *Baſing* was near forty Miles from *Oxford*, and, in the way between them, the Enemy had a ſtrong Garriſon of

of Horſe and Foot at *Abingdon*, and as ſtrong at *Reading*, whoſe Horſe every day viſited all the high ways near, beſides a Body of Horſe and Dragoons Quarter'd at *Newbury*; ſo that it appear'd to moſt Men hardly poſſible to ſend a Party to *Baſing*, and impoſſible for that Party to return to *Oxford*, if they ſhould be able to get to *Baſing*: yet new importunities from the Marquis, with a poſitive Declaration, "that he "could not defend it above ten days, and muſt then ſubmit to the worſt "conditions the Rebels were like to grant to his Perſon, and to his Re-"ligion; and new inſtances from his Lady, prevailed with the Lords to enter upon a new conſultation; in which the Governour perſiſted in his old reſolution, as ſeeing no cauſe to change it.

IN this Debate Colonel *Gage* declared, "that though he thought the "Service full of hazard, eſpecially for the return; yet if the Lords would, "by liſting their own Servants, perſwade the Gentlemen in the Town to "do the like, and engage their own Perſons, whereby a good Troop or "two of Horſe might be raiſed (upon which the principal dependence "muſt be) he would willingly, if there were no body elſe thought fitter "for it, undertake the conduct of them himſelf; and hoped he ſhould "give a good account of it: which being offer'd with great chearfulneſs by a Perſon, of whoſe Prudence, as well as Courage, they had a full confidence, they all reſolv'd to do the utmoſt that was in their power to make it effectual.

THERE was about this time, by the ſurrender of *Greenland*-Houſe (which could not poſſibly be longer defended, the whole ſtructure being beaten down by the Cannon) the Regiment of Colonel *Hawkins* march'd into *Oxford*, amounting to near three Hundred; to which as many others joyn'd as made it up four hundred Men. The Lords mounted their Servants upon their own Horſes; and they, with the Voluntiers, who frankly liſted themſelves, amounted to a Body of two hundred and fifty very good Horſe, all put under the Command of Colonel *William Web*, an excellent Officer, bred up in *Flanders* in ſome emulation with Colonel *Gage*; and who, upon the Catholick Intereſt, was at this time contented to ſerve under him. With this ſmall Party for ſo great an Action, *Gage* marched out of *Oxford* in the beginning of the Night; and, by the Morning, reached the place where he intended to refreſh himſelf and his Troops; which was a Wood near *Wallingford*; from whence he diſpatched an Expreſs to Sr *William Ogle*, Governour of *Wincheſter*; who had made a promiſe to the Lords of the Council, "that, "whenſoever they would endeavour the raiſing of the Siege before "*Baſing*, he would ſend one hundred Horſe, and three hundred Foot "out of his Garriſon for their Aſſiſtance; and a preſumption upon this aid, was the principal motive for the undertaking: and ſo he was directed, at What hour in the Morning his Party ſhould fall into *Baſing* Park, in the Rear of the Rebels Quarters; whilſt *Gage* himſelf would fall on the other ſide; the Marquis being defired at the ſame time to make frequent Sallies from the Houſe.

AFTER ſome hours of refreſhment in the Morning, and ſending this expreſs to *Wincheſter*, the Troops marched through by-Lanes to *Aldermaſton*, a Village out of any great rode; where they intended to take more reſt that Night. They had marched, from the time they left *Oxford*, with Orange-Tawny Scarfs and Ribbans, that they they might be taken for the Parliament Soldiers; and hoped, by that Artifice, to have paſſed undiſcover'd even to the approach upon the Beſiegers. But the

Party of Horſe which was ſent before to *Aldermaſton*, found there ſome of the Parliament Horſe, and forgetting their Orange-Tawny Scarfs, fell upon them; and killed ſome, and took ſix or ſeven Priſoners; whereby the ſecret was diſcover'd, and notice quickly ſent to *Baſing* of the approaching danger; which accident made their ſtay ſhorter at that Village than was intended, and than the wearineſs of the Soldiers required. About eleven of the Clock, they begun their march again; which they continued all that Night; the Horſemen often alighting, that the Foot might ride, and others taking many of them behind them; however they could not but be extremely weary, and ſurbated.

BETWEEN four and five of the Clock on *Wedneſday* Morning, it having been *Monday* Night that they left *Oxford*, they arriv'd within a mile of *Baſing*; where an Officer, ſent from Sr *William Ogle*, came to them to let them know, "that he durſt not ſend his Troops ſo far, in "regard many of the Enemies Horſe lay between *Wincheſter* and *Baſing*. This broke all the Colonel's meaſures; and, ſince there was no receding, made him change the whole method of his proceedings; and inſtead of dividing his Forces, and falling on in ſeveral places, as he meant to have done if the *Wincheſter* Forces had complied with their obligation, or if his march had been undiſcover'd, he reſolv'd now to fall on joyntly with all his Body in one place; in order to which, he commanded the Men to be ranged in Battalions; and rid to every Squadron, giving them ſuch words as were proper to the occaſion; which no Man could more pertinently deliver, or with a better grace: he commanded every Man to tye a white tape Ribban, or Handkerchief above the Elbow of their right Arme; and gave them the word *St George*; which was the ſign and the *word* that he had ſent before to the Marquis, leſt in his Sallies their Men, for want of diſtinction, might fall foul of each other.

THUS they march'd towards the Houſe, Colonel *Web* leading the right Wing, and Lieutenant Colonel *Bunkly* the left of the Horſe; and *Gage* himſelf the Foot: they had not march'd far, when at the upper end of a large Campagne Field, upon a little riſing of an Hill, they diſcern'd a Body of five Cornets of Horſe very full, ſtanding in very good order to receive them. But before any impreſſion could be made upon them, the Colonel muſt paſs between two Hedges lined very thick with Muſqueteers; from whom the Horſe very couragiouſly bore a ſmart Volly, and then Charged the Enemies Horſe ſo gallantly, that, after a ſhorter reſiſtance than was expected from the known Courage of *Norton*, though many of his Men fell, they gave ground; and at laſt plainly run to a ſafe place, beyond which they could not be purſued. The Foot diſputed the buſineſs much better, and being beaten from hedge to hedge, retired into their Quarters and Works; which they did not abandon in leſs than two hours; and then a free entrance into the Houſe was gained on that ſide, where the Colonel only ſtaid to ſalute the Marquis, and to put in the Ammunition he had brought with him; which was only twelve Barrels of Powder, and twelve hundred weight of Match; and immediately march'd with his Horſe and Foot to *Baſing-ſtoke*, a good Market Town two Miles from the Houſe; leaving one hundred Foot to be led, by ſome Officers of the Garriſon, to the Town of *Baſing*, a Village but a Mile diſtant. In *Baſing-ſtoke*, they found ſtore of Wheat, Mault, Oats, Salt, Bacon, Cheeſe, and Butter; as much of which, was all that day ſent to the Houſe, as they could find Carts or Horſes to tranſport, together with fourteen Barrels of Powder, and

ſome Muſquets, and forty or fifty head of Cattle, with above one hundred Sheep: whilſt the other Party, that went to *Baſing* Town, beat the Enemy that was Quarter'd there, after having kill'd forty or fifty of them; ſome fled into the Church, where they were quickly taken Priſoners; and, among them, two Captains, *Jarviſe* and *Jephſon*, the two eldeſt Sons of two of the greateſt Rebels of that Country, and both Heirs to good Fortunes, who were carried Priſoners to *Baſing*-Houſe; the reſt, who Beſieged that ſide, being fled into a ſtrong Fort which they had raiſed in the Park. The Colonel ſpent that, and the next day, in ſending all manner of Proviſions into the Houſe; and then reaſonably computing that the Garriſon was well provided for two Months, he thought of his retreat to *Oxford*; which it was time to do: for beſides that *Norton* had drawn all his Men together, who had been diſmayed, with all the Troops which lay Quarter'd within any diſtance, and appear'd within ſight of the Houſe more numerous and gay than before, as if he meant to be revenged before they parted, he was likewiſe well inform'd by the Perſons he had imployed, that the Enemy from *Abingdon* had lodged themſelves at *Aldermaſton*, and thoſe from *Reading* and *Newbury*, in two other Villages upon the River *Kennet*; over which he was to paſs.

HEREUPON, that he might take away the Apprehenſion that he meant ſuddainly to depart, he ſent out Orders, which he was ſure would come into the Enemies hands, to two or three Villages next the Houſe, "that they ſhould, by the next day noon, ſend ſuch proportions of Corn "into *Baſing*-Houſe, as were mention'd in the Warrants; upon pain, if "they failed by the time, to have a thouſand Horſe and Dragoons ſent "to fire the Towns. This being done, and all his Men drawn together about eleven of the Clock at Night, *Thurſday* the ſecond Night after he came thither, the Marquis giving him two or three Guides who knew the Country exactly, he march'd from *Baſing* without ſound of Drum or Trumpet, and paſſed the *Kennet*, undiſcover'd, by a Ford near a Bridge which the Enemy had broke down; and thereby thought they had ſecured that paſſage; the Horſe taking the Foot *en Croup*; and then, marching by-ways, in the Morning they likewiſe paſſed over the *Thames*, at a Ford little more than a Mile from *Reading*; and ſo eſcaped the Enemy, and got before Night to *Wallingford*; where he ſecurely reſted, and refreſhed his Men that Night; and the next Day arrived ſafe at *Oxford*; having loſt only two Captains, and two or three other Gentlemen, and Common Men; in all to the number of eleven; and forty or fifty wounded, but not dangerouſly: what number the Enemy loſt could not be known; but it was believ'd, they loſt many, beſides above one hundred Priſoners that were taken; and it was confeſs'd, by Enemies as well as Friends, that it was as Soldierly an Action, as had been perform'd in the War on either ſide; and redounded very much to the reputation of the Commander.

THE next day after the Army of *Eſſex* was gone, and diſſolv'd, the King return'd to his Quarters at *Boconnocke*, and ſtaid there only a day to refreſh his Men; having ſent, the day before, *Greenvil*, with the *Corniſh* Horſe and Foot, towards *Plymouth*, to joyn with *Goring* in the purſuit of *Balfour*, and that Body of Horſe; which, by paſſing over the Bridge near *Salt-aſh*, they might eaſily have done. But he ſlacken'd his march that he might poſſeſs *Salt-aſh*, which the Enemy had quitted, and left therein eleven pieces of Cannon with ſome Armes and Ammunition;

munition; which, together with the Town, was not worth his unwarrantable ſtay. This kept him from joyning with *Goring*; who thereby, and for want of thoſe Foot, excuſed his not Fighting with *Balfour* when he was within diſtance; but contented himſelf with ſending a Commanded Party to follow his Rear, and in that too eager a purſuit, Captain *Sam. Wainman*, a young Man of extraordinary parts and expectation, the Son of a very wiſe and eminent Father, was loſt, to the irreparable damage of a Noble Family. Thus *Balfour*, by an orderly and well govern'd march, paſs'd above one hundred Miles in the King's Quarters, as hath been ſaid before, without any conſiderable loſs, to a place of ſafety within their own precincts.

THE fear and apprehenſion of the Enemy was no ſooner over, than the murmur begun, "that the King had been perſwaded to grant too "good conditions to that Body of Foot; and that he might well have "forced them to have ſubmitted to his mercy, as well as to have laid "down their Armes; and ſo have made both Officers and Soldiers to "become Priſoners of War: by which the Enemy would not have been "able ſo ſoon to have raiſed another Army. But they who undertook to cenſure that Action, how great a Number ſoever they were, did not at all underſtand the preſent temper and conſtitution of the King's Army; which then was not near ſo ſtrong as it was reputed to be: whatever it might have done by a brisk and vigorous attempt, when it firſt enter'd *Cornwal*, which was in the beginning of *Auguſt*, and when a Party of his Majeſty's Horſe ſurpriſed and ſeiſed the Earl of *Eſſex*'s own Lieutenant Colonel, and many other Officers of Name at *Boconnocke*, before his Majeſty was ſuſpected to be in any near diſtance: I ſay whatever might have been then done, in that conſternation the Enemy was then in, the caſe was very much alter'd in the beginning of *September*, when the Articles were made; and when the number of the Foot who laid down their Armes, was in truth ſuperior to thoſe of the King's (as it will appear anon) when his Army marched out of *Cornwal*. The overſight, which was a great one, was on the other ſide, when their Horſe broke through. If they had then known, and it was hardly poſſible they ſhould not know it, that all the King's Horſe, his Guard only excepted, were at that time Quarter'd behind them, about St *Blaſe*, their Foot might very well have marched away with their Horſe, their Cannon only being left behind, and having got but four or five hours before, which they might eaſily, and as undiſcern'd have done, the King's Army in the condition and ſtate it was in, naked and unſhod, would through thoſe incloſed parts, narrow Lanes, and deep Ditches, in *Devon* and *Somerſet*, have been able to have done them little harm: Beſides the King very well knew at the time the Articles were made, that *Middleton*, notwithſtanding all his Affronts, was then come to *Tiverton*; and therefore there can be no doubt, that his Majeſty, in thoſe condeſcenſions, proceeded with no leſs Prudence than Clemency.

The King ſends a Meſſage of Peace.

AFTER this great Succeſs, the King thought fit to renew his offer of Peace; and ſent a Meſſage to the two Houſes of Parliament, to deſire that there might be a Treaty to that purpoſe; which Meſſage was ſent by a Trumpet to the Earl of *Eſſex*, after his repair to *London*, to be deliver'd by him, of which there was no conſideration taken in three Months after the receipt of it. This done, the King was perſwaded, in his way (as it was not much out of it) to look upon *Plymouth*; for ſo far it might be preſumed that the *Corniſh* Troops, how impatient ſoever

they were to be at their harveſt, would attend him: And if he could, by appearing before it, become Maſter of it, which was not thought improbable, he might return to *Oxford* in great Triumph, and leave the Weſt throughly reduced: for then *Lyme* could not hold out, and he might be ſure to carry an Army with him ſtrongly recruited; but if it proved not a work of eaſe and expedition, he might proceed in his march without farther ſtay; and he quickly found it neceſſary to do ſo; having ſent a Summons to the Town, and receiv'd a rude Anſwer to it:

FOR the Earl of *Eſſex* had left the Lord *Roberts* Governour in that Town; a Man of a ſour and ſurly nature, a great Opiniatre, and one who muſt be overcome before he would believe that he could be ſo. The King, finding no good could be done with him, and that the reducing the Town would require ſome time, purſued his former reſolution, and marched away; having committed the Blocking up of *Plymouth* to Sr *Richard Greenvil*, a Man who had been bred a Soldier, and of great expectation, but of greater promiſes; having with all manner of Aſſurance undertaken to take the Town by *Chriſtmas*, if ſuch conditions might be perform'd to him, all which were punctually complyed with; whilſt he made his Quarters as far as ever they had been formerly from the Town; beginning his War firſt upon his Wife, who had been long in poſſeſſion of her own Fortune, by virtue of a Decree in *Chancery*, many years before the Troubles; and ſeiſing upon all ſhe had, and then making himſelf Maſter of all Their Eſtates who were in the Service of the Parliament, without doing any thing of importance upon the Town; only upon the firſt Meſſage between the Lord *Roberts* and Him, there aroſe ſo mortal a miſunderſtanding, that there was never Civility or Quarter obſerv'd between them; but ſuch as were taken on either ſide, were put to the Sword; or which was worſe, to the Halter.

The King leaves Sr Richard Greenvil *to Block up* Plymouth.

SINCE there will be often occaſion to mention this Gentleman, Sr *Richard Greenvil*, in the enſuing diſcourſe, and becauſe many Men believ'd, that he was hardly dealt with in the next year, where all the proceedings will be ſet down at large, it will not be unfit, in this place, to ſay ſomewhat of him, and of the manner and merit of his entring into the King's Service ſome Months before the time We are now upon. He was of a very ancient and worthy Family in *Cornwal*, which had, in ſeveral Ages, produced Men of great Courage, and very ſignal in their Fidelity to, and Service of the Crown; and was Himſelf younger Brother (though in his Nature, or Humour, not of Kin to him) to the brave Sr *Bevil Greenvil*, who ſo couragiouſly loſt his Life in the Battle of *Lanſdown*. Being a younger Brother, and a very young Man, he went into the Low Countries to learn the profeſſion of a Soldier; to which he had dedicated himſelf under the greateſt General of that Age, Prince *Maurice*, in the Regiment of my Lord *Veere*, who was General of all the *Engliſh*. In that Service he was look'd upon as a Man of Courage, and a diligent Officer, in the quality of a Captain, to which he attain'd after few years Service. About this time, in the end of the Reign of King *James*, the War broke out between *England* and *Spain*; and in the expedition to *Cales*, this Gentleman ſerv'd as a Major to a Regiment of Foot, and continued in the ſame Command, in the War that ſoon after follow'd againſt *France*; and, at the Iſle of *Rhee*, inſinuated himſelf into the very good grace of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was the General in that Invaſion; and after the unfortunate retreat from thence, was made Colonel of a Regiment with general Approbation, and as an Officer that well deſerv'd it.

HIS credit every day encreaſed with the Duke; who, out of the generoſity of his Nature, as a moſt generous Perſon he was, reſolv'd to raiſe his Fortune; towards the beginning whereof, by his countenance, and ſollicitation, he prevailed with a Rich Widow to Marry him, who had been a Lady of extraordinary Beauty, which ſhe had not yet outliv'd; and though ſhe had no great Dower by her Husband, a younger Brother of the Earl of *Suffolk*; yet ſhe inherited a fair Fortune of her own, near *Plymouth*; and was beſides very rich in a perſonal Eſtate, and was look'd upon as the richeſt Match of the Weſt. This Lady, by the Duke's Credit, Sr *Richard Greenvil* (for he was now made a Knight and Baronet) obtain'd; and was thereby poſſeſs'd of a plentiful Eſtate upon the Borders of his own Country; where his own Family had great Credit and Authority. The War being quickly at an end, and he depriv'd of his great Patron, had nothing now to depend upon but the Fortune of his Wife; which, though ample enough to have ſupported the expence a Perſon of his Quality ought to have made, was not large enough to ſatisfy his vanity and ambition; nor ſo great, as He, upon common reports, had promiſed himſelf by her. By not being enough pleaſed with her Fortune, he grew leſs pleaſed with his Wife; who, being a Woman of a haughty and imperious Nature, and of a Wit ſuperior to His, quickly reſented the diſreſpect ſhe receiv'd from him; and in no degree ſtudied to make her ſelf eaſy to him. After ſome years ſpent together in theſe domeſtick unſociable Conteſtations, in which he poſſeſſed himſelf of all her Eſtate, as the Sole Maſter of it, without allowing her, out of her own, any competency for her ſelf; and indulged to himſelf all thoſe Licences in her own Houſe, which to Women are moſt greivous, ſhe found means to withdraw her ſelf from him; and was with all kindneſs receiv'd into that Family, in which ſhe had before been Married, and was always very much reſpected.

HER abſence was not ingrateful to him, till the Tenants refuſed to pay him any more Rent, and he found himſelf on a ſuddain deprived of her whole Eſtate, which was all he had to live upon: for it appear'd now, that ſhe had, before her Marriage with him, ſettled her entire Fortune ſo abſolutely upon the Earl of *Suffolk*, that the preſent right was in Him, and he requir'd the Rents to be paid to him. This begot a Suit in the Chancery between Sr *Richard Greenvil*, and the then Earl of *Suffolk*, before the Lord *Coventry*, who found the Conveyances in Law to be ſo firm, that he could not only not relieve Sr *Richard Greenvil* in Equity, but that in Juſtice he muſt Decree the Land to the Earl; which he did. This very ſenſible mortification tranſported him ſo much, that, being a Man who uſed to ſpeak very bitterly of thoſe he did not love, after all endeavours to have engaged the Earl in a perſonal Conflict, he reveng'd himſelf upon him in ſuch opprobrious Language, as the Government, and Juſtice of that time would not permit to paſs unpuniſhed; and the Earl appeal'd for reparation to the Court of Star-Chamber; where Sr *Richard* was decreed to pay three thouſand pounds for damages to him; and was likewiſe fined the Sum of three thouſand pounds to the King; who gave the fine likewiſe to the Earl: ſo that Sr *Richard* was committed to the Priſon of the Fleet in execution for the whole ſix thouſand pounds; which at that time was thought by all Men to be a very ſevere and rigorous Decree, and drew a general compaſſion towards the unhappy Gentleman.

AFTER he had endured many years of ſtrict Impriſonment, a little

before the beginning of the late Troubles, he made his eſcape out of the Priſon; and tranſporting himſelf beyond the Seas, remained there till the Parliament was call'd that produced ſo many miſeries to the Kingdom; and when he heard that many Decrees which had been made, in that time, by the Court of Star-Chamber, were repealed, and the Perſons grieved, abſolv'd from thoſe penalties, he likewiſe returned, and petitioned to have his Cauſe heard; for which a Committee was appointed; but before it could be brought to any concluſion, the Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*. Among the firſt Troops that were rais'd, and tranſported for the ſuppreſſion thereof, by the Parliament (to whom the King had unhappily committed the proſecution of it) Sr *Richard Greenvil*, upon the fame of being a good Officer, was ſent over with a very good Troop of Horſe; was Major of the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s own Regiment of Horſe, and was very much eſteem'd by him, and the more by the Parliament, for the ſignal Acts of cruelty he did every day commit upon the *Iriſh*; which were of ſo many kinds upon both Sexes, young and old, hanging old Men who were bedrid, becauſe they would not diſcover where their Money was, that he believ'd they had; and old Women, ſome of Quality, after he had plundered them, and found leſs than he expected; that they can hardly be believ'd, though notoriouſly known to be true.

AFTER the Ceſſation was made in *Ireland*, he pretended that his Conſcience would not give him leave to ſtay there, and was much the more welcome to the Parliament, for declaring ſo heartily againſt that Ceſſation; and Sr *William Waller* being in the beginning of this year to make his expedition into the Weſt, after the Battle of *Arlesford*, Sr *Richard Greenvil* was either commended to him, or invited by him, to command the Horſe under him; which he chearfully accepted, not without many inſinuations, how much his Intereſt in *Devon-ſhire*, and *Cornwal*, would advance Theirs. He receiv'd from the Parliament a great Sum of Money, for the making his Equipage; in which he always affected more than ordinary Luſtre; and Sr *William Waller* communicated to him all his deſigns, with the ground and foundation of them, as to an entire Friend, and an Officer of that eminence, by whoſe Advice he meant to govern his own Conduct.

HIS firſt and principal deſign was to ſurpriſe *Baſing*-Houſe, by a correſpondence with the Lord *Edward Paulet*, Brother to the Marquis of *Wincheſter*, and then with him, as unſuſpected as a Brother ought to be. For the better execution of this, Sr *Richard Greenvil* was ſent before with a Body of the Horſe, that all things might be well diſpoſed, and prepared againſt the time *Waller* himſelf ſhould come to him. He appointed a Rendezvous for the Horſe at *Bagſhot*, and the ſame day marched out of *London* only with his Equipage; which was very Noble; a Coach and ſix Horſes, a Waggon and ſix Horſes, many led Horſes, and many Servants: with thoſe, when he came to *Staines*, he left the *Bagſhot* road, and marched directly to *Reading*, where the King's Garriſon then was; and thence, without delay, to *Oxford*; where he was very graciouſly receiv'd by the King, and the more, becauſe he was not expected. He communicated then to the King the whole deſign of the ſurpriſe of *Baſing*; upon which the King ſent an Expreſs immediately to the Marquis, with all the particular informations; who thereupon ſeiſed upon his Brother, and the other Conſpirators; who confeſs'd all with all the circumſtances of the correſpondence and combination.

bination. The Marquis prevailed with the King, that he might only turn his Brother out of the Garriſon, after Juſtice was done upon his Complices. This very happy and ſeaſonable diſcovery, preſerv'd that important place; which, without it, had infallibly been loſt within few days, and therefore could not but much endear the Perſon of the Diſcoverer; upon whom the Parliament thunder'd out all thoſe reproaches, which his deſerting them in ſuch a manner was liable to; and denounced all thoſe judgements upon him of Attainder, Confiſcation, and Incapacity of Pardon, which they uſed to do againſt thoſe, who, they thought, had done them moſt miſchief, or againſt whom they were moſt incenſed: which was all the excuſe he could make for his ſevere proceedings againſt thoſe of their Party, who fell into his hands afterwards where he commanded.

FROM *Oxford* he went quickly into the Weſt, before he had any Command there; declaring that he would aſſiſt Colonel *Digby*; who, upon Prince *Maurice*'s departure from thence with his Army, was left to Block up *Plymouth*; which he did with much courage and Soldierly ability. To Him he had Letters from the King, that he ſhould put Sr *Richard Greenvil*, into the poſſeſſion of his Wife's Eſtate, that lay within his Quarters, and which was juſtly liable to a Sequeſtration by her living in *London*, and being too zealouſly of that Party; which the Colonel punctually did. And ſo he came, after ſo many years, to be again poſſeſſed of all that Eſtate; which was what he moſt ſet his heart upon.

ONE day he made a Viſit from his Houſe, which he call'd his own, to the Colonel; and dined with him; and the Colonel civilly ſent half a dozen Troopers to wait on him home, leſt any of the Garriſon, in their uſual Excurſions, might meet with him. In his return home, he ſaw four or five fellows, coming out of a Neighbour Wood, with Burthens of Wood upon their backs, which they had ſtolen. He bid the Troopers fetch thoſe fellows to him; and finding that they were Soldiers of the Garriſon, he made one of them hang all the reſt; which, to ſave his own Life, he was contented to do: ſo ſtrong his appetite was to thoſe Executions he had been accuſtom'd to in *Ireland*, without any kind of Commiſſion or pretence of Authority.

SHORTLY after, upon a Salley made with Horſe and Foot from the Town, Colonel *Digby* (who beſides the keenneſs of his Courage had a more compoſed underſtanding, and leſs liable to fumes, than ſome of his Family who had ſharper parts) Charging them with ſuch vigour as routed, and drove them back, receiv'd himſelf in the cloſe an unhappy wound, with a Rapier, in the Eye; which pierced near his brain; ſo that, though he was brought off by his Soldiers, it was very long before he recover'd enough to endure the Air, and never did the Effects of the Wound. Upon this Accident, Sr *Richard Greenvil* was placed in that Command, which he executed for ſome Months; until, upon the Advance of the Earl of *Eſſex*, he was compelled to retire into *Cornwal*, where We found him at the King's coming thither.

THIS ſo large excurſion upon a private Perſon may ſeem very extravagant, and to carry in it too much Animoſity againſt the memory of a Man who did ſome things well, and was not without ſome merit in the King's Service: but they who know the Occurrences of the next year, which will be faithfully related, and conſider the ſeverity that he compelled the Prince to uſe towards him, of which he made a great noiſe afterwards in the world, and prevailed with ſome good Men to believe

believe that the proceeding againſt him was too rigorous, and that the Council then about the Prince had ſome perſonal diſreſpect towards him, may reaſonably believe, that this enlargement was in ſome degree neceſſary, that ſuch a Man's Original, Nature, Manners, and Diſpoſition, ſhould be manifeſt and clearly underſtood.

THE King was now moſt intent to return into his Winter Quarters at *Oxford*, which was all he could propoſe to himſelf; in which he expected to meet with all the obſtructions and difficulties his enraged Enemies could lay in his way. He knew well that *Waller* was even ready to come out of *London*, and that *Middleton* was retired from *Tiverton* to joyn with him; that they had ſent for the Earl of *Manchester* to march towards the Weſt with his Victorious Army: So that, if he long deferr'd his march, he muſt look to Fight another Battle, before he could reach *Oxford*. Notwithſtanding all which, his Army that had been upon hard duty, and had made long marches above ſix Months together, required ſome reſt and refreſhment; the Foot were without Cloaths, and Shooes; and the Horſe in ſuch ill humour, that without Money they would be more diſcontented. To provide the beſt remedy that could be applied to theſe evils, the next day after the King march'd from *Plymouth*, himſelf, attended only by his own Troop, and the principal Officers of the Court, went to *Exeter*; appointing the Army, by ſlow marches, to follow, and to be Quarter'd at *Tiverton*, and the other Towns adjacent; where they arriv'd on the 21ſt of *September*.

HIS Majeſty now quickly diſcern'd how continual hard duty, with little fighting, had leſſen'd and diminiſh'd his Army. His own Body of Foot, which when he enter'd *Cornwal*, were above four thouſand, was at this time much fewer; and Prince *Maurice*'s, which conſiſted of full four thouſand five hundred, when the King firſt view'd them at *Kirton*, was not now half the Number. Of all the Forces under *Greenvil*, which had made ſo much noiſe, and had been thought worthy of the Name of an Army, there were only five hundred Foot, and three hundred Horſe left with him, for the Blocking up *Plymouth*; the reſt were dwindled away; or elſe, which was his uſual Artifice, he had encouraged them to ſtay for ſome time in *Cornwal*, and then to repair to him, as many of them did; for his Forces ſuddainly encreaſed; and the truth is, few of the *Corniſh* march'd Eaſtward with the King. The King's Horſe were harraſed, and many of them dead in the marches; which contributed to the diſcontent of the Riders; ſo that great Proviſions were to be made before they could begin a new march. By the diligence and activity of the Commiſſioners, appointed in *Devon-ſhire* for thoſe Affairs, his Majeſty was within few days ſupplied with two thouſand pounds in Money, which was preſently diſtributed among the Horſe; and three thouſand Sutes of Cloaths, with good proportions of Shooes and Stockings; which were likewiſe deliver'd to the Foot. What remain'd yet wanting for the Horſe and Foot, was promiſed to meet them, upon their firſt entrance into *Somerſet-ſhire*; where the Commiſſioners of that County, had undertaken they ſhould be ready.

THERE was another thing of equal importance to be provided for, before the King left *Exeter*; which was, the Blocking up the Troops of *Lyme*; which were grown more inſolent by the Succeſs they had had; and made Incurſions ſometimes even to the Walls of *Exeter*; and to reſtrain a ſtronger Garriſon in *Taunton*. For when Prince *Maurice* raiſed his Siege from *Lyme*, he had very unhappily drawn out the Garriſon of *Taunton*,

Taunton, which conſiſted of eight hundred Men, under the Command of Sr *John Stawel*, a Perſon of that eminent Courage and Fidelity, that he would never have given it up; and left only fourſcore Men in the Caſtle to be kept by a Lieutenant, who baſely gave it up, aſſoon as *Eſſex* in his paſſage demanded it; for which he deſervedly afterwards ſuffer'd Death. And it was now, by the Garriſon the Earl put into it, and the extreme malignity and pride of the Inhabitants, in both which they exceeded, become a ſharp Thorn in the ſides of all that populous County.

To remedy the firſt of theſe, ſome Troops which depended upon the Garriſon of *Exeter*, were aſſign'd, and were to receive Orders from Sr *John Berkley*, Governour thereof; who was the more vacant for that Service by the reduction of *Barnſtable*; which was done during the King's ſtay at *Exeter*. The other of *Taunton*, was more unhappily committed to Colonel *Windham*, the Governour of *Bridgewater*; who, though a Gentleman of known Courage and unqueſtionable Fidelity, by the Diviſions and Factions in the Country, was not equal to the work. To diſpatch all this, the King ſtaid not a full week at *Exeter*; but haſten'd his march to *Chard* in *Somerſet-ſhire*, where he ſtaid longer; for which he paid dear after; for he might otherwiſe have reach'd *Oxford*, before the Enemy was in a conjunction ſtrong enough to ſtop him: yet even that ſtay could not be prevented, except he would have left the Money and Cloaths (which the Commiſſioners of *Somerſet-ſhire* promiſed, and did deliver there at laſt) behind him; which would not have been grateful to the Army.

It was the laſt of *September*, that the King march'd from *Chard*; and Quarter'd that Night at a Houſe of the Lord *Paulet*'s, where Prince *Rupert* met him, and gave him an account of the unhappy Affairs of the North, and that he had left about two thouſand Horſe under the Command of Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*; which he might as well have brought with him, and then the King would have had a glorious end of his Weſtern Expedition. Prince *Rupert* preſently return'd to *Briſtol*, with Orders, aſſoon as was poſſible, to march, with thoſe Northern Horſe under Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, and two thouſand Foot, which were in *Wales*, under Colonel *Charles Gerrard*, into *Gloceſter-ſhire*; by which the Enemy might be obliged to divide their Force, which if they ſhould ſtill keep united, the Prince from thence would be able to joyn with the King: But theſe Orders were not executed in time. The King's Army at this time conſiſted in the whole but of five thouſand five hundred Foot, and about four thouſand Horſe; and *Waller* was already come with his Horſe to *Blanford*; but ſome of his Troops being beaten up by thoſe of the King's, he retired to *Shaftsbury*, and thoſe parts of *Wiltſhire* adjacent. It concern'd the King very much, before he left thoſe parts, to relieve *Portland*-Caſtle, which had been now Beſieged from the time of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s march that way. To that purpoſe, he march'd to *Sherborne*; where he ſtaid ſix days too long, though in that time he raiſed the Siege before *Portland*-Caſtle, if he had not hoped by that delay that his Nephew Prince *Rupert* would have been well advanced in his march. Sr *Lewis Dives* was left with his own Regiment of one hundred and fifty old Soldiers, and ſome Horſe in *Sherborne*-Caſtle, and made Commander in Chief of *Dorſet-ſhire*; in hope that he would be able ſhortly by his activity and the very good affection of that County, to raiſe Men enough to recover *Weymouth*: and he did perform all that could be reaſonably expected from him. His Majeſty had

a great deſire, in his march to *Oxford*, to relieve *Donnington*-Caſtle, and *Baſing*; which was again Beſieged by almoſt the whole Army of the Enemy; and then to ſend a good Party to relieve *Banbury*, which had been cloſe Beſieged by Colonel *John Fiennes*, another Son of the Lord *Say*, with all the Forces of *Northampton-ſhire*, *Warwick*, and *Coventry*; and bravely defended by Sr *William Compton*, full three Months; but by this time reduced to the utmoſt extremity.

IN order to preſerve all this, the King came to *Salisbury* upon the fifteenth of *October*; where he underſtood, "that *Waller* lay at *Ando-*
"*ver* with his Troops; that *Mancheſter* was advanced as far as *Reading* 10
"with five thouſand Horſe and Foot, and four and twenty pieces of
"Ordnance: and that four Regiments of the Train'd-bands of *London*,
"were beginning their march to him; and that three thouſand of the
"Horſe and Foot of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army were near *Portſmouth*,
"expecting Orders to joyn with the reſt. This might very well have diſpoſed his Majeſty to have haſten'd his march to *Oxford*, which would have made a fair concluſion of the Campagne; and this was the more reaſonable, becauſe here the King receiv'd Letters from Prince *Rupert*, in which he declared, "that it was not poſſible for him to bring up his 20
"Troops ſo ſoon as his Majeſty expected; and indeed as his preſent con-
dition required: and if this had been reſolv'd, both *Donnington*-Caſtle, and *Banbury*, might have been ſeaſonably ſet at liberty; but a great gayety poſſeſſed *Goring*, that he earneſtly adviſed the King to march, with ſecrecy and expedition, to beat *Waller*; who lay at *Andover*, a good diſtance from the reſt, with three thouſand Horſe and Dragoons; which the King upon the unanimous conſent of the Council, conſented to.

HE had left all the Cannon that he had taken from *Eſſex*, in *Exeter*; and now he ſent all his great Cannon to a Garriſon he had within two Miles of *Salisbury* at *Langford*, a Houſe of the Lord *Gorges*, where 30
was a Garriſon of one hundred Men, commanded by a good Officer. The reſt of the Cannon and Carriages were left at *Wilton*, the Houſe of the Earl of *Pembroke*, with a Regiment of Foot to guard them; and the King appointed the Rendezvous for the Army to be the next Morning, by ſeven of the Clock, near *Clarendon*-Park; and good Guards were ſet at all the Avenues of the City, to keep all People from going out, that *Waller* might not have any notice of his purpoſe: and if the hour of the Rendezvous had been obſerv'd, as it rarely was (though his Majeſty was himſelf the moſt punctual, and never abſent at the preciſe time) that deſign had ſucceeded to wiſh. For though the Foot under 40
Prince *Maurice* came not up till eleven of the Clock, ſo that the Army did not begin it's march till twelve, yet they came within four Miles of *Andover*, before *Waller* had any Notice of their Motions; when he drew out his whole Body towards them, as if he meant to Fight; but upon view of their ſtrength, and the good order they were in, he changed his mind, and drew back into the Town; leaving a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons to make good his Retreat. But the King's Van Charged, and Routed them with good execution, and purſued them through the Town, and ſlew many of them in the Rear, until the darkneſs of the Night ſecured them, and hinder'd the others from following 50
farther. But they were all ſcatter'd, and came not quickly together again; and the King Quarter'd that Night at *Andover*. The ſcattering this great Body under *Waller* in this manner, and the little reſiſtance

they made, ſo raiſed the Spirits of the King's Army, that they deſired nothing more than to have a Battle with the whole Army of the Enemy; which the King meant not to ſeek out, nor to decline Fighting with them, if they put themſelves in his way. And ſo he reſolv'd to raiſe the Siege of *Donnington*-Caſtle, which was little out of his way to *Oxford*. To that purpoſe, he ſent orders for the Cannon which had been left at *Langford*, and *Wilton*, to make all haſt to a place appointed between *Andover* and *Newbury*; where he ſtayed with his Army, till they came up to him; and then marched together to *Newbury*, within a Mile of *Donnington*.

THE Blockade of *Donnington*-Caſtle had been (when *Middleton* from thence purſued his march into the Weſt) left to the care of Colonel *Horton*; who for ſome time was contented to Block it up; but then finding his Summons neglected, and that they had ſtore of Proviſions within, and having an Addition of Forces from *Abingdon* and *Reading*, he reſolv'd to Beſiege it; which he begun to do the 29th of *September*; and made his Approaches, and raiſed a Battery on the foot of the Hill next *Newbury*, and plyed it ſo with his great Cannon, that, after twelve days continual ſhooting, he beat down three Towers and a part of the Wall; which he believ'd had ſo humbled the Governour and the Garriſon, that they would be no longer ſo ſtubborne as they had been; and therefore he ſent them another Summons, in which he magnified his own clemency, "that prevailed with him, now they were even at his "mercy, to offer them Quarter for their Lives, if they gave up the Caſtle "before *Wedneſday* at ten of the Clock in the Morning; but if that his "favour was not accepted, he declared, in the preſence of God, that "there ſhould no Man amongſt them have his Life ſpared. The Governour made himſelf merry with his high and threatning Language; and ſent him word, "he would keep the place, and would neither give "nor receive Quarter. At this time, the Earl of *Mancheſter* himſelf with his Forces came to *Newbury*; and receiving no better Anſwer to his own Summons, than *Horton* had done before, he reſolv'd to Storm it the next day. But his Soldiers, being well inform'd of the reſolution of thoſe within, declined that hot Service; and plyed it with their Artillery until the next Night; and then removed their Battery to the other ſide of the Caſtle; and begun their Approaches by Saps; when the Governour made a ſtrong Sally, and beat them out of their Trenches, and kill'd a Lieutenant Colonel, who commanded in Chief, with many Soldiers; ſhot their Chief Cannoneer through the Head, brought away their Cannon Baskets, and many Armes, and retired with very little loſs; yet the next Night they finiſhed their Battery: and continued ſome days their great ſhot, till they heard of the Approach of the King's Army; whereupon they drew off their Ordnance, and their Train'd-bands of *London* being not yet come to them, the Earl thought fit to march away to a greater diſtance; there having been, in nineteen days, above one thouſand great ſhot ſpent upon the Walls, without any other damage to the Garriſon, than the beating down ſome old parts thereof.

WHEN the King came to *Newbury*, the Governour of *Donnington* attended him; and was Knighted for his very good behaviour; and there was then ſo little apprehenſion of dread of the Enemy, that his Majeſty thought not of proſecuting his Journey towards *Oxford*, before he ſhould Relieve both *Baſing* and *Banbury*. And now importunities being ſent from the laſt, which was even upon the point of rendering

Banbury-Caſtle reliev'd by the Earl of Northampton.

for want of Victuals, they having already eaten moſt of their Horſes, his Majeſty was well content that the Earl of *Northampton*, who had the Supreme Government of that Garriſon, where he had left his brave Brother his Lieutenant, ſhould, with three Regiments of Horſe, attempt the relieving it; Letters being ſent to *Oxford*, "that Colonel *Gage*, "with ſome Horſe and Foot from thence, ſhould meet him; which they did punctually; and came time enough to *Banbury* before they were expected: yet they found the Rebels Horſe (Superior in number by much to theirs) drawn up in five Bodies on the South ſide of the Town, near their Sconce; as if, upon the advantage of that ground, they meant to Fight. But two, or three ſhots, made at them by a Couple of Drakes brought from *Oxford* by Colonel *Gage*, made them ſtagger, and retire from their ground very diſorderly. Their Cannon and Baggage had been ſent out of the Town the Night before; and their Foot, being above ſeven hundred, run out of *Banbury* upon the firſt advance of the King's Troops. Colonel *Gage* with the Foot went directly to the Caſtle, that they might be at Liberty; whilſt the Earl of *Northampton* follow'd the Horſe ſo cloſely, that they found it beſt to make a ſtand; where he furiouſly Charged and Routed them; and, notwithſtanding they had lined ſome Hedges with Muſqueteers, purſued them till they were ſcatter'd, and totally diſperſed; their General, young *Fiennes*, continuing his flight, till he came to *Coventry*, without ſtaying. The Foot, for the moſt part, by diſperſing themſelves, eſcaped by the Incloſures, before Colonel *Gage* could come up. But there were taken, in the Chaſe, one Field piece, and three Waggons of Armes and Ammunition; many ſlain; and two Officers of Horſe, with near one hundred other Priſoners, four Cornets of Horſe, and two hundred Horſes, were taken; and all this with the loſs of one Captain and nine Troopers; ſome Officers, and others, being wounded, but not mortally. Thus the Siege was raiſed from *Banbury*; which had continued full thirteen Weeks; ſo notably defended, that though they had but two Horſes left uneaten, they had never ſuffer'd a Summons to be ſent to them; and it was now Reliev'd the very day of the Month upon which both Town and Caſtle had been render'd to the King two years before; being the 26th of *October*.

THOUGH the Relief of *Banbury* ſucceeded to wiſh, yet the King paid dear for it ſoon after; the very day after that Service was perform'd, Colonel *Urry*, a *Scots*-man, who had formerly ſerv'd the Parliament, and is well mention'd, in the tranſactions of the laſt year, for having quitted them, and perform'd ſome ſignal Service to the King, had in the Weſt, about the time the King enter'd into *Cornwal* (in a diſcontented humour, which was very natural to him) deſired a Paſs to go beyond the Seas; and ſo quitted the Service: but inſtead of embarking himſelf, made haſt to *London*; and put himſelf now into the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Army, and made a diſcovery of all he knew of the king's Army, and a deſcription of the Perſons and Cuſtomes of thoſe who principally commanded; ſo that as they well knew the conſtitution, and weakneſs of the King's Army, they had alſo Advertiſement of the Earl of *Northampton*'s being gone, with three Regiments of Horſe, to the Relief of *Banbury*. Whereupon, within two days after, all thoſe Forces which had been under *Eſſex* and *Waller*, being united with *Mancheſter* (with whom likewiſe the Train'd-bands of *London* were now joyn'd; all which made up a Body of above eight thouſand Foot; the number of their Horſe being not Inferior) advanced towards the King, who had not half

the number before the departure of the Earl of *Northampton*, and ſtay'd ſtill at *Newbury* with a reſolution to expect the return of that Earl, that he might likewiſe do ſomewhat for *Baſing*; not believing that the Enemy could be ſo ſoon united.

IT was now too late to hope to make a Safe retreat to *Oxford*, when the whole Body of the Enemies Army, which had receiv'd poſitive Orders to Fight the King aſſoon as was poſſible, appear'd as near as *Thackham*; ſo that his Majeſty not at all diſmay'd, reſolv'd to ſtand upon the Defenſive only; hoping that, upon the advantage he had of the Town of *Newbury* and the River, the Enemy would not ſpeedily Advance; and that in the mean time, by being compell'd to lodge in the Field, which grew now to be very Cold, whilſt his Army was under cover, they might be forced to retire. The King quarter'd in the Town of *Newbury*; and placed ſtrong Guards on the South of the Town: but the greateſt part of the Army was placed towards the Enemies Quarters, in a good Houſe belonging to Mr *Doleman* at *Shaw*, and in a Village near it, defended by the River that runs under *Donnington* Caſtle, and in a Houſe between that Village and *Newbury*, about which a Work was caſt up, and at a Mill upon the River of *Kennet*; all which lay almoſt Eaſt from the Town. Directly North from thence were two open Fields, where moſt of the Horſe ſtood with the Train of Artillery, and about half a mile Weſt, was the Village of *Speen*; and beyond it a ſmall Heath. In this Village lay all Prince *Maurice*'s Foot, and ſome Horſe, and at the Entrance of the Heath a work was caſt up, which clear'd the Heath. In this poſture they had many Skirmiſhes with the Enemy for two days, without loſing any ground; and the Enemy was ſtill beaten off with loſs. *The ſecond Battle of* Newbury.

ON *Sunday* Morning, the ſeven and twentieth of *October*, by the break of day, one thouſand of the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Army, with the Train'd-bands of *London*, came down the Hill; and paſſed the River that way by *Shaw*; and, undiſcover'd, forced that Guard which ſhould have kept the Paſs near the Houſe; that was entrenched where Sr *Bernard Aſtley* lay; who inſtantly, with a good Body of Muſqueteers, fell upon the Enemy; and not only routed them, but compell'd them to rout two other Bodies of their own Men, who were coming to ſecond them. In this purſuit very many of the Enemy were ſlain, and many drown'd in the River, and above two hundred Armes taken. There continued, all that day, very warm Skirmiſhes in ſeveral parts; the Enemies Army having almoſt encompaſſed the King's; and with much more loſs to Them, than to the King; till, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, *Waller* with his own, and the Forces which had been under *Eſſex*, fell upon the Quarter at *Speen*, and paſſed the River; which was not well defended by the Officer who was appointed to guard it with Horſe and Foot, very many of them being gone off from their Guards, as never imagining that they would, at that time of day, have attempted a Quarter that was thought the ſtrongeſt of all. But having thus got the River, they marched in good Order, with very great Bodies of Foot, winged with Horſe, towards the Heath: from whence the Horſe which were left there, with too little reſiſtance, retired; being in truth much overpower'd, by reaſon the Major part of them, upon confidence of ſecurity of the Paſs, were gone to provide Forage for their Horſe.

BY this means, the Enemy poſſeſſed themſelves of the Ordnance which had been planted there; and of the Village of *Speen*; the Foot

which were there, retired to the Hedge next the large Field between *Speen* and *Newbury*; which they made good: at the ſame time, the right Wing of the Enemies Horſe advanced under the Hill of *Speen*, with one hundred Muſqueteers in the Van, and came into the open Field, where a good Body of the King's Horſe ſtood; which at firſt receiv'd them in ſome diſorder; but the Queen's Regiment of Horſe, commanded by Sr *John Cansfield*, charged them with ſo much Gallantry, that he routed that great Body: which then fled; and he had the execution of them near half a mile; wherein moſt of the Muſqueteers were ſlain, and very many of the Horſe; inſomuch that that whole Wing rallied not again that night. The King was at that time with the Prince, and many of the Lords, and other his Servants, in the middle of that Field; and could not, by his own Preſence, reſtrain thoſe Horſe which at the firſt approach of the Enemy were in that diſorder, from ſhamefully giving Ground. So that if Sr *John Cansfield* had not, in that Article of Time, given them that briſk Charge, by which other Troops were ready to charge them in the Flank, the King himſelf had been in very great danger.

AT the ſame time, the left Wing of the Enemies Horſe advanced towards the North-ſide of the great Field, but before they got thither, *Goring* with the Earl of *Cleveland*'s Brigade, charged them ſo vigorouſly, that he forced them back in great confuſion over a Hedge; and following them, was charged by another freſh Body; which he defeated likewiſe, and ſlew very many of the Enemy upon the place; having not only routed and beaten them off their ground, but endur'd the Shot of three Bodies of their Foot in their purſuit, and in their retreat, with no conſiderable damage, ſave that the Earl of *Cleveland*'s Horſe falling under him, he was taken Priſoner; which was an extraordinary loſs. Whilſt this was doing on that ſide, twelve hundred Horſe, and three thouſand Foot, of thoſe under the Earl of *Mancheſter*, advanced with great Reſolution upon *Shaw*-Houſe, and the Field adjacent; which quarter was defended by Sr *Jacob Aſtley*, and Colonel *George Liſle*; and the Houſe, by Lieutenant Colonel *Page*. They came ſinging of Pſalms; and, at firſt, drove forty Muſqueteers from a Hedge, who were placed there to ſtop them; but they were preſently Charg'd by Sr *John Brown* with the Prince's Regiment of Horſe; who did good execution upon them, till he ſaw another Body of their Horſe ready to charge him, which made him retire to the Foot in Mr *Doleman*'s Garden, which flanked that Field, and give fire upon thoſe Horſe, whereof very many fell; and the Horſe thereupon Wheeling about, Sr *John Brown* fell upon the Rear, kill'd many, and kept that Ground all the day; when the Reſerve of Foot, commanded by Colonel *Thelwell*, gall'd their Foot with ſeveral Vollies; and then fell on them with the But-ends of their Muſquets, till they had not only beaten them from the Hedges, but quite out of the Field; leaving two Drakes, ſome Colours, and many dead Bodies behind them. At this time, a great Body of their Foot attempted Mr *Doleman*'s Houſe, but were ſo well entertain'd by Lieutenant Colonel *Page*, that after they had made their firſt effort, they were forced to retire in ſuch Confuſion, that he purſu'd them from the Houſe with a notable Execution; inſomuch that they left five hundred dead upon a little ſpot of ground; and they drew off the two Drakes out of the Field to the Houſe, the Enemy being beaten off, and retired from all that Quarter.

IT was now night; for which neither Party was ſorry; and the King, who had been on that ſide where the Enemy only had prevail'd, thought that

that his Army had ſuffer'd alike in all other places. He ſaw they were entirely poſſeſſed of *Speen*, and had taken all the Ordnance which had been left there; whereby it would be eaſy for them, before the next morning, to have compaſſed him round: towards which they might have gone far, if they had found themſelves in a condition to have purſued their fortune.

HEREUPON, aſſoon as it was night, his Majeſty, with the Prince, and thoſe Lords who had been about him all the day, and his Regiment of Guards, retired into the Fields under *Donnington*-Caſtle, and reſolv'd to proſecute the reſolution that was taken in the morning, when they ſaw the great Advantage the Enemy had in numbers, with which he was like to be encompaſſed, if his Forces were beaten from either of the Poſts. That reſolution was, "to march away in the night towards *Wallingford*; and to that purpoſe, all the Carriages, and great Ordnance, had been that Morning drawn under *Donnington*-Caſtle; ſo he ſent Orders to all the Officers, to draw off their Men to the ſame Place; and receiving Intelligence at that time that Prince *Rupert* was come, or would be that night at *Bath*, that he might make no ſtay there, but preſently be able to joyn with his Army, his Majeſty himſelf, with the Prince, and about three hundred Horſe, made haſt thither; and found Prince *Rupert* there; and thence made what haſt they could back towards *Oxford*. The truth is, the King's Army was not in ſo ill a condition, as the King conceiv'd it to have been: that Party which were in the Field near *Speen*, kept their ground very reſolutely; and although it was a fair Moonſhine night, the Enemy, that was very near them, and much ſuperior in Number, thought not fit to aſſault or diſturb them. That part of the Enemy that had been ſo roughly treated at *Shaw*, having receiv'd Succour of a ſtrong Body of Horſe, reſolv'd once more to make an attempt upon the Foot there; but they were beaten off as before; though they ſtood not well enough to receive an equal loſs, but retired to their Hill, where they ſtood ſtill. This was the laſt Action between the Armies; for about ten of the Clock at night, all the Army, Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, upon the King's Orders, drew forth their ſeveral Guards to the Heath about *Donnington*-Caſtle; in which they left moſt of their wounded Men, with all their Ordnance, Ammunition, and Carriages; then Prince *Maurice*, and the other Officers, marched in good Order away to *Wallingford*; committing the bringing up the Rear to Sr *Humphrey Bennet* (who had behav'd himſelf very Signally that day) who with his Brigade of Horſe marched behind, and receiv'd not the leaſt diſturbance from the Enemy; who, in ſo light a Night, could not but know of the Retreat, and were well enough pleas'd to be rid of an Enemy that had handled them ſo ill. By the Morning, all the Army, Foot as well as Horſe, arriv'd at *Wallingford*; where having Refreſhed a little, they marched to *Oxford*, without ſeeing any Party of the Enemy that looked after them.

MANY made a Queſtion which Party had the better of the Day; and neither was well enough ſatisfied with their Succeſs. There could be no queſtion there were very many more kill'd of the Enemy, than of the King's Army; whereof were miſſing, only Sr *William* Sr *Leger*, Lieutenant Colonel to the Duke's Regiment of Foot; Lieutenant Colonel *Topping*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Leeke*, both Officers of Horſe, who were all there ſlain, with not above one hundred Common Soldiers, in all places. The Earl of *Brentford*, General of the Army, was wounded on the head; Sr *John Cansfield*, Sr *John Greenvil*, and Lieutenant Colonel

Colonel *Page*, were wounded; but all recover'd. The Officers of the Enemies ſide were never talk'd of, being, for the moſt part, of no better Families than the Common Soldiers. But it was reaſonably computed, by thoſe who ſaw the Action in all places, that there could not be ſo few as one thouſand dead upon the place: yet becauſe the King's Army quitted the Field, and march'd away in the Night, the other ſide thought themſelves Maſters; and the Parliament celebrated their Victory with their uſual Triumphs; though, within few days after, they diſcern'd that they had little reaſon for it. They came to know, by what accident was not imagin'd, that the Earl of *Brentford* remain'd that night in the Caſtle, by reaſon of the hurt in his Head, and ſo ſent Colonel *Urry* to him to perſwade him to give up the Caſtle, and to make him other large Offers; all which the General rejected with the Indignation that became him. No more ſhall be ſaid of the Colonel, becauſe, after all his tergiverſations, he choſe at laſt to loſe his Life for, and in the King's Service; which ought to expiate for all his tranſgreſſions, and preſerve his memory from all unkind Reflections.

THE next day, when they knew that the King's Army was retired, and not till then, they made haſt to poſſeſs themſelves of *Newbury*; and then drew up their whole Army before *Donnington*-Caſtle, and ſummon'd the Governour "to deliver it to them, or elſe they would not "leave one Stone upon another. To which the Governour made no other reply, than "that he was not bound to repair it; but however "he would, by God's help, keep the ground afterwards: ſeeing his obſtinacy, they offer'd him "to march away with the Armes, and all things "belonging to the Garriſon; and, when that moved not, "that he ſhould "carry all the Cannon, and Ammunition with him; to all which he Anſwer'd, "that he wonder'd they would not be ſatisfied with ſo many "Anſwers that he had ſent, and defired them "to be aſſured, that he "would not go out of the Caſtle, till the King ſent him Order ſo to do. Offended with theſe high Anſwers, they reſolv'd to Aſſault it; but the Officer who commanded the Party, being kill'd with ſome few of the Soldiers, they retired; and never after made any attempt upon it; but remain'd quietly at *Newbury* in great Faction among themſelves; every Man taking upon himſelf to find fault, and cenſure what had been done, and had been left undone, in the whole day's Service.

THE King met Prince *Rupert*, as he expected, with Colonel *Gerrard*, and Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*; and made all the haſt he could to joyn thoſe Forces with his own Army, that ſo he might march back to *Newbury*, and diſengage his Cannon, and Carriages. By the way he met the Earl of *Northampton*, and thoſe Regiments which had Reliev'd *Banbury*; and having with marvellous Expedition cauſed a new Train of Artillery to be form'd, he brought his Army again to a Rendezvous on *Bullington*-Green; where, with the Addition of thoſe Forces, and ſome Foot, which he drew out of *Oxford*, under the Command of Colonel *Gage*, it appear'd to be full ſix thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe; with which he march'd to *Wallingford*; and within a day more than a Week after he had left *Donnington*-Caſtle, found himſelf there again in ſo good a poſture, that he reſolv'd not to decline Fighting with the Enemy; but would be firſt poſſeſſed of his Cannon, and put ſome Proviſion into the Caſtle; which he accompliſhed without any oppoſition.

The King relieves Donnington-*Caſtle.*

THE Enemies Army lay ſtill at *Newbury*, perplexed with the Diviſions and Factions among their own Officers, without any notice of the King's

King's advance, till a Quarter of their Horſe was beaten up. The next Morning, the King put his Army into Battalia; Prince *Rupert*, who was now declared General, led the Van; and got poſſeſſion of the Heath, on the back ſide of the Caſtle; from which a ſmall Party might have kept him, the entrance into it being very ſteep, and the way narrower. On that Heath, the King's Army was drawn up about Noon, every one being prepared to Fight; and none of the Enemy appearing, they marched by the Caſtle over the River by a Mill, and two Fords below it, without any oppoſition; and thence drew into the large Field between *Speen* and *Newbury*; which was thought a good place to expect the Enemy; who, in the mean time, had drawn a great Body of their Horſe and Foot into the other Field toward *Shaw*, and had made Breaſt-works and Batteries on the back ſide of *Newbury*; which Town they reſolv'd to keep, and ſtand upon the defenſive, as the King had done before; preſuming, that they now having the warmer lodging, might better attack the King after his Men had lain a night or two in the Fields; it being now the Month of *November*, but fair for that Seaſon. Some light Skirmiſhes paſſed between the Horſe, but when the King ſaw upon what diſadvantages he muſt force them to Fight, he called his Council together; who were unanimous in opinion, "that ſince he had "reliev'd the Caſtle, and put ſufficient Proviſions into it, and that it "was in his power to draw off his Ordnance and Ammunition from "thence, he had done his buſineſs; and if any honour had been loſt the "other day, it was regain'd now, by his having paſſed his Army over "the River in the face of Theirs, and offer'd them Battle; which they "durſt not accept. Upon which the King reſolv'd to attempt them no farther, but gave Orders to retire in their view, with Drums Beating and Trumpets Sounding, the ſame way he came over the River. So the King lay that night at *Donnington*-Caſtle, and all the Army about him.

THE King had not yet done all he meant to do, before he took up his Winter Quarters; and was willing, that the Enemy ſhould have an opportunity to Fight with him, if they deſired it: and therefore, on the *Sunday* morning the tenth of *November*, his Majeſty marched with all his Cannon and Ammunition over the Heath from *Donnington*, over a fair Campagne, to *Lamborne*; in which march, ſome of the Enemies Horſe attempted his Rear, but were repulſed with loſs, many being ſlain, and ſome taken Priſoners. There the King Quarter'd that night, and the next day, to refreſh his Men, for the ill lodging they had endured at *Donnington*; having ſent ſome Perſons of great Reputation and Intereſt to *Marlborough*, to make large proviſions for Him, and his Army. And then, ſince he heard the Enemy lay ſtill at *Newbury*, he marched to *Marlborough*; where he found all things to his wiſh. His heart was ſet upon the relief of *Baſing*, which was now again diſtreſs'd; the Enemy having, as is ſaid before, begirt it cloſely from the time that *Gage* had reliev'd it. He had a great mind to do it with his whole Army; that thereby he might draw the Enemy to a Battle: but, upon full Debate, it was concluded, "that the ſafeſt way would be to do it by "a ſtrong Party; that one thouſand Horſe ſhould be drawn out, every "one of which ſhould carry before him a Bag of Corn, or other Proviſions, and march ſo as to be at *Baſing*-Houſe the next morning after "they parted from the Army; and then every Trooper was to caſt down "his Bag, and to make their retreat as well as they might: and Colonel *Gage*, who had ſo good ſucceſs before, was appointed to Command this

Party; which he chearfully undertook to do. The better to effect it, *Hungerford* was thought the fitter place to Quarter with the Army, and from thence to diſpatch that Party: ſo his Majeſty march'd back to *Hungerford*, which was half way to *Newbury*: the Enemy was in mean time march'd from thence to *Baſing*; which, they thought, would, upon the ſight of their whole Army, preſently have yielded; but finding the Marquis ſtill obſtinate to Defend it, they were weary of the Winter War, and ſo retired all their force from thence, and quitted the Siege the very day before *Gage* came thither; ſo that he eaſily deliver'd his Proviſions, and retired to the King without any Inconvenience. His Majeſty then march'd to *Farrington*, with ſome hope to have ſurpriſed *Abingdon* in his way; but he found it too well provided; and ſo after he had conſider'd where to Quarter his Horſe, which had formerly had their head Quarter at *Abingdon*, and thoſe places which were now under the power of that Governour, he return'd to *Oxford*; where he arriv'd to the univerſal joy, on the three and twentieth of *November*; a Seaſon of the year fit for all the Troops to be in their Winter Quarters.

The King returns to Oxford.

THE King was exceedingly pleaſed, to find how much the Fortifications there had been advanced by the care and diligence of the Lords; and was very gracious in his acknowledgement of it to them. And the Governour Sr *Arthur Aſton*, having, ſome Months before, in the Managing his Horſe in the Fields, cauſed him to fall, had in the fall broken his own Leg, and ſhortly after, been compell'd to cut it off; ſo that, if he recover'd at all, which was very doubtful, he could not be fit for any active Service; his Majeſty reſolv'd to confer that Government upon another. Of which reſolution, with all the circumſtances of grace and favour, and ſending him a Warrant for one thouſand pounds a year Penſion for his Life, he gave him notice; and then, to the moſt general ſatisfaction of all Men, he conferr'd that Government upon Colonel *Gage*; whom he had before Knighted. Sr *Arthur Aſton* was ſo much diſpleaſed with his Succeſſor, that he beſought the King to confer that Charge upon any other Perſon; and when he found that his Majeſty would not change his purpoſe, he ſent to ſome Lords to come to him, who he thought were moſt Zealous in Religion, and deſired them to tell the King from him, "that though he was himſelf a Roman Catholick, "he had been very careful to give no ſcandal to his Majeſty's Proteſtant "Subjects; and could not but inform him, that *Gage* was the moſt Je- "ſuited Papiſt alive; that he had a Jeſuit who liv'd with him; and that "he was preſent at all the Sermons among the Catholicks; which he "believ'd would be very much to his Majeſty's diſſervice. So much his Paſſion and Animoſity over-ruled his Conſcience.

THE King liked the choice he had made; and only adviſed the new Governour, by one of his Friends, "to have ſo much diſcretion in his "Carriage, that there might be no notice taken of the Exerciſe of his "Religion; to which animadverſion he Anſwer'd, "that he never had "diſſembled his Religion, nor ever would; but that he had been ſo wary "in the Exerciſe of it, that he knew there could be no Witneſs produced, "who had ever ſeen him at Maſs in *Oxford*; though he heard Maſs every "day; and that he had never been but once at a Sermon; which was at "the Lodging of Sr *Arthur*'s Daughter; to which he had been invited "with great importunity; and believ'd now that it was to entrap him. But the poor Gentleman enjoy'd the Office very little time; for within a Month, or thereabout, making an attempt to break down *Culham*-

Bridge near *Abingdon*, where he intended to erect a Royal Fort, that ſhould have kept that Garriſon from that ſide of the Country; he was ſhot through the Heart with a Muſquet bullet. Prince *Rupert* was preſent at the Action, having approv'd, and been much pleaſed with the deſign; which was never purſued after his death: and in truth the King ſuſtain'd a wonderful loſs in his death; he being a Man of great wiſdom and temper; and one among the very few Soldiers, who made himſelf to be Univerſally lov'd and eſteem'd.

THOUGH the King's condition was now much better, than, in the beginning of the Summer, he had reaſon to expect (he had broken, and defeated two Armies of the Parliament, and return'd into his Winter Quarter with advantage, and rather with an encreaſe than diminution of his Forces) yet his neceſſities were ſtill the ſame, and the Fountains dryed up from whence he might expect Relief; his Quarters ſhorten'd, and leſſen'd by the Loſs of the whole North: for after the Battle of *York*, the *Scots* return'd to Reduce *New-Caſtle*; which they had already done; and all other Garriſons which had held out for the King; and when that Work ſhould be Throughly and Sufficiently done, it muſt be expected that Army ſhould again move South-ward, and take ſuch other Places, as the Parliament ſhould not be at leiſure to look after themſelves.

The Temper of the Army, and Court at this time.

THE King's Army was leſs united than ever; the old General was ſet aſide, and Prince *Rupert* put into the Command, which was no popular Change: for the other was known to be an Officer of great Experience, and had committed no Overſights in his Conduct; was willing to hear every thing Debated, and allways concurr'd with the moſt reaſonable Opinion; and though he was not of many words, and was not quick in hearing, yet upon any Action he was Sprightly, and Commanded well. The Prince was rough, and paſſionate, and lov'd not Debate; liked what was propoſed, as he liked the Perſons who propoſed it; and was ſo great an Enemy to *Digby* and *Colepepper*, who were only preſent in Debates of the War with the Officers, that he croſſed all they Propoſed. The truth is, all the Army had been diſpoſed, from the firſt raiſing it, to a Neglect and Contempt of the Council; and the King himſelf had not been Sollicitous enough to preſerve the Reſpect due to it; in which he leſſen'd his own Dignity.

GORING, who was now General of the Horſe, was no more gracious to Prince *Rupert*, than *Wilmot* had been; had all the other's faults, and wanted his regularity, and preſerving his reſpect with the Officers. *Wilmot* lov'd Debauchery, but ſhut it out from his buſineſs; never neglected That, and rarely miſcarried in it. *Goring* had much a better Underſtanding, and a ſharper Wit (except in the very exerciſe of Debauchery, and then the other was inſpired) a much keener Courage, and preſentneſs of Mind in danger: *Wilmot* diſcern'd it farther off, and becauſe he could not behave himſelf ſo well in it, commonly prevented, or warily declin'd it; and never drank when he was within diſtance of an Enemy: *Goring* was not able to reſiſt the temptation, when he was in the middle of them, nor would decline it to obtain a Victory: as, in one of thoſe fits, he had ſuffer'd the Horſe to eſcape out of *Cornwal*; and the moſt ſignal misfortunes of his life in War, had their riſe from that uncontroulable licence. Neither of them valued their promiſes, profeſſions, or friendſhips, according to any Rules of honour, or integrity; but *Wilmot* violated them the leſs willingly, and never but for ſome great benefit, or convenience to himſelf; *Goring* without ſcruple, out of Humour, or for

Wit's ſake; and lov'd no Man ſo well, but that he would cozen him, and then expoſe him to publick Mirth for having been cozen'd: therefore he had allways fewer Friends than the other, but more Company; for no Man had a Wit that pleaſed the Company better. The Ambition of both was unlimited, and ſo equally incapable of being contented; and both unreſtrain'd by any reſpect to good Nature or Juſtice, from purſuing the ſatisfaction thereof: yet *Wilmot* had more Scruples from Religion to ſtartle him, and would not have attain'd his end by any groſs, or foul Act of wickedneſs; *Goring* could have paſſed through thoſe pleaſantly; and would, without hesitation, have broken any Truſt, or done any Act of Treachery to have ſatisfied an ordinary paſſion, or appetite; and, in truth, wanted nothing but Induſtry (for he had Wit, and Courage, and Underſtanding, and Ambition, uncontroul'd by any fear of God, or Man) to have been as eminent, and ſucceſsful in the higheſt attempt of Wickedneſs, as any Man in the Age he liv'd in, or before. Of all his Qualifications, Diſſimulation was his Maſter-piece; in which he ſo much excell'd, that Men were not ordinarily aſhamed, or out of countenance, with being deceiv'd but twice by him.

THE Court was not much better diſpoſed than the Army; they who had no Preferment, were angry with thoſe who had; and thought they had not deſerv'd ſo well as themſelves: they who were envied, found no ſatisfaction or delight in what they were envied for, being poor and neceſſitous, and the more ſenſible of their being ſo, by the Titles they had receiv'd upon their own violent Importunity. So that the King was without any joy in the Favours he had conferr'd, and yet was not the leſs Sollicited to grant more to others of the ſame kind; who, he foreſaw, would be no better pleaſed than the reſt: and the pleaſing one Man this way, diſpleaſed one hundred; as his creating the Lord *Colepepper* at this time, and making him a Baron (who in truth had ſerv'd him with great abilities; and, though he did imprudently in deſiring it, did deſerve it) did much diſſatisfy both the Court, and the Army; to neither of which he was in any degree gracious, by his having no ornament of Education, to make Men the more propitious to his parts of Nature; and diſpoſed many others to be very importunate to receive the ſame obligation.

THERE had been another Counſel enter'd upon, and concluded with great Deliberation and Wiſdom, which turn'd at this time to his Majeſty's diſadvantage; which was the Ceſſation in *Ireland*; enter'd into, as hath been ſaid before, with all the reaſon imaginable, and in hope, to have made a good Peace there, and ſo to have had the Power of that united Kingdom, to have aſſiſted to the ſuppreſſing the Rebellion in this. But now, as all the Supplies he had receiv'd from thence upon the Ceſſation, had been already deſtroyed without any benefit to the King, ſo his Majeſty found, that he ſhould not be able to make a Peace there; and then the Government there would be in the worſe condition by being depriv'd of ſo many good Officers, and Soldiers, upon the concluſion of the Ceſſation. There had been Commiſſioners from that time ſent over to the King from the Confederate Roman Catholicks, to treat a Peace; the Lord Lieutenant, and Council, had ſent likewiſe Commiſſioners to inform the King of all things neceſſary to be conſider'd in the Treaty; and the Parliament which was then ſitting in *Ireland*, had ſent likewiſe Commiſſioners, in the Name of the Proteſtants in that Kingdom, to prevent the making any Peace; and with a Petition to diſſolve the Ceſſation that had been made.

THE

THE Commiſſioners from the Confederate Roman Catholicks, demanded "the Abrogation, and Repeal of all thoſe Laws, which were in "force againſt the Exerciſe of the Roman Religion: That the Lieute- "nant, or Chief Governour, ſhould be a Roman Catholick; and that "there ſhould be no diſtinction made, whereby thoſe of that Religion "ſhould not be capable of any Preferment in the Kingdom, as well as "the Proteſtants; together with the Repeal of ſeveral Laws, which that Nation thought to have been made in their prejudice. *Propoſitions from* Ireland, *rejected by the King.*

THE Commiſſioners from the State (whereof ſome were of the Privy Council) profeſſed "that they deſired a Peace might be made; but propoſed in order, as they ſaid, to the ſecurity of the Kingdom, "that all the "*Iriſh* might be Diſarm'd; and ſuch among them, as had been moſt ſignal "and barbarous in the Maſſacres in the beginning of the Rebellion, might "be excepted from Pardon, and proſecuted with the utmoſt rigour of "Law: That the Laws might be put in execution againſt all Roman Ca- "tholicks, and eſpecially againſt all Jeſuits, Prieſts, and Fryars; and that "they might be obliged to pay all the Damages which had been ſuſtain'd "by the War.

THE Commiſſioners from the Proteſtants demanded, "that the Ceſ- "ſation might be Diſſolv'd, and the War carried on with the utmoſt Ri- "gour, according to the Act of Parliament that had been made in the "beginning of the Rebellion; and that no Peace might be made on any "Conditions.

THE King demanded of the *Iriſh*, "whether they believ'd it could be "in his Power, if it were agreeable to his Conſcience, to grant them their "Demands? and whether he muſt not thereby purchaſe *Ireland* with "the loſs of *England* and *Scotland*? There were among them ſome ſo- ber Men, who confeſſed "that as his Majeſty's Affairs then ſtood, they "believ'd he could not grant it; and they hoped, that their General Aſ- "ſembly would, when they ſhould be inform'd of the truth of his Ma- "jeſty's condition, which was not known to them, be perſwaded to depart "from ſome of their Demands; but that, for the preſent, they had not "Authority to recede from any one Propoſition.

THE King then asked the Commiſſioners who had been ſent over by the Marquis of *Ormond*, Lieutenant of the Kingdom, "which Forces "they thought to be the ſtronger, the King's Army, or that of the Re- "bels? they confeſſed "the Rebels to be much ſuperior in power, and "that they were poſſeſſed of more than three parts of the Kingdom. The King then asked them, "whether they thought it probable, now "they found themſelves to be the Stronger, that the Rebels would be "perſwaded to yield to ſo diſadvantageous terms, as they propoſed, and to "be ſo wholely at the Mercy of thoſe whom they had ſo much provoked? "and if they could be ſo diſpoſed, whether they believ'd that they were "able, though they ſhould be willing, to ſell all they have in *Ireland* to "pay the Damages which had been ſuſtain'd by the War? The Commiſ- "ſioners acknowledged, "that they thought the laſt impoſſible; and that "there might be a mitigation in that particular; but for the former, they "durſt not adviſe his Majeſty to recede at all; for that there could be no "other ſecurity for the Proteſtants in that Kingdom, but by leaving the "*Iriſh* without any capacity, or ability to trouble them: for their per- "fidiouſneſs was ſuch, that they could not be truſted; and therefore they "muſt be put into ſuch a condition, by being totally Diſarm'd, that "they ſhould not be able to do any miſchief; or that all the Proteſtants

"muſt leave the Kingdom to the entire poſſeſſion of the *Iriſh*; and whe-
"ther that would be for his Majeſty's ſervice and ſecurity, they muſt refer
"to his own Wiſdom.

THE King then ſent for the Commiſſioners from the Parliament, on the behalf of the Proteſtants, and asked them, "whether they were ready, "if the Ceſſation were expired, to renew the War, and to proſecute it "hopefully, to the reduction or ſuppreſſion of the *Iriſh*? They anſwer'd very clearly, "that in the State they were in, they could not carry on "the War, or defend themſelves againſt the *Iriſh*, who were much Su-"perior to them in Power; but if his Majeſty would recruit his Army, "and ſend over Money, and Armes, and Ammunition, with Shipping, "they made no doubt, but with God's bleſſing, they ſhould be able ſhortly "to reduce them, and drive them out of the Kingdom. The King then asked them, "whether they did in truth think, that his Majeſty was able "to ſend them ſuch ſupplies, as they ſtood in need of? or whether they "did not, in their Conſciences, know, that he was not able to ſend them "any part of it, and ſtood in want of all for his own ſupport? They an-ſwered, "that they hoped he would make a Peace with the Parlia-"ment, and would then be able to ſend over ſuch Aſſiſtance to *Ireland*, "as would quickly ſettle that Kingdom.

BUT after all theſe diſcourſes, his Majeſty prevailed not with any of them to depart from the moſt unreaſonable of all their Demands; where-upon he diſmiſſed them; and told the *Iriſh*, "it had been in their Power "ſo far to have obliged him, that he might hereafter have thought him-"ſelf bound to have gratified them in ſome particulars, which were not "now ſeaſonable to have been done; but they would repent this their "ſenſeleſs perverſneſs, when it would be too late, and when they found "themſelves under a Power that would deſtroy them, and make them "ceaſe to be a Nation.

SO they all left *Oxford*; and his Majeſty, notwithſtanding all this re-ſolution, not to depart from any thing, that might in any degree be pre-judicial to the Proteſtant Intereſt in that Kingdom, found that he ſuffer'd under no reproach more in *England*, than by having made that Ceſſa-tion: ſo wonderfully unreaſonable was the generality of the Nation then, by the abſurd imputation of his Majeſty's favouring the *Iriſh*.

THE ſtreights in which the King now was, brought him to ſome re-flections he had never made before; and the conſiderations of what might probably be the event of the next Summer, diſpoſed him to inclinations which were very contrary to what he had ever before entertain'd. His three younger Children were taken from the Governeſs in whoſe hands he had put them, and were not only in the Parliament Quarters, but ex-preſsly by their Order, put into the Cuſtody of One in whom the King could have the leſs confidence, becauſe it was One in whom the Parlia-ment confided ſo much. He had with him the Prince, and the Duke of *York*, both young; and he had no reſolution more fixed in him, than that the Prince ſhould never be abſent from him; which, as hath been touch'd before, made him leſs conſider what Governour, or Servants he put about him; reſolving to form his Manners by his own Model. But now he began to ſay "that Himſelf and the Prince were too much to venture "in one bottom; and that it was now time to unboy him, by putting him "into ſome action and acquaintance with buſineſs, out of his own ſight: but communicated theſe thoughts only with the Lord *Digby*, the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and was thought to

confer more with the Lord *Colepepper* upon the Subject, than with either of the other; but had ſome particular thoughts upon which he then conferr'd with no body. There was but one Province in which the Prince could reſide, after he was ſever'd from the King; and that was the *Weſt*; which was yet in a worſe condition than it had been, by the Rebels being poſſeſſed of *Taunton*, one of the chief Towns in *Somerſetſhire*; and though it was an open, and unfortified place, it was very ſtrong againſt the King in the natural diſaffection of the Inhabitants, which were very numerous; and all the places adjacent of the ſame ill Principles; and *Waller* had already ſent ſome Troops thither to confirm them in their Rebellious Inclinations, and had himſelf a reſolution ſpeedily to go thither, with a Body ſufficient to form an Army for the reduction of the Weſt: nor was the deſign improbable to ſucceed; for the reputation of the *Scotiſh* Army, upon the recovery of all the North, had ſhaken and terrified all the Kingdom; and the King's Army was the laſt Enemy the Weſt had been acquainted with, and had left no good Name behind it.

To prevent this miſchief, *Goring* (who had now made a faſt friendſhip with the Lord *Digby*; either of them believing he could deceive the other, and ſo with equal paſſion embracing the Engagement) was ſent with ſome Troops to *Salisbury*, from whence he might eaſily prevent any motion of *Waller*; without which, *Taunton* would be in a ſhort time reduced by the Garriſons the King had in the Country: ſo that this alteration rather confirm'd, than diverted his Majeſty, in his thoughts of ſending the Prince thither: and he begun to publiſh his purpoſe, and named Counſellors to be with his Highneſs, by whoſe Advice all things ſhould be done; his Majeſty's purpoſe being, in truth, only at that time that the Prince ſhould go no farther Weſt than *Briſtol*; and that there might no jealouſies ariſe from this Action (which every Body knew was ſo far from the King's former purpoſe; and it might be imagin'd, that his Highneſs would be ſent to the Queen his Mother into *France*; which many unreaſonably apprehended) the King declared what Council he intended ſhould be about his Son; the Reputation of whom, he thought, would allay all jealouſies of that kind. He named the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Hopton*, the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and appointed them "to meet frequently at the Prince's Lodging, to conſider with his High-"neſs, what preparations ſhould be made for his Journey, and in what "manner his Family ſhould be eſtabliſh'd. There was one Perſon more, who of neceſſity was to wait on the Prince, the Earl of *Berk-ſhire*, his Governour; and then his Majeſty found, what wrong Meaſures he had taken in the conferring that Truſt; and lamented his own error to thoſe he truſted; but knew not how to prevent the Inconveniences that might enſue, unleſs by applying two remedies, which were not natural, and might have been productive of as great Inconveniences. The one was, to leſſen the Prince's Reverence, and Eſteem for his Governour; which was very ſufficiently provided for. The other, to leave the Governour without any more Authority, than every one of the Council had; and ſo much leſs, as the Prince had a better eſteem of every one of Them, than he had of Him: and ſo left him without a Governour, which would have been a little better, if he had been without the Earl of *Berk-ſhire* too.

A Council ſettled for the Prince of Wales.

WHEN the King was in this Melancholick poſture, it was a great refreſhment, and ſome advantage to him, to hear that the diſorder the Parliament

Diviſions amongſt thoſe at Weſtminſter.

Parliament was in, was Superior to His. The Cauſe of all the Diſtractions in his Court, or Army, proceeded from the extreme poverty and neceſſity his Majeſty was in; and a very moderate ſupply of Money would, in a Moment, have extinguiſh'd all thoſe diſtempers. But all the Wealth of the Kingdom, for they were well nigh poſſeſſed of all, could not prevent the ſame, and greater diſtractions and emulations, from breaking into the whole Government of the Parliament: for all the perſonal Animoſities imaginable broke out in their Councils, and in their Armies; and the Houſe of Peers found themſelves, upon the matter, excluded from all power, or credit, when they did not concur in all the demands which were made by the Commons.

THAT violent Party, which had at firſt cozen'd the reſt into the War, and afterwards obſtructed all the Approaches towards Peace, found now that they had finiſh'd as much of their work, as the tools which they had wrought with, could be applied to; and what remain'd to be done, muſt be diſpatch'd by new Workmen. They had been long unſatisfied with the Earl of *Eſſex*, and He as much with Them; both being more ſollicitous to ſuppreſs the other, than to deſtroy the King. They bore the loſs and diſhonour he had ſuſtain'd in *Cornwal*, very well; and would have been glad, that both He and his Army had been quite cut off, inſtead of being diſſolv'd; for moſt of his Officers and Soldiers, were corrupted in their Affections towards them; and deſired nothing but Peace: ſo that they reſolv'd never more to truſt, or employ any of them. But that which troubled them more, was, that their beloved Earl of *Mancheſter*, upon whom they depended as a faſt Friend, by whom they might inſenſibly have diveſted the Earl of *Eſſex* of all inconvenient Authority in the Army, appear'd now as unapplicable to their purpoſes as the other; and there was a breach fallen out between Him and *Oliver Cromwell*, which was irreconcilable, and had brought ſome Counſels upon the Stage, before they were ripe.

CROMWELL accuſed the Earl of *Mancheſter*, "of having betray'd "the Parliament out of Cowardice; for that he might, at the King's "laſt being at *Newbury*, when he drew off his Cannon, very eaſily have "defeated his whole Army, if he would have permitted it to have been "engaged: that he went to him, and ſhew'd him evidently how it "might be done; and deſired him that he would give him leave, with "his own Brigade of Horſe, to Charge the King's Army in their Retreat; "and the Earl, with the reſt of his Army, might look on, and do as he "ſhould think fit; but that the Earl had, notwithſtanding all importu-"nity uſed by him and other Officers, poſitively and obſtinately refuſed "to permit him; giving no other reaſon, but that, he ſaid, if they did "engage, and overthrow the King's Army, the King would always have "another Army to keep up the War; but if that Army which he com-"manded, ſhould be overthrown, before the other under the Earl of "*Eſſex* ſhould be reinforced, there would be an end of their pretences; "and they ſhould be all Rebels, and Traytors, and executed and forfeited "by the Law.

THIS pronunciation what the Law would do againſt them, was very heavily taken by the Parliament, as if the Earl believ'd the Law to be againſt them, after ſo many Declarations made by them, "that the Law "was on Their ſide, and that the King's Armes were taken up againſt "the Law. The Earl confeſſed "he had uſed words to that effect, that "they ſhould be treated as Traytors, if their Army was defeated, when "he

"he did not approve the advice that was given by the Lieutenant General; which would have expoſed the Army to greater hazard, than "he thought ſeaſonable in that Conjuncture, in the middle of the Winter, to expoſe it to. He then recriminated *Cromwell*, "that, at another time, *Cromwell* diſcourſing freely with him of the State of the "Kingdom, and propoſing ſomewhat to be done, the Earl had Anſwer'd, "that the Parliament would never approve it; to which *Cromwell* preſently replied, My Lord, if you will ſtick firm to honeſt Men, you "ſhall find your ſelf in the head of an Army that ſhall give the Law to "King and Parliament; which diſcourſe, he ſaid, made great impreſſion "in him; for he knew the Lieutenant General to be a Man of very deep "deſigns; and therefore he was the more careful to preſerve an Army, "which he yet thought was very faithful to the Parliament.

THIS diſcourſe ſtartled thoſe who had always an averſion to *Cromwell*, and had obſerv'd the fierceneſs of his Nature, and the Language he commonly uſed when there was any mention of Peace; ſo that they deſired that this matter might be throughly examin'd, and brought to Judgement. But the other ſide put all obſtructions in the way, and rather choſe to loſe the advantage they had againſt the Earl of *Mancheſter*, than to have the other matter examin'd; which would unavoidably have made ſome diſcoveries they were not yet ready to produce. However the Animoſities encreaſed, and the Parties appear'd barefaced againſt each other; which augmented the diſtractions, and divided the City as well as the Parliament; and new opinions ſtarted up in Religion; which made more ſubdiviſions; and new terms and diſtinctions were brought into diſcourſe; and *Fanaticks* were now firſt brought into appellation: which kind of confuſions exceedingly diſpoſed Men of any ſober underſtanding, to wiſh for Peace; though none knew how to bring the mention of it into the Parliament.

THE *Scots* Commiſſioners were as jealous, and as unſatisfied as any other Party; and found, ſince the Battle of *York*, neither their Army, nor Themſelves ſo much conſider'd, as before; nor conditions perform'd towards them with any punctuality. They had long had jealouſy of *Cromwell*, and Sr *Henry Vane*, and all that Party; which they ſaw encreaſed every day; and grew powerful in the Parliament, in the Council, and in the City. Their ſacred Vow and Covenant was mention'd with leſs reverence, and reſpect, and the Independents, which comprehended many Sects in Religion, ſpake publickly againſt it; of which Party *Cromwell*, and *Vane*, were the Leaders; with very many of their Clergy Men, who were the moſt popular Preachers, and in the Aſſembly of Divines had great Authority: ſo that the *Scots* plainly perceiv'd, that though they had gone as far towards the deſtruction of the Church of *England*, as they deſired, they ſhould never be able to eſtabliſh their Presbyterian Government; without which they ſhould loſe all their credit in their own Country, and all their Intereſt in *England*. They diſcern'd likewiſe, that there was a purpoſe, if that Party prevail'd, to change the whole Frame of the Government, as well Civil as Eccleſiaſtical, and to reduce the Monarchy to a Republick; which was as far from the end and purpoſe of that Nation, as to reſtore Epiſcopacy. So that they ſaw no way to prevent the miſchief and confuſion that would fall out, but by a Peace; which they begun heartily to wiſh, and to conſpire with thoſe of that Party which moſt deſired to bring it to paſs; but how to ſet a Treaty on foot, they knew not.

THE Houſe of Peers, three or four Men excepted, wiſhed it; but had no power to compaſs it. In the Houſe of Commons, there were enough who would have been very glad of it, but had not the Courage to propoſe it. They who had an inward averſion from it, and were reſolv'd to prevent it by all poſſible means, wrought upon many of the other to believe, "that they would accept of a Propoſition for a Treaty, "if the King deſired it; but that it would be diſhonourable, and of very "pernicious conſequence to the Nation, if the Parliament firſt propoſed "it. So that it ſeem'd evident, that if any of the Party which did in truth deſire Peace, ſhould propoſe it to the Parliament, it would be rejected; and rejected upon the point of Honour, by many of thoſe who in their hearts prayed for it.

THEY tried their old Friends of the City, who had ſerv'd their Turns ſo often, and ſet ſome of them to get hands to a Petition, by which the Parliament ſhould be moved, "to ſend to the King to Treat of Peace. But that deſign was no ſooner known, but others of an oppoſite Party were appointed to ſet a counter Petition on foot, by which they ſhould "diſclaim any Conſent to, or Approbation of the other Petition; not "that they did not deſire Peace, as much as their Neighbours (no body was yet arriv'd at the impudence to profeſs againſt Peace) "but that "they would not preſume to move the Parliament in it, becauſe they "knew, their wiſdom knew beſt the way to obtain it, and would do "what was neceſſary and fit towards it; to which they wholely left it.

THIS Petition found more Countenance among the Magiſtrates, the Mayor, and Aldermen; Sr *Henry Vane* having diligently provided, that Men of his own Principles and Inclinations, ſhould be brought into the Government of the City; of which he ſaw they ſhould always have great need, even in order to keep the Parliament well diſpoſed. So that they who did in truth deſire any reaſonable Peace, found the way to it ſo difficult, and that it was impoſſible to prevail with the two Houſes to propoſe it to the King, that they reſolv'd, "it could only riſe from "his Majeſty; and to that purpoſe they ſhould all labour with their ſe-"veral Friends at *Oxford*, to incline the King to ſend a Meſſage to the "Parliament, to offer a Treaty of Peace in any place where they ſhould "appoint; and then they would all run the utmoſt hazard before it "ſhould be rejected.

THE Independent Party (for under that Style and Appellation they now acted, and own'd themſelves) which fear'd and abhor'd all Motions towards Peace, were in as great ſtreights as the other, how to carry on their deſigns. They were reſolv'd to have no more to do with either of their Generals, but how to lay them aſide, was the difficulty; eſpecially the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had been ſo entirely their Founder, that they owed not more to the power and reputation of Parliament, than to His ſole Name, and Credit: the being able to raiſe an Army, and conducting it to Fight againſt the King was purely due to Him, and the effect of His power. And now to put ſuch an Affront upon him, and to think of another General, muſt appear the higheſt Ingratitude, and might provoke the Army it ſelf, where he was ſtill exceedingly belov'd; and to continue him in that Truſt, was to betray their own deſigns, and to render them impracticable. Therefore, till they could find ſome expedient to explicate and difintangle themſelves out of this Labyrinth, they made no advance towards the recruiting or ſupplying their Armies, nor to provide for any Winter expedition; only they ſent *Waller* out

with ſuch Troops towards the Weſt, as they cared not for, and reſolv'd to uſe their Service no more.

THEY knew not how to propoſe the great alterations, they intended, to the Parliament; and of all Men, the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners were not to be truſted. In the end, they reſolv'd to purſue the Method in which they had been hitherto ſo ſucceſsful, and to prepare, and ripen things in the Church, that they might afterwards in due time grow to maturity in the Parliament. They agreed therefore in the Houſes (and in thoſe Combinations they were always unanimous) "that they would "have a ſolemn Faſt day, in which they would *ſeek God* (which was the new phraſe they brought from *Scotland* with their Covenant) "and "deſire his Aſſiſtance, to lead them out of the perplexities they were in: and they did as readily agree in the nomination of the Preachers who were to perform that exerciſe, and who were more truſted in the deepeſt deſigns, than moſt of thoſe who named them were: for there was now a Schiſm among their Clergy, as well as the Laity; and the Independents were the bolder, and more Political Men.

WHEN the Faſt day came (which was obſerv'd for eight or ten hours together in the Churches) the Preachers prayed "the Parliament might "be inſpired with thoſe thoughts, as might contribute to their Honour "and Reputation; and that they might preſerve that opinion the Na- "tion had of their Honeſty and Integrity, and be without any Selfiſh "ends, or ſeeking their own benefit and advantage. After this prepara- tion by their Prayers, the Preachers, let their Texts be what they would, told them very plainly, "that it was no wonder there was ſuch divi- "ſion among them in their Counſels, when there was no Union in "their hearts: That the Parliament lay under many reproaches, not "only among their Enemies, but with their beſt Friends; who were the "more out of countenance, becauſe they found that the aſperſions and "imputations which their Enemies had laid upon them, were ſo well "grounded, that they could not wipe them off: That there was as great "Pride, as great Ambition, as many private ends, and as little Zeal and "Affection for the publick, as they had ever imputed to the Court: "That, whilſt they pretended, at the publick coſt, and out of the Purſes "of the poor People, to make a general Reformation, their chief care "was to grow great and rich Themſelves; and that both the City and "Kingdom took notice, with great anxiety of mind, that all the Offices "of the Army, and all the profitable Offices of the Kingdom, were in "the hands of the Members of the two Houſes of Parliament: who, "whilſt the Nation grew poor, as it muſt needs do under ſuch inſup- "portable Taxes grew very rich; and would, in a ſhort time, get all "the Money of the Kingdom into their hands; and that it could not "reaſonably be expected, that ſuch Men, who got ſo much, and en- "riched themſelves to that degree, by the continuance of the War, "would heartily purſue thoſe ways which would put an end to it; the "end whereof muſt put an end to their exorbitant profit. When they had exaggerated theſe reproaches, as pathetically as they could, and the ſenſe the People generally had of the corruption of it, even to a deſpair of ever ſeeing an end of the calamities they ſuſtain'd, or having any pro- ſpect of that Reformation in Church and State, which they had ſo often and ſo ſolemnly promiſed to effect, they fell again to their Prayers, "that God would take his own Work into his hand; and if the Inſtru- "ments he had already imploy'd, were not worthy to bring ſo glorious

"a deſign to a concluſion, that he would inſpire others more fit, who "might perfect what was begun, and bring the trouble of the Nation to "a Godly period.

After a Faſt day, Vane *and* Cromwell *propoſed a ſelf denying Ordinance.*

WHEN the two Houſes met together, the next day after theſe devout Animadverſions, there was another Spirit appear'd in the looks of many of them. Sr *Henry Vane* told them, "if ever God had appear'd to them, "it was in the exerciſe of Yeſterday; and that it appear'd, it proceeded "from God, becauſe (as he was credibly inform'd by many, who had "been Auditors in other Congregations) the ſame lamentations, and diſ- "courſes, had been made in all other Churches, as the Godly Preachers "had made before Them; which could therefore proceed only from the "immediate Spirit of God. He repeated ſome things which had been ſaid, upon which he was beſt prepar'd to Enlarge; and beſought them "to remember their obligations to God, and to their Country; and that "they would free themſelves from thoſe juſt reproaches; which they "could do no otherwiſe, than by deveſting themſelves of all Offices, and "Charges, that might bring in the leaſt advantage and profit to them- "ſelves; by which only they could make it appear, that they were pub- "lick-hearted Men; and as they pay'd all Taxes and Impoſitions with "the reſt of the Nation, ſo they gave up all their time to their Country's "Service, without any reward or gratuity.

HE told them, "that the Reflections of Yeſterday, none of which had "ever enter'd upon his Spirit before, had raiſed another Reflection in "him than had been mention'd; which was, that it had been often taken "notice of, and objected by the King Himſelf, that the Numbers of the "Members of Parliament, who ſate in either Houſe, were too few to "give reputation to Acts of ſo great Moment, as were tranſacted in their "Councils; which, though it was no fault of theirs, who kept their pro- "per Stations, but of thoſe who had deſerted their places, and their "truſts, by being abſent from the Parliament; yet that, in truth, there "were too many abſent, though in the Service of the Houſe, and by "Their appointment; and if all the Members were obliged to attend "the Service of the Parliament, in the Parliament, it would bring great "reputation to their Numbers, and the People would pay more reve- "rence, and yield a fuller obedience to their Commands: and then con- cluded, "that he was ready to accuſe himſelf for one of thoſe who gain'd "by an Office he had; and though he was poſſeſſed of it before the begin- "ning of the Troubles, and owed it not to the favour of the Parliament (for he had been joyn'd with Sr *William Ruſſel* in the Treaſurer-ſhip of the Navy by the King's Grant) "yet he was ready to lay it down, to be "diſpoſed of by the Parliament; and wiſhed, that the profits thereof might "be applied towards the ſupport of the War.

WHEN the Ice was thus broke, *Oliver Cromwell*, who had not yet ar- rived at the faculty of Speaking with decency and temper, commend- ed the Preachers "for having dealt plainly and impartially, and told "them of their faults, which they had been ſo unwilling to hear of: that "there were many things, upon which he had never reflected before, "yet upon revolving what had been ſaid, he could not but confeſs, that "all was very true; and till there were a perfect reformation in thoſe "particulars which had been recommended to them, nothing would "proſper that they took in hand: that the Parliament had done very "wiſely, in the entrance into the War, to engage many Members of "their own in the moſt dangerous parts of it, that the Nation might ſee

"that they did not intend to embark them in perils of War, whilſt themſelves ſate ſecurely at home out of Gun-ſhot, but would march with "them where the danger moſt threaten'd; and thoſe honourable Perſons, "who had expoſed themſelves this way, had merited ſo much of their "Country, that their memories ſhould be held in perpetual veneration; "and whatſoever ſhould be well done after them, would be always im-"puted to their Example: But, that God had ſo bleſſed their Army, "that there had grown up with it, and under it, very many excellent "Officers, who were fitter for much greater Charges than they were now "poſſeſſed of; and defired them "not to be terrified with an imagination, "that if the higheſt Offices were vacant, they ſhould not be able to put "as fit Men into them; for, beſides that it was not good to put ſo much "truſt in any arm of fleſh, as to think ſuch a Cauſe as This depended "upon any one Man, he did take upon him to aſſure Them, that they "had Officers in their Army, who were fit to be Generals in any Enter-"priſe in Chriſtendom.

HE ſaid "he thought nothing ſo neceſſary as to purge, and vindicate "the Parliament, from the partiality towards their own Members; and made a proffer to lay down his Commiſſion of Command in the Army; and deſired, "that an Ordinance might be prepared, by which it might "be made unlawful, for any Member of either Houſe of Parliament, to "hold any Office or Command in the Army, or any Place or Employ-"ment in the State; and ſo concluded with an enlargement upon "the "Vices, and Corruptions, which were gotten into the Army; the pro-"phaneneſs, and impiety, and abſence of all Religion; the drinking and "gaming, and all manner of Licence, and Lazineſs; and ſaid plainly, "that till the whole Army were new Model'd, and Govern'd under a "ſtricter diſcipline, they muſt not expect any notable Succeſs in any thing "they went about.

THIS debate ended in appointing a Committee, "to prepare an Or-"dinance for the Excluſion of all Members from the Truſts aforeſaid; which took up much debate, and depended very long before it was brought to a concluſion; and in the end was call'd the *Self-denying Ordinance*; the driving on of which, exceedingly encreaſed the inclination of the other Party to Peace; which they did now foreſee would only prevent their own ruines, in that of the Kingdom.

ADVICE came from ſo many ſeveral hands to *Oxford*, that the King ſhould ſend a Meſſage to the Houſes for Peace, with an Aſſurance that it would not be rejected, that his Majeſty (who ſtill apprehended as great a diviſion among his own Friends upon the conditions of Peace, out of the univerſal wearineſs of the War, as he diſcern'd there was among his Enemies upon the Emulation in Command, or differences in Religion) enter'd upon the conſideration how to bring it to paſs. The Members of Parliament were ſtill ſitting at *Oxford*; but they at *London* who were moſt deſirous of Peace, had given warning to avoid that Rock; and that their Names ſhould never be mention'd; which would have procured an Union between the moſt irreconcileable Parties, in throwing out ſuch Overtures. On the other ſide the ſending a bare Meſſage, by a Trumpet, was not probably like to produce any other effect than an inſolent Anſwer in the ſame way, or no anſwer at all, as his two or three laſt Meſſages had done.

IN concluſion, the King reſolv'd that there ſhould be a ſhort Meſſage drawn; in which, "the continuance of the War, and the miſchiefs it

brought upon the Kingdom, ſhould be lamented; and his deſire expreſs'd, "that ſome reaſonable conditions of Peace might be thought upon; aſſur-"ing them that his Majeſty would be willing to conſent to any thing, that "could conſiſt with his Conſcience and Honour. He reſolv'd, that he would ſend this Meſſage by ſome Perſons of Condition; who might, upon conference with their Friends, be able to make ſome impreſſion; at leaſt diſcover what might be reaſonably expected. And if the Parliament ſhould refuſe to grant a Safe conduct for ſuch Meſſengers, it might well be preſumed, what reception the Meſſage it ſelf was like to find. The Perſons he reſolv'd to ſend, were the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Earl of *Southampton*; both of unblemiſhed Honour, and of general Reputation in the Kingdom. So a Trumpet was ſent to the Earl of *Eſſex* for a Safe-guard or Paſs, to thoſe two Lords; to the end they might deliver a Meſſage from the King to the two Houſes concerning a Treaty of Peace. To which the Earl of *Eſſex* only anſwer'd, "that he would ac-"quaint the Houſes with it, and return their Anſwer; and ſo diſmiſſed the Trumpet.

THE King had now done His part; and the reſt was to be perfected there. They, who were reſolv'd never to admit a Peace, though they could not ſtill prevent a Treaty, thought they had advantage enough to object againſt this unuſual Meſſage: "If the Meſſage it ſelf had been ſent, "they might have judged, whether it had been like to be attended with "good Succeſs, and ſo might have accepted a Treaty, if they had ap-"proved of it; but this ſending of Meſſengers before they knew what "they would bring, was an invention to begin a Treaty before they ad-"mitted it; and to ſend Enemies into their Quarters, with Authority "to ſcatter their Poyſon abroad: and therefore, with great paſſion, they preſſed, "that no ſuch Paſs ſhould be ſent. On the other hand it was, with equal paſſion, alledged, "that the refuſal of the Safe conduct was "a total rejection of Peace, before they underſtood upon what terms it "would be offer'd; which the People would take very ill from them; "and conclude that the War muſt continue for ever; they therefore "wiſhed that a Safeguard might be ſent without delay, and that they "would have a better opinion of their Friends, than to imagine that "the Preſence, or Power of two Men how conſiderable ſoever, would be "able to corrupt, or pervert their Affections from the Parliament.

IN this opinion the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners likewiſe concurr'd; ſo that the other party found it neceſſary to conſent, and the Safe Conduct, after many debates, was ſent accordingly. But that they might not ſeem to their Friends abroad to be overpower'd, they revenged themſelves in purſuing the diſpatch of their *Self-denying Ordinance* with great vehemence; and becauſe the effect of that was manifeſtly that they ſhould be without a General, it was already propoſed "that Sr *Thomas Fairfax* (who had behaved himſelf ſo ſignally in their Service, in the defeat of Colonel *Bellaſis*, and taking him Priſoner, which gave them their firſt footing in *York-ſhire*, from their being ſhut up and beſieged in *Hull*; in the overthrow of the Lord *Byron*, and taking all the *Iriſh* Regiments; and laſtly in the late Battle at *York*, where he had turned the fortune of the day, when the *Scotiſh* Army was routed and their General fled) "might "now be made their General; for which *Oliver Cromwell* aſſured them he was very equal. In the diſcourſes upon this Subject (which found all oppoſition) as the Service of the Earl of *Eſſex* was much magnified, and his merit extolled, by thoſe who deſired to have no other General, ſo it

Sr Thomas Fairfax is propoſed in the Houſe of Commons to be made their General.

was

was undervalued, and depreſſed, with ſome bitterneſs and contumely, by thoſe who believ'd that all they could do would be to no purpoſe, if He were not totally excluded from any power.

ABOUT the beginning of *December*, the Duke of *Richmond* and the Earl of *Southampton*, upon their paſs, went from *Oxford* to *London*; where they were adviſed not to go much abroad, leſt the People ſhould be apt to do them injury; and very few had the Courage to come to them, except with great privacy. Only the *Scots* Commiſſioners, as Men in Soveraign Authority, and Independent upon the Parliament, made no ſcruple of viſiting them, and being viſited by them. The Houſes did not preſently agree upon the manner of their reception, how they ſhould deliver their Meſſage; in which there had been before no difficulty, whilſt the War was carried on by the Authority of the Parliament. Heretofore the Meſſage being deliver'd to either Houſe, was quickly communnicated to the other; but now the *Scots* Commiſſioners made a third Eſtate, and the Meſſage was directed to Them as well as to the Houſes. In the end it was reſolv'd, "that there ſhould be a Conference "between the two Houſes in the Painted Chamber; at which the *Scots* "Commiſſioners ſhould be preſent, and ſit on one ſide of the Table; and "that the upper end of it ſhould be kept for the King's Meſſengers: where there was a Seat provided for them, all the reſt being bare, and expecting that They would be ſo too: for though the Lords uſed to be cover'd whilſt the Commons were bare, yet the Commons would not be bare before the *Scots* Commiſſioners; and ſo None were cover'd. But aſſoon as the two Lords came thither, they cover'd, to the trouble of the other; but, being preſently to ſpeak, they were quickly freed from that Eye-ſore.

The Duke of Richmond *and the Earl of* Southampton *ſent to* London *with a Meſſage for a Treaty.*

THE two Lords uſed very few words, in letting them know the King's great Inclinations to Peace; and deliver'd, and read their Meſſage to that purpoſe; which was receiv'd by the Lords without any other expreſſions than "that they ſhould report it to the Houſes; and ſo the meeting broke up: and then many of the Lords, and ſome of the Commons, paſſed ſome Compliments and Ceremony to the two Lords, according to the acquaintance they had with them, and found opportunities to ſee them in private, or to ſend confiding Perſons to them. By which means, they found there were great Diviſions among them, and upon Points that would admit no reconciliation: and therefore they believ'd that there would be a Treaty of Peace; but they could not make any ſuch Gueſs of the moderation of the conditions of the Peace, as to conclude that it it would be with effect. For they that moſt deſired the Peace, and would have been glad to have had it upon any Terms, durſt not own that they wiſhed it, but upon the higheſt terms of honour, and ſecurity for the Parliament; which could neither be ſecure, nor honourable for the King. They diſcover'd, that they who did heartily wiſh the Peace, did intend to promote a Treaty between Perſons named by the King, and Perſons named by the Parliament, to meet at ſome third Place, and not to ſend Commiſſioners to *Oxford* to Treat with the King himſelf; which they had already found to be ineffectual, and not more likely now to produce a better end; whereas they did believe, or ſeem'd to believe, that how unreaſonable ſoever the Propoſitions ſhould be, upon which they Treated, they would, by yeilding to ſome things, when they refuſed others, ſooner prevail with the Houſes to mollifie their demands, than at firſt to reform them.

THIS Method was not ungrateful to the two Lords; who had the ſame

ſame conceptions, that, if ſober Men were named for Commiſſioners, ſomewhat would reſult from the freedom of their Communication. And the Duke of *Richmond* ſent his Secretary *Web* expreſsly to *Oxford*, to know the King's pleaſure, "whether, if a third place were propoſed "for Commiſſioners on both ſides to meet, they ſhould conſent to it? which his Majeſty (though he had no mind to truſt others, but where himſelf was preſent) was perſwaded to approve. But all this was but diſcourſe, and private wiſhes: for it was never brought into Debate; and it was told them very plainly, "that, as long as they ſtay'd in Town, "the Houſes would never ſo much as confer upon the Subject of their "Meſſage; becauſe they found it would be matter of great Debate, and "ſpend much time; during which they did not deſire their Company, "nor to be troubled with their Infuſions. And therefore, aſſoon as they had receiv'd the King's Meſſage, they proceeded upon their Trial of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* before both Houſes of Parliament, upon an Impeachment of High Treaſon, reſolving likewiſe to give that evidence to the People, of what inclination they had to make a Peace with the King. The two Lords, obſerving this affected delay in the buſineſs they were ſent about, and being adviſed by their Friends not to ſtay longer, but to expect the determination to be ſent to *Oxford*, return'd to the King, with ſome confidence that a Treaty would be conſented to; and that it would be at ſome third place, and not at *Oxford*, and leſs at *London*, by Commiſſioners which ſhould be agreed on by both ſides. But they brought an expreſs deſire, and even a condition to the King, from all thoſe with whom they had conferr'd, and who were the chief Perſons who advanced the Treaty, "that, if that which they labour'd "for, ſhould be yielded to by the Parliament, his Majeſty would not "Name a Perſon (whom they mention'd to the King) "for one of his "Commiſſioners; for that he was ſo odious, that they would abſolutely "decline the Treaty, before they would admit Him to be one of the "Treaters.

The Trial of the Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury.

IT was, as is ſaid before, a very ſad Omen to the Treaty, that, after they had receiv'd the King's Meſſage by thoſe Noble Lords, and before they return'd any Anſwer to it, they proceeded in the Trial of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; who had lain Priſoner in the Tower, from the beginning of the Parliament, about four years, without any proſecution till this time. Now they brought him to the Barrs of both Houſes; charging him with ſeveral Articles of High Treaſon; which, if all that was alledged againſt him, had been true, could not have made him guilty of Treaſon. They accuſed him "of a deſign to bring in Popery, and of "having correſpondence with the Pope, and ſuch like particulars, as the Conſciences of his greateſt Enemies abſolv'd him from. No Man was a greater, or abler Enemy to Popery; No Man a more reſolute and devout Son of the Church of *England*. He was proſecuted by Lawyers, aſſign'd to that purpoſe, out of thoſe, who from their own Antipathy to the Church and Biſhops, or from ſome diſobligations receiv'd from him, were ſure to bring Paſſion, Animoſity, and Malice enough of their own; what evidence ſoever they had from others. And they did treat him with all the rudeneſs, reproach, and barbarity imaginable; with which his Judges were not diſpleaſed.

HE defended himſelf with great and undaunted Courage, and leſs Paſſion than was expected from his conſtitution; anſwer'd all their objections with clearneſs, and irreſiſtible reaſon; and convinced all impartial

tial Men of his integrity, and his deteſtation of all Treaſonable Intentions. So that though few excellent Men have ever had fewer Friends to their Perſons, yet all reaſonable Men abſolv'd him from any foul crime that the Law could take notice of, and puniſh. However, when They had ſaid all they could againſt him, and He all for himſelf that need to be ſaid, and no ſuch crime appearing, as the Lords, as the Supreme Court of Judicatory, would take upon them to judge him to be worthy of death; they reſorted to their Legiſlative Power, and by Ordinance of Parliament, as they called it, that is by a determination of thoſe Members who ſate in the Houſes (whereof in the Houſe of Peers there were not above twelve) they appointed him to be put to death as guilty of High Treaſon. The firſt time that two Houſes of Parliament had ever aſſumed that Juriſdiction, or that ever Ordinance had been made to ſuch a purpoſe; nor could any Rebellion be more againſt the Law, than that Murtherous Act.

He is condemn'd by an Ordinance.

WHEN the firſt Mention was made of their monſtrous purpoſe, of bringing the Arch-Biſhop to a Trial for his Life, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had always a great Reverence and Affection for him, had ſpoken to the King of it, and propoſed to him, "that in all events, "there might be a pardon prepared, and ſent to him, under the great "Seal of *England*; to the end, if they proceeded againſt him in any form "of Law, he might plead the King's pardon; which muſt be allow'd by "all who pretended to be govern'd by the Law; but if they proceeded "in a Martial, or any other extraordinary way, without any form of "Law, his Majeſty ſhould declare his Juſtice and Affection to an old "faithful Servant, whom he much eſteem'd, in having done all towards "his preſervation that was in his power to do. The King was wonderfully pleaſed with the Propoſition; and took from thence occaſion to commend the Piety and Virtue of the Arch Biſhop, with extraordinary Affection; and commanded the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to cauſe the Pardon to be prepared, and his Majeſty would Sign and Seal it with all poſſible ſecrecy; which at that time was neceſſary. Whereupon the Chancellor ſent for Sr *Thomas Gardiner* the King's Sollicitor, and told him the King's pleaſure; upon which he preſently drew the Pardon, which was Sign'd and Seal'd with the Great Seal of *England*, and carefully ſent, and deliver'd into the Arch-Biſhop's own hand, before he was brought to his Trial; who receiv'd it with great joy, as it was a Teſtimony of the King's gracious Affection to him, and care of him, without any opinion that they who endeavour'd to take away the King's Life, would preſerve His by his Majeſty's Authority.

WHEN the Arch-Biſhop's Council had peruſed the Pardon, and conſider'd that all poſſible Exceptions would be taken to it, though they ſhould not reject it, they found, that the Impeachment was not ſo diſtinctly ſet down in the Pardon as it ought to be; which could not be helped at *Oxford*, becauſe they had no Copy of it; and therefore had ſupplied it with all thoſe general expreſſions, as, in any Court of Law, would make the Pardon valid againſt any exceptions the King's own Council could make againſt it. Hereupon, the Arch-Biſhop had, by the ſame Meſſenger, return'd the Pardon again to the Chancellor, with ſuch directions and copies as were neceſſary; upon which it was perfected accordingly, and deliver'd ſafely again to him, and was in his hands during the whole time of his Trial. So when his Trial was over, and the Ordinance paſſed for his Execution, and He called and asked, ac-

cording to cuſtom in criminal proceedings, "what he could ſay more, "why he ſhould not ſuffer death? he told them, "that he had the King's "gracious Pardon, which he pleaded, and tender'd to them, and deſired "that it might be allow'd. Whereupon he was ſent to the Tower, and the Pardon read in both Houſes; where, without any long Debate, it was declared "to be of no effect, and that the King could not Pardon "a Judgement of Parliament. And ſo, without troubling themſelves farther, they gave order for his Beheading; which he underwent with all Chriſtian Courage and Magnanimity, to the Admiration of the Beholders and Confuſion of his Enemies. Much hath been ſaid of the Perſon of this great Prelate before, of his great Endowments, and natural Infirmities, to which ſhall be added no more in this place (his memory deſerving a particular celebration) than that his Learning, Piety, and Virtue, have been attain'd by very few, and the greateſt of his Infirmities are common to all, even to the beſt Men.

The Arch-Biſhop Beheaded.

WHEN they had diſpatched this important work, and thereby receiv'd a new Inſtance of the good Affection and Courage of their Friends, and involv'd the two Houſes in freſh guilt and obloquy (for too many concurr'd in it, without conſidering the heinouſneſs of it, and only to keep their credit clear and entire, whereby they might with the more Authority advance the Peace that was deſired) they now enter upon the Debate, "what Anſwer they ſhould ſend the King, concerning a "Treaty for Peace. They who deſired to advance it, hoped thereby to put an end to all the deſigns of new modelling the Army, and to prevent the encreaſe of thoſe Factions in Religion, which every day broke out among them, to the notorious Scandal of Chriſtianity. They who had no mind to a Treaty, becauſe they had minds averſe from all thoughts of Peace, diſcern'd plainly, that they ſhould not be able to finiſh their deſign upon the Army, and ſet many other devices on foot, which would contribute to their convenience, until this longed-for Treaty were at an end; and therefore they all agreed to give ſome concluſion to it; and reſolv'd, that there ſhould be a Treaty, and upon the Method that ſhould be obſerv'd in the conducting it; from which they who ſhould be employ'd by them, ſhould not recede or be diverted.

The two Houſes agree to a Treaty at Uxbridge.

THEN they nominated ſixteen Commiſſioners for the two Houſes, and four for the Parliament of *Scotland*, and named *Uxbridge* for the place where the Treaty ſhould be; which Treaty ſhould be limited to be finiſhed within twenty days from the time when it ſhould begin.

UPON this concluſion, they ſent their Anſwer to the Meſſage, they had receiv'd from the King by a Trumpet, in a Letter from their General to the King's General; in which they inform'd his Majeſty, "that, out "of their paſſionate deſire of Peace, they had agreed to his Propoſition "for a Treaty; and that they had aſſign'd *Uxbridge* for the place where "it ſhould be; and had appointed the Earl of *Northumberland*, the "Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Earl of *Denbigh*, of "the Houſe of Peers; and of the Commons, the Lord *Wainman*, M^r "*Pierpoint*, Mr *Hollis*, Mr *Saint-John* (whom they called the King's Solli-citor General) "Sr *Henry Vane* the younger, Mr *Whitlock*, Mr *Crew*, "and Mr *Prideaux*; and for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Lord *Lowden*, "Chancellor of *Scotland*; the Lord *Maitland* (who, by the death of his Father, became Earl of *Lautherdale* by the time of the Treaty) "S^r "*Charles Erskin*, and one Mr *Barclay*, to be their Commiſſioners; to-"gether with Mr *Alexander Henderſon*, in matters only which relate

"to the Church; to Treat, upon the particulars they had entruſted them "with, with ſuch Perſons, as his Majeſty ſhould pleaſe to Nominate; "for all whom a ſafe conduct ſhould be ſent, aſſoon as his Majeſty had "named them; as they deſired his Majeſty's ſafe conduct for the Per- "ſons named by them: to none of which the King took any exception, but ſign'd their Paſs; and ſent word to the Houſes, "that he accepted *The King accepts it.* "the Treaty, and the place, and that he had nominated, as Commiſ- "ſioners for Him, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the "Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Kingſton*, the Earl of *Chicheſter*, "the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Seymour*, the Lord *Hatton*, Controller of "the King's Houſehold; the Lord *Colepepper*, Maſter of the Rolls; S^r "*Edward Hyde*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sr *Edward Nicholas*, "principal Secretary of State; Sr *Richard Lane*, Lord Chief Baron of "his Court of Exchequer; Sr *Thomas Gardiner*, his Majeſty's Sollicitor "General; Sr *Orlando Bridgman*, Atturney of his Court of Wards; M^r "*John Aſhburnham*, and Mr *Geoffrey Palmer*; and deſired, that a ſafe "conduct might be ſent for them, as his Majeſty had ſent for the others; "and they ſhould then be ready, at the day that was ſet down, at *Ux-* "*bridge*.

WHEN this was return'd to *Weſtminſter*, there aroſe new diſputes upon the Perſons named by the King, or rather againſt the Additions, and Appellations of Title, which were made to their Names; for they did not except againſt the Perſons of any of them, though ſeveral were moſt ungracious to them.

WHEN the Lord Keeper *Littleton* had fled from *Weſtminſter*, upon his Majeſty's Commands to attend him at *York*, the two Houſes had, in their fury, declared, "that nothing which ſhould, from that time, "paſs under the Great Seal, ſhould be good and valid; but void and "null: this they did to diſcredit any Commiſſion, which they foreſaw might iſſue out for their Conviction, Trial, and Attainder: and, in ſome time after, they had cauſed a Great Seal to be made with the King's Image, for the diſpatch of the neceſſary proceſs in Law, and proceedings in Courts of Juſtice; which Seal was committed by them to ſome of their Members, who had ſate in the Chancery, and tranſacted the buſineſs of that Court, and applied the Seal to all thoſe uſes and purpoſes it had been accuſtom'd unto. They found this Declaration and Ordinance of theirs invaded in this Meſſage they had now receiv'd from the King. The Lord *Dunſmore* had been created Earl of *Chicheſter*; Sr *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Lord *Hatton*; Sr *John Colepepper*, Lord *Colepepper*, with the Addition of Maſter of the Rolls; which Office they had beſtowed upon *Lenthall* their Speaker, who was in poſſeſſion of it; Sr *Edward Hyde* was declared Chancellor of the Exchequer; which, though it was an Office they had not medled with beſtowing, yet it had paſſed the Great Seal, after it came into the King's hands. Sr *Thomas Gardiner* was made the King's Sollicitor; and the Patent, formerly granted to their beloved *Saint-John*, ſtood revoked; which they would not endure; having, as is ſaid, annexed that Title to his Name when they mention'd him as a Commiſſioner for their Treaty. They had the ſame exception to the Chief Baron, and to the Atturney of the Wards; both which Offices were in the poſſeſſion of Men more in their favour.

AFTER long Debate, they were contented to inſert their Names in their Safe Conduct, without their Honours, or Offices; and they were ſo angry with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that they had no mind

that he ſhould be ſtyled a Knight, becauſe he was not ſo when he left the Parliament: But the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners prevail'd in that point, ſince they had not yet pretended to take away the Uſe of the King's Sword from him: ſo they allow'd him, by a Majority of Votes, to be a Knight, and ſent their Safe Conduct, in the manner as is mention'd, to *Oxford*: Upon which the King, at the deſire of the Perſons concern'd, forbore to inſiſt; but giving them ſtill in his own Paſs, and in his Commiſſion whereby they were authoriz'd to Treat, the Style and Appellation which belonged to them, and which muſt be allow'd by the others before they begun to Treat. The Style of their Paſs was not thought worthy any reply; and becauſe there was private advice given at the ſame time, "that they would not, when they met at the Treaty, conſider any Au-"thority that qualified the King's Commiſſioners to Treat, but only what "ſhould be under the King's Sign-Manual, though they would not have taken that for a ſufficient Warrant for themſelves to Treat with the King's Enemies, at laſt the King's Commiſſioners were contented, together with a Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England*, to take another likewiſe with them in that form, and only under the Sign-Manual, as was deſired.

The Treaty at Uxbridge.

ABOUT the end of *January*, or the beginning of *February*, the Commiſſioners on both ſides met at *Uxbridge*; which being within the Enemies Quarters, the King's Commiſſioners were to have ſuch Accommodations, as the other thought fit to leave to them; who had been very civil in the diſtribution, and left one entire ſide of the Town to the King's Commiſſioners, one Houſe only excepted, which was given to the Earl of *Pembroke*; ſo that they had no cauſe to complain of their Accommodation; which was as good as the Town would yield, and as good as the other had. There was a good Houſe at the end of the Town, which was provided for the Treaty, where was a fair Room in the middle of the Houſe, handſomly dreſſed up for the Commiſſioners to ſit in; a large ſquare Table being placed in the middle with Seats for the Commiſſioners, one ſide being ſufficient for thoſe of either party; and a Rail for others who ſhould be thought neceſſary to be preſent, which went round. There were many other Rooms on either ſide of this great Room, for the Commiſſioners on either ſide to retire to, when they thought fit to conſult by themſelves, and to return again to the publick Debate; and there being good Staires at either end of the Houſe, they never went through each other's Quarters; nor met, but in the great Room.

ASSOON as the King's Commiſſioners came to the Town, all thoſe of the Parliament came to viſit and to welcome them; and, within an hour, thoſe of the King's return'd their viſits with uſual Civilities: each profeſſing great deſire and hope, that the Treaty would produce a good Peace. The firſt viſits were altogether, and in one Room; the *Scots* being in the ſame Room with the *Engliſh*. Each Party eat always together, there being two great Inns which ſerv'd very well to that purpoſe. The Duke of *Richmond*, being Steward of his Majeſty's Houſe, kept his Table there for all the King's Commiſſioners: nor was there any reſtraint from giving and receiving Viſits apart, as their acquaintance, and inclinations diſpoſed them; in which thoſe of the King's Party uſed their accuſtom'd Freedom, as heretofore. But on the other ſide, there was great warineſs and reſervedneſs; and ſo great a jealouſy of each other, that they had no mind to give, or receive Viſits to, or from their old Friends; whom they loved better than their New. Nor would any of them be ſeen alone with

with any of the King's Commiſſioners, but had always one of their Companions with them, and ſometimes one whom they leaſt truſted. It was obſerved by the Town, and the People that flocked thither, that the King's Commiſſioners looked as if they were at home and govern'd the Town; and the other as if they were not in their own Quarters; and the truth is, they had not that alacrity and ſerenity of mind, as Men uſe to have who do not believe themſelves to be in a fault.

THE King's Commiſſioners would willingly have performed their Devotions in the Church, nor was there any reſtraint upon them from doing ſo, that is by Inhibition from the Parliament, otherwiſe than that by the Parliament's Ordinance (as they call'd it) the Book of Common-Prayer was not permitted to be read, nor the Veſtures, nor Ceremonies of the Church to be uſed. So that the days of Devotion were obſerved in their great Room of the Inn; whither many of the Country, and the Train of the Commiſſioners, and other Perſons, who came every day from *London*, uſually reſorted.

WHEN the Commiſſioners, on both ſides, met firſt together in the Room appointed for the Treaty, and had taken their Seats, it being left to the King's Commiſſioners, which ſide of the Table they would take; the Earl of *Northumberland*, who always deliver'd any thing that was agreed between them, and read all the Papers (after the Powers of both ſides were examined, and peruſed) propoſed ſome Rules to be obſerved in the Treaty; "as of having Nothing binding, unleſs All were agreed "upon; and ſuch like; to which there was no objection; and offer'd, as a direction they had receiv'd from the Parliament, "that they ſhould firſt "enter upon the matter of Religion, and Treat three entire days upon "that Subject, without entring upon any other; and if all Differences, "in that particular, were not adjuſted within thoſe days, they ſhould "then proceed to the next Point, which was the Militia; and obſerve "the ſame Method in that, and from thence paſs to the buſineſs of *Ireland*; "which three Points being well ſettled, they believed the other differences would be with more eaſe compoſed: and after thoſe Nine days "were paſſed, they were to go round again upon the ſeveral Subjects, as "long as the time limited would continue: his Majeſty being left at liberty to propoſe what he thought fit, at his own time, and to change "the Method propoſed. It was declared, "that the Twenty days, limited for the Treaty, were to be reckon'd of the days which ſhould be "ſpent in the Treaty, and not the days of coming or returning, or the "days ſpent in Devotion: there falling out three Sundays and a Faſt day in thoſe Twenty days. The Method was willingly conſented to; the King's Commiſſioners conceiving it would be to no purpoſe to propoſe any thing on the King's behalf, till they diſcerned what agreement was like to be made in any one particular; by which they might take their Meaſures, and might propoſe any thing of Moment under one of the three Heads mention'd before.

THERE happen'd a very odd Accident, the very firſt Morning they met at the Houſe to agree upon their Method to be obſerv'd in the Treaty. It was a Market-day, when they uſed always to have a Sermon, and many of the Perſons who came from *Oxford* in the Commiſſioners Train, went to the Church to obſerve the forms. There was one *Love*, a young Man, that came from *London* with the Commiſſioners, who preached, and told his Auditory, which conſiſted of the People of the Town, and of thoſe who came to the Market, the Church being very full,

"that they were not to expect any good from the Treaty; for that they "came from *Oxford* with hearts full of Blood, and that there was as "great distance between this Treaty and Peace, as between Heaven and "Hell; and that they intended only to amuse the People with expecta- "tion of Peace, till they were able to do some notable mischief to them; and inveighed so seditiously against all Cavaliers, that is, against all who follow'd the King, and against the Persons of the Commissioners, that he could be understood to intend nothing else, but to stir up the People to mutiny; and in it to do some Act of Violence upon the Commissioners. They were no sooner advertised of it, by several Persons who had been present in the Church, and who gave very particular Information of the very words which had been spoken, than they inform'd the other Commissioners of it; gave them a Charge in writing against the Preacher; and demanded publick Justice. They seem'd troubled at it, and promised to examin it, and cause some severe punishment to be inflicted upon the Man; but afterwards confessed, "that they had no Authority to punish "him, but that they had caused him to be sharply reprehended, and to "be sent out of the Town; and this was all that could be obtain'd: so unwilling they were to discountenance any Man who was willing to serve them. This is the same *Love* who some years after, by *Cromwell*'s particular prosecution, had his head cut off, for being in a Plot with the *Scots* against the Army, and their Parliament.

IT is not the purpose of this Discourse to set down the particular transactions of this Treaty; which were published by the King's Order, shortly after the conclusion of it, and all the Papers, which had been deliver'd by the Commissioners on either side, exposed to the View of the Kingdom, in the method and manner in which they were deliver'd. Only such particulars as fell out in that time, and were never communicated, and many of them known to very few, shall be briefly mention'd, that any, who hereafter shall have the perusal of this History, may know how impossible it was, that this Treaty could produce such a Peace as both sides would have been glad of; and that they who govern'd the Parliament then, had at that time the resolution to Act those monstrous things, which they brought afterwards to pass.

First of Religion. THE first business to be enter'd upon, being that of Religion, the Divines of both sides were admitted to be present in the places appointed for them, opposite to each other; and Dr *Steward*, Clerk of the Closet to the King, was a Commissioner, as Mr *Henderson* was on the other side; and they both sate cover'd without the Bar, at the backs of the Commissioners. On the Parliament Part, it was proposed, "that all the Bishops, "Deans and Chapters, might be immediately taken away, and abolished; "and in the room thereof, that there might be another Government "erected; such as should be most agreeable to God's Word, and the Pra- "ctice of the best Churches: That the Book of Common-Prayer might "be taken away, and totally suppressed; and that, instead thereof, a Di- "rectory might be used (in which there was likewise set down as much of the Government, which they meant to erect for the future, as was necessary to be provided for the present, and which supplied all the use of Articles or Canons, which they had likewise abolished) and "that the "King himself should take the Covenant; and consent to an Act of Parlia- "ment, whereby all Persons of the Kingdom should be likewise obliged "to take it. And the Copies of the Covenant, and the Directory were deliver'd at the same time to the King's Commissioners; which were very

long, and neceſſary to be read over, before any Anſwer could be made to them. So they took that Afternoon to peruſe them together, and adjourn'd their Treaty till the next Morning; and though they enter'd upon the reading them before dinner, the Directory was ſo very long, that they ſpent all that Afternoon, and ſome part of the Night, before they had finiſhed the reading of them. Then, there being many new terms in the Directory, as *Congregational, Claſſical, Provincial,* and *Synodical,* which were not known in practice, and ſome expreſſions in the Covenant, which were ambiguous, and they well knew, were left ſo, becauſe the Perſons who fram'd them, were not all of one mind, nor had the ſame Intentions in ſome of the other terms mention'd before, the King's Commiſſioners cauſed many Queſtions to be prepared in writing, to be offer'd at the next meeting; wherein they deſired to be inform'd, what their meaning was in ſuch and ſuch Expreſſions, in which they knew well they had ſeveral meanings, and would hardly concur in one and the ſame Anſwer.

ABOUT the beginning of the Treaty, or the day before it did begin, the Earl of *Lowden,* Chancellor of *Scotland,* viſited the Duke of *Richmond* privately in his Chamber; and either propoſed, or was very willing, to have private conference there with the Chancellor of the Exchequer; upon which the Duke, who knew well the other would not decline it, ſent to him; and He preſently went to the Duke's Chamber; where he found them both; and after ſome ſhort Compliments, the Earl told him, "how ſtoutly he had defended his Knighthood; which "the Parliament had reſolv'd to have denied, if he had not con- "vinced them. Thence, he diſcourſed of "the great prejudice the Par- "liament had againſt him, as a Man who more induſtriouſly oppoſed "Peace than any other of the King's Council; that he had now a good op- "portunity to wipe off all thoſe jealouſies, by being a good Inſtrument in "making this Peace, and by perſwading his Majeſty to comply with "the deſires and ſupplications of his Parliament; which he hoped he "would be.

THE Chancellor told him, "that the King did ſo much deſire a "Peace, that no Man need adviſe him to it, or could divert him from "it, if fair and honourable conditions of Peace were offer'd to him; but "if a Peace could not be had, but upon ſuch conditions as his Majeſty "judged inconſiſtent with his Honour, or his Conſcience, no Man could "have credit enough to perſwade him to accept it; and that, for His "own part, without reflecting upon the good or ill opinion the Parlia- "ment might have of him, he would diſſwade him from conſenting to it. The other ſeem'd diſappointed in his ſo poſitive Anſwer; yet, with great freedom, enter'd upon diſcourſe of the whole matter; and, after ſome kind of Apology, "that *Scotland* was ſo far engaged in the Quarrel, con- "trary to their former Intentions, and Profeſſions, he did as good as conclude, "that if the King would ſatisfy them in the buſineſs of the "Church, they would not concern themſelves in any of the other De- "mands. In which Propoſition, finding no kind of Compliance from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but ſharp Proteſtations againſt the demands, as inconſiſtent with Conſcience, Juſtice, or Religion, the conference broke off, without inclination in either of them to renew it. But, from that time, there was more contradiction, and quick repartees between them two throughout the Treaty, than between any other of the Commiſſioners. And it was manifeſt enough, by the private Conferences

ferences with other of the Commiſſioners, that the Parliament took none of the points in controverſy leſs to heart, or were leſs united in, than in what concern'd the Church.

WHEN, upon the next meeting of the Commiſſioners, the Queſtions, which were mention'd before, were read, and deliver'd by the Duke of *Richmond*, who always perform'd that part on the behalf of the King's Commiſſioners, as the Earl of *Northumberland* did on the Parliament's, there was a viſible diſorder in their Countenances; ſome of them, ſmiling, ſaid, We "looked into Their Game; but without offering at any Anſwer, they aroſe, and went to their Room of conſultation; where they remain'd in great paſſion, and wrangling, many hours: ſo that the other Commiſſioners, finding that they were not like ſuddainly to agree, adjourn'd till the Afternoon, and departed to dinner. Aſſoon as they came together in the Afternoon, and were ſate, the Earl of *Northumberland* ſaid, "that they wonder'd there ſhould appear any difficulty in "any expreſſions, upon which thoſe Queſtions had been adminiſter'd in "the Morning; which to Them ſeem'd very clear and plain; however, "to give their Lordſhips ſatisfaction, that they had appointed another "noble Lord, there preſent, who was well acquainted with the ſignifi- "cation of all thoſe words, to explain what the common ſenſe, and "meaning of them was. Thereupon, the Earl of *Lautherdale* made a diſcourſe upon the ſeveral Queſtions, and what acceptation thoſe expreſ- ſions and words had. But, being a young Man, not accuſtom'd to an orderly and decent way of ſpeaking, and having no gracious pronoun- ciation, and full of paſſion, he made every thing much more difficult than it was before: So that the Commiſſioners deſired, "that they might "receive an Anſwer in writing; ſince it was declared upon the entrance "of the Treaty, that though in Debate any Man might ſay what he "thought neceſſary, yet nothing ſhould be underſtood to be the ſenſe "of either ſide, but what was deliver'd in Writing; and therefore they "deſired, that what that Noble Lord had ſaid, which they preſumed "was the ſenſe of all the reſt, becauſe they had referr'd to Him, and "ſeem'd ſatisfied with what he had deliver'd, might be given to them in "writing; without which they knew not how to proceed, or give an "Anſwer to what was propoſed to them. This demand, founded upon a Rule of their own, which they knew not how to decline, put the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners into great paſſion: for all the *Engliſh* ſate ſtill with- out ſpeaking a word, as if they were not concern'd. The Lord *Lauther- dale* repeated what he had ſaid before, a little more diſtinctly; and the Chancellor of *Scotland* ſaid, "that the things were ſo plain, that no "Man could chooſe but underſtand, and remember what was ſpoken; "and that the preſſing to put it in writing was only to ſpend time; "which would be quickly out, half the time aſſign'd for the buſineſs of "Religion being to expire that night; and therefore paſſionately deſired them, "that they would reſt ſatisfied with what had been ſpoken, and "proceed upon the matter.

IT was replied, "that they could not truſt their Memories ſo far, as "to prepare an Anſwer to their demands concerning the Covenant, or "Directory, except they were ſure that they underſtood the full and de- "clared meaning of their demand; which they had leſs reaſon now to "believe they did, than before; ſince there was ſo much difficulty made "to ſatisfy them in writing; and therefore they muſt inſiſt upon re- "ceiving an Anſwer to the Papers they had given: And two or three

of

of the King's Commiſſioners withdrew, and prepared another Paper; in which they ſet down the reaſons which obliged them not to be ſatisfied with the diſcourſe which had been made, and why they muſt inſiſt upon the having it in writing; which being communicated to the reſt as they ſate, was likewiſe deliver'd to the others; who could not refuſe to receive it, though it was plain enough they never intended to give any Anſwer in writing; nor they on the King's ſide, to deſiſt from demanding it: but they declared, "that as they preſumed, they ſhould, "in the end, receive their Anſwer in writing, which they ſhould not "depart from, ſo it was their reſolution not to defer their farther pro- "ceeding upon the matter; but they were ready to proſecute that in "the method they would deſire; and ſo it was reſolv'd, "the next Morn- "ing, to hear the Divines, who were of either Party, what they would "ſay againſt or for Epiſcopacy, and the Government, and Lands of the "Church; which were equally concern'd in the Debate.

ON the King's part, beſides Dr *Steward*, who was a Commiſſioner in matters relating to the Church, there was Dr *Sheldon*, afterwards Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; Dr *Lany*, afterwards Biſhop of *Ely*; Dr *Fern*, afterwards Biſhop of *Cheſter*; Dr *Potter*, then Dean of *Worceſter*, and Provoſt of Queens College in *Oxford*; and Dr *Hammond*; all who, being the King's Chaplains, were ſent by him to attend the Commiſſioners for their Devotions, and for the other Service of the Church, as the management of the Treaty required; which could not be foreſeen: On the Parliament ſide, beſides Mr *Alexander Henderſon*, who was the Commiſſioner, Mr *Marſhall* a Country Parſon in *Eſſex*, and an eminent Preacher of that Party, who was the Chief Chaplain in the Army, Mr *Vines*, a Parſon likewiſe in *Warwick-ſhire*, and a Scholar (both of them of the Aſſembly of Divines, and ſo, very converſant in thoſe points relating to the Church, which had been ſo often diſputed there) Mr *Cheynel*, one who had been Fellow of *Merton* College in *Oxford*, and two or three others; who, bearing no parts in the diſputes, had not their names remember'd.

Mr *Henderſon* begun rather with Rhetorick, than Logick, "of the "neceſſity to change the Government of the Church, for the preſerva- "tion of the State; which was ſo much in danger, that it could be pre- "ſerv'd no other way; and therefore that in conſcience it ought to be "conſented to; that the Queſtion was not about the preſervation of "Both, which, by the Wiſdoms of the Parliaments of both Nations, "was found to be impoſſible; but ſince there could but one ſtand, whe- "ther they ſhould be both ſacrificed, or the Church given up, that the "State might be preſerv'd: nor was the Queſtion now whether Epiſco- "pacy was Lawful, and the Government by Biſhops conſiſtent with Re- "ligion, but whether it was ſo neceſſary, that Religion could not be "preſerv'd without it; which was to condemn all the Reform'd Churches "of *Europe*, where there were no Biſhops, *England* only excepted. It "ought therefore to ſuffice, that the Parliament, which beſt underſtood "what was good for the Nation, had found it to be a very unneceſſary, "inconvenient, and corrupt Government, that had been productive of "great miſchief to the Kingdom from the very time of the Reforma- "tion; that the Biſhops had always favour'd Popery, and preſerv'd, "and continued many of the Rights and Cuſtoms thereof in their Go- "vernment, and practice; and had of late introduced many Innovations "into the Church, by the example and pattern of the Church of *Rome*,

"and to the great ſcandal of the Proteſtant Churches of *Germany*, *France*, "*Scotland*, and *Holland*; that they had been the occaſion of the War "between the two Nations of *Scotland* and *England*; and then of the "Rebellion in *Ireland*; and now of the Civil War in *England*; and "thereupon, that the Parliament, in order to the uniting all the Pro-"teſtant Churches, which was the only way to extinguiſh Popery, had "reſolv'd to change this inconvenient, miſchievous Government, and "erect another in the place of it, which ſhould advance Piety, and true "Religion; and that he hoped the King would concur in ſo Godly an "Action, which would prove ſo much for his Glory. *He took notice of "an old Anſwer formerly made by a King of *England*, when the al-"teration of ſome Laws had been deſired of him, *Nolumus leges Angliæ* "*mutare*; which, he ſaid, muſt be a miſtake in the impreſſion: that it "was impoſſible for any King to lay it down as a Rule, that he will "not change the Laws; for moſt Kings had changed them often for "their own, and their Subjects benefit; but the meaning muſt be, *No-*"*lumus leges Angliæ mutari*, We will change them as often as there "ſhall be occaſion, but We will not ſuffer them *mutari* to be changed "by the preſumption of others, without our conſent. He ſaid, "they "did not preſume to think of Compelling the King to change the Go-"vernment of the Church; but they hoped he would Willingly do it, "upon the humble Petition of both Kingdoms, and for his own, and "Their benefit: That he ſhould ſay no more, till he ſhould hear the "reaſons from the Divines on the other ſide, why his Majeſty ſhould "not conſent to the Advice of his Parliament, ſince he conceiv'd nothing "of Conſcience could be alledged againſt it, becauſe it appear'd by what "his Majeſty had conſented to in *Scotland*, for the utter aboliſhing of "Biſhops, that he did not believe in his Conſcience, that Epiſcopacy "was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of Chriſtian Religion.

*Let the Reader take notice that Mr *Henderſon* is miſtaken in the *Engliſh* ſtory. *Nolumus &c.* was not ſaid by a King, but to him. See *Coke* upon the Statute of *Merton*. Cap. 9.

Dr *Steward*, with a much better countenance, told the Commiſſioners, "that he hoped and knew, that their Lordſhips were too well "acquainted with the Conſtitution of the Church of *England*, and the "Foundation upon which it ſubſiſted, to believe it could be ſhaken by "any of thoſe Arguments which had been made againſt it. He ſaid, "that though he did believe, it was impoſſible to prove that a Govern-"ment, ſettled and continued without intermiſſion, from the time when "Chriſtianity was firſt planted in *England*, and under which the Chri-"ſtian Religion had ſo much flouriſhed, was an unlawful and Anti-"Chriſtian Government, yet that he expected, that they who had ſworn "to aboliſh it, and came now to perſwade their Lordſhips to concur "with them, in preſſing the King to joyn in the ſame obligation, would "not urge a leſs argument for ſuch their Engagement, than the unlaw-"fulneſs, and wickedneſs of that Government, which conſcience obliged "them to remove. But Mr *Henderſon* had wiſely declined that Argu-"ment, though in their Common Sermons, and other diſcourſes in Print, "they gave it no better Style than *Anti-Chriſtian*; and had urged only "the inconveniences which had fallen out from it, and benefit which "would reſult by the Change, of which no judgement could be made, "till it might be known what Government they did intend to erect in "the place of it; and ſince the Union with the Forreign Proteſtant "Churches, ſeem'd to be their greateſt reaſon for the prodigious altera-"tion they propoſed, he wiſhed that they would ſet down, which For-"reign Church it is, to which they meant to conform, and make their

"new Government by; for that he was aſſured, that the model which "they ſeem affected to in their Directory, was not like to any of the "Forreign Reform'd Churches now in the world. He ſaid, "though he "would not take upon him to cenſure the Forreign Churches, yet it "was enough known, that the moſt Learned Men of thoſe Churches, "had lamented that their Reformation was not ſo perfect as it ought "to be, for want of Epiſcopacy; which they could not be ſuffer'd to "have: and they had always paid that Reverence to the Church of "*England*, which they conceiv'd due to it, as to the Church to which "God had vouchſafed the moſt perfect Reformation, becauſe it retains "all that was innocent, or venerable in Antiquity. He then enlarged upon the original Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy; uſing all thoſe Arguments, which are ſtill uſed by the moſt Learned Men in thoſe diſputes, to prove, that without Biſhops there could be no Ordination of Miniſters, and conſequently no adminiſtration of Sacraments, or performance of the Miniſterial functions. He ſaid, "he would not preſume to ſay any thing "of his Majeſty's having conſented to the abrogation of Epiſcopacy in "*Scotland*, though he knew what his Majeſty himſelf thinks of it, only "that he had an obligation upon him in Conſcience in this Kingdom, "which he had not in that, his Coronation Oath, by which he was bound "to defend the Rights of the Church; and That alone would make it "unlawful for his Majeſty to conſent to what was propoſed, both in the "point of Epiſcopacy, and the alienation of the Lands of the Church; "which would be direct Sacrilege.

UPON theſe ſeveral points, and what reſulted from thence, the Divines on both ſides ſpent all that day, morning and afternoon, till it was very late in the night, and moſt part of the next day; only the Commiſſioners on either ſide, at the firſt coming together, mornings and afternoons, preſented ſuch Papers as they thought fit, upon what had paſſed in Debate: As, the King's Commiſſioners defired to know in writing, "whether the Parliament Commiſſioners did believe that the "Government of the Church by Biſhops was unlawful? To which they could never obtain a Categorical Anſwer.

WHEN the laſt of the three firſt days was paſt (for it was near twelve of the Clock at night) and the *Scots* Commiſſioners obſerv'd that nothing was conſented to which they looked for, the Chancellor of *Scotland* enter'd into a long diſcourſe, with much paſſion, againſt Biſhops, "of the miſchief they had done in all Ages, and of their being the ſole "Cauſes of the late Troubles in *Scotland*, and of the preſent Troubles "in *England*: Remember'd, "that the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* had "purſued the Introduction of the Liturgy and the Canons into *Scot-* "*land*, with ſo great vehemence, that, when it was defired, that the "publiſhing them might be ſuſpended for one Month, that the People "might be the better prepared to ſubmit to what they had not been be- "fore acquainted with, he would by no means conſent to that delay; "but cauſed it to be enter'd upon the next *Sunday*, againſt the advice of "many of the Biſhops themſelves; which put the People into ſuch a "fury, that they could not be appeaſed. He lamented and complain'd, "that three days had been now ſpent in fruitleſs Debates; and that "though their Divines had learnedly made it appear, that Epiſcopacy "had no foundation in Scripture, and that it might be lawfully taken "away; and that notwithſtanding it was evident, that it had been the "cauſe of great miſchief, and the Wiſdom of Parliament had thought

"the utter taking it away to be abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation "of the Kingdom; their Lordſhips were ſtill unmoved, and had yeilded "in no one particular of importance, to give them ſatisfaction; from "which they could not but conclude, that they did not bring that hearty "inclination to Peace, which they hoped they would have done; and ſo concluded with ſome expreſſions more rude and inſolent, than were expected.

WHEREUPON the Chancellor of the Exchequer, not without ſome commotion, ſaid, "that he did not wonder, that their Lordſhips, who "had for ſome years been accuſtomed to ſuch Diſcourſes, and the more "inclin'd to ſuppoſe all that was confidently ſaid to be reaſonably prov'd, "and ſo having not been uſed to converſe with any Perſons of a contrary "opinion, had been brought to conſent and approve thoſe alterations, "which they had propoſed; but that it ſeem'd very admirable to him, "that their Lordſhips could expect, or imagine it poſſible, that they "who never had heard ſuch things ſaid before, nor could underſtand in "ſo little time what had been now ſaid, ſhould depart from a Faith, and "a form of Worſhip, in which they had been educated from their Cradle; "and which, upon ſo long obſervation, and experience, they looked "upon with all poſſible approbation and reverence, upon only hearing "it inveighed againſt three days; which would have been much too lit- "tle time, to have warranted a Converſion from much leſs important "opinions, they had ſo long entertain'd; though their Arguments had "Had as much weight as they Wanted. He ſaid, "they were of opinion, "that all thoſe miſchiefs and inconveniences which they had mention'd, "had in truth proceeded from an over vehement deſire to overthrow "Epiſcopacy, not from the Zeal to ſupport it: that if the Arch-Biſhop "of *Canterbury* had been too precipitate in preſſing the reception of that, "which He thought a Reformation, he paid dearly for it; which made "him the more wonder, that they ſhould blame Them, for not ſubmit- "ting to much greater alterations, than were at that time propoſed, in "three days; when they reproached Him, for not having given Them "a whole month to conſider. He ſaid, "he might aſſure their Lordſhips "with great ſincerity, that they were come thither with all imaginable "paſſion and deſire, that the Treaty might conclude in a happy and bleſ- "ſed Peace; as he ſtill hoped it would; but if it ſhould be otherwiſe, "that they would ſtill believe, their Lordſhips brought with them the "ſame honourable and pious Inclinations, though the Inſtructions, and "Commands from thoſe who truſted them, reſtrained them from con- "ſenting to what in their own judgments ſeem'd reaſonable. And ſo, without any manner of reply, both ſides aroſe, and departed, it being near midnight.

THERE happen'd a pleaſant Accident on one of theſe days, which were aſſigned for the matter of Religion. The Commiſſioners of both ſides, either before their ſitting, or after their riſing, entertaining themſelves together by the fire-ſide, as they ſometimes did, it being extremely cold, in general and caſual diſcourſes, One of the King's Commiſſioners asked one of the other with whom he had familiarity, in a low Voice, "why there was not, in their whole Directory, any mention at all of the "Creed, or the Ten Commandments, and ſo little of the Lord's Prayer? which is only once recommended. The Earl of *Pembroke*, overhearing the diſcourſe, anſwer'd aloud, and with his uſual paſſion, "that He, and "many others, were very ſorry that they had been left out; that the put-

"ting them in had taken up many hours debate in the Houſe of Com-
"mons, and that at laſt the leaving them out had been carried by eight
"or nine Voices; and ſo they did not think fit to inſiſt upon the addi-
"tion of them in the Houſe of Peers; but many were afterwards troubled
"at it, and he verily believ'd, if it were to do again, they ſhould carry it,
"for the inſerting 'em all; which made many ſmile, to hear that the
Creed, and the Ten Commandments, had been put to the Queſtion, and
rejected: and many of the other were troubled, and out of Countenance
with the reaſon the good Lord had given for the Excluſion.

Secondly of the Militia.

THE next Subject of the Treaty was the buſineſs of the Militia; which
their Commiſſioners poſitively requir'd, "to be entirely veſted in the
"Parliament, and in ſuch Perſons as they thought fit to be confided in.
"This, they ſaid, was more neceſſary than ever, for the ſecuring the
"People from their Fears and Jealouſies; which were now much en-
"creaſed, and were capable of being aſſawaged by no other means: and
delivered a large Paper to that purpoſe, which contained no more than
had been often ſaid in their Declarations, and as often anſwered in thoſe
which had been publiſhed by the King. And when the Commiſſioners
of the King, whereof there were four very eminent in the knowledge of
the Law *Lane*, *Gardiner*, *Bridgman*, and *Palmer*, made the demand
appear to be without any pretence of Law, or Juſtice, and aſſerted it to
be veſted in the King by the Law, they never offer'd to alledge any other
Argument, than the determination of the Parliament, which had de-
clared the right of the Militia to be in Them, from which they could
not recede; ſo that the Conferences were very ſhort upon thoſe days,
but the Papers very long which were mutually delivered; the preparing
whereof took up the time; they of that ſide (even they who moſt de-
ſired the Peace) both publickly and privately inſiſting "upon having
"the whole Command of the Militia by Sea, and Land, and all the Forts,
"and Ships of the Kingdom at their diſpoſal; without which they look-
"ed upon themſelves as loſt, and at the King's mercy; not conſidering
that He muſt be at Theirs, if ſuch a power was committed to them. But
in this particular, he who was moſt reaſonable among them, thought it
very unreaſonable to deny them that neceſſary Security; and believed
it could proceed from nothing elſe, but a Reſolution to take the higheſt
Vengeance upon their Rebellion.

Thirdly of Ireland.

THEN they entred upon the Buſineſs of *Ireland*; in which they
thought they had the King at very great advantage; and that his Com-
miſſioners would not be able to anſwer the Charges they ſhould make up-
on that particular. And many of the Commiſſioners on the King's part,
who had not been well acquainted with thoſe Tranſactions, thought it
would be a hard matter to juſtify all that the King had been neceſſitated
to do; and any thing of Grace towards the *Iriſh* Rebels, was as ungracious
at *Oxford*, as it was at *London*; becauſe they knew the whole Kingdom
had a great deteſtation of them. They ripped up all that had been done
from the beginning of that Rebellion; "how the King had voluntarily
"committed the carrying on that War to the two Houſes of Parliament;
"that they had levied great Sums of Money upon the Kingdom for that
"ſervice; but finding that it was like to bring a greater Burthen upon the
"Kingdom than it could bear, that his Majeſty had conſented to an Act
"of Parliament for the Encouragement of Adventurers to bring in Mo-
"ney, upon Aſſurance of having Land aſſigned to them in that Kingdom,
"out of the forfeitures of the Rebels, aſſoon as the Rebellion ſhould be

"ſuppreſſed; and had likewiſe, by the ſame Act, put it out of his Power "to make any Peace, or Ceſſation with thoſe Rebels, or to Grant par- "don to any of them without conſent of Parliament; and thereupon "many of his Majeſty's Subjects had brought in very conſiderable Sums "of Money, by which they had been able to manage that War without "putting this Kingdom to farther Charge; and God had ſo bleſſed the "Proteſtant Forces there, that they had ſubdued and vanquiſhed the "Rebels in all encounters; and probably, by that time, the whole Re- "bellion had been extinguiſhed, if the King had not, contrary to his pro- "miſe, and obligation by that Act of Parliament, made a Ceſſation with "thoſe execrable Rebels, when they were not able to continue the War; "and had call'd over many of thoſe Regiments, which the Parliament "had ſent over againſt the *Iriſh*, to return hither to fight againſt the Par- "liament: by means whereof his Proteſtant Subjects of that Kingdom "were in great danger to be deſtroyed, and the Kingdom to be entirely "poſſeſſed by the Papiſts. They enlarged themſelves upon this Subject, with all the invidious inſinuations they could deviſe, to make the People believe, that the King was inclined to, and favoured that Rebellion. They demanded, "that the King would forthwith declare that Ceſſation to be "Void; and that he would proſecute the War againſt thoſe Rebels with "the utmoſt fury; and that the Act of Parliament for their reduction, "might be executed as it ought to be.

THE Commiſſioners of the King prepar'd and deliver'd a very full An- ſwer in writing to all their demands; at the delivery whereof, they ap- pointed the Chancellor of the Exchequer to enlarge upon any of thoſe particulars, which prov'd the Connſels that had been taken, juſt, and ne- ceſſary. This he did ſo particularly and convincingly, that thoſe of the Parliament were in much confuſion, and the King's Commiſſioners much pleaſed. He put them in mind of "their bringing thoſe very Troops, "which were levied by the King's Authority for the Suppreſſion of the "Rebellion in *Ireland*, to fight againſt the King at *Edge-hill*, under the "Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*; of their having given over the proſe- "cution of that War, or ſending any ſupply of Arms, Money, or Ammu- "nition thither; having imploy'd thoſe Magazins which were provid- "ed for that Service, againſt his Majeſty; inſomuch as the Privy Coun- "cil of that Kingdom had ſent to his Majeſty, that he would provide "ſome other way for the preſervation of that Kingdom, ſince they could "not be able to ſupport the War any longer, againſt the united Power "of the Rebels: That all Overtures, which his Majeſty had made to- "wards Peace, had been rejected by the Parliament; and one hundred "thouſand pounds, brought in by the Adventurers for *Ireland*, had been "ſent in one entire Sum into *Scotland*, to prepare and diſpoſe that "Kingdom to ſend an Army to invade This; which they had done, and "till then his Majeſty had not, in the leaſt degree, ſwerved from the "obſervation of that Act of Parliament; but when he ſaw that the Par- "liament, inſtead of proſecuting the end and intention of that Statute, "applyed it wholely to the carrying on the War againſt Himſelf, he "thought himſelf abſolv'd before God and Man, if he did all he could "to reſcue and defend himſelf againſt their Violence, by making a Ceſ- "ſation with the Rebels in *Ireland*, and by drawing over ſome Regiments "of his own Army from thence, to aſſiſt him in *England*: which Ceſ- "ſation had hitherto preſerved the Proteſtants of that Kingdom; who "were not able without ſupplies to preſerve themſelves from the ſtrength

"and

"and power of the Rebels; which ſupplies his Majeſty could not, and "the Parliament would not ſend; and therefore, if the Proteſtants there, "ſhould hereafter be oppreſſed by the Rebels, who every day procured "aſſiſtance from abroad, and ſo were like to be more powerful, all the "miſchiefs and miſery that muſt attend them, would, before God and "Man, be put to the Account of the Parliament; which had defrauded "them of thoſe ſupplies, which, by his Majeſty's care, had been raiſed, "and provided for them; and not to his Majeſty, who had done nothing "but what he was obliged to do for his own preſervation; and if he had "not ſent for thoſe Soldiers from *Ireland*, they could not have ſtaid "there without a ſupply of Money, Cloaths, and Proviſions; which the "Parliament had not yet ſent to that part of the Army which remain'd "there, and which could by no other way have ſubſiſted, but by the be-"nefit, and ſecurity of the Ceſſation.

HE told them, "that all this unjuſtifiable way of proceeding, though "it had compelled the King to yield to a Ceſſation, yet could not prevail "with him to make a Peace with the *Iriſh* Rebels; from whom he had "admitted Commiſſioners to attend him with Propoſitions to that pur-"poſe; but that, when he found thoſe Propoſitions and Demands ſo un-"reaſonable, that he could not conſent to them in Conſcience, and that "they were inconſiſtent with the ſecurity of his Proteſtant Subjects "there, he had totally rejected them, and diſmiſſed their Commiſſioners "with ſevere and ſharp animadverſions: yet that he had given his Lieu-"tenant, and Council there, authority to continue the Ceſſation longer, "in hope that the Rebels there, might be reduced to better temper; or "that his Majeſty might be enabled by a happy Peace here, which he "hoped this Treaty would produce, to chaſtiſe their odious and obſtinate "Rebellion: And if the Parliament would yet give his Majeſty ſufficient "caution that the War ſhall be vigorouſly proſecuted there againſt the "*Iriſh*, by ſending over ſtrong Supplies of Men, and Money, he would "put an end to that Ceſſation without declaring it to be void; which "otherwiſe he could not in juſtice do, and the doing whereof would be "to no purpoſe.

THE Commiſſioners, viſibly out of Countenance and Angry, made no other reply, but "that they were ſorry to find, that odious and de-"teſtable Rebellion had receiv'd ſo much Grace, as that Commiſſioners "from it had been admitted into the King's Preſence; and that they "wonder'd, there ſhould be any ſcruple made of Declaring that Ceſſation "void, that was enter'd into expreſsly againſt the Letter of an Act of "Parliament. This reply they gave in writing, with many pathetical expreſſions againſt the Murthers and Cruelties, that had been uſed in the beginning of that Rebellion; which obliged the King's Commiſ-ſioners to a little more ſharpneſs in their returns than they were inclined to; and to tell them, "that they wiſh'd it were in the King's power to "puniſh all Rebellion, with that ſeverity that was due to it; but ſince "it was not ſo, he muſt condeſcend to Treaties, and to all other Expe-"dients which are neceſſary to reduce his Subjects who are in Rebellion, "to return to their Duty and Obedience.

THE nine firſt days were now ſpent upon the three great heads, in which there was little advance made towards giving ſatisfaction to either Party; for though, in the matter of Religion, the King's Commiſſioners had made ſuch condeſcenſions, as would oblige Biſhops to be more di-ligent in Preaching, and to be themſelves preſent in the adminiſtration

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of the moſt important parts of their Juriſdiction; yet no ſuch reformation was conſiderable to thoſe who cared for nothing without extirpation; and in neither of the other particulars any ground had been gotten; and they were ſenſible, that in the matter of *Ireland*, the King's defence would weigh down their Clamour and Calumny. There happen'd ſome Accidents in this time of the Treaty, which made impreſſion on each Party; the firſt was found in the looks of the Parliament Commiſſioners upon the Advertiſement they receiv'd, that Sr *Lewis Dives*, who was Governour of a ſmall Garriſon in *Sherborne* in *Dorſet-ſhire*, had from thence, in a Night, upon Intelligence with the King's Governour of *Portland*-Caſtle, ſurpriſed *Weymouth*, a Sea-Port poſſeſſed by the Parliament; which was like to be attended with great benefit to the King.

BUT whilſt the King's Commiſſioners entertain'd ſome hope that this loſs might have the more diſpoſed the Parliament to a juſt Peace, they receiv'd Advertiſement of a much greater loſs ſuſtain'd by the King, and which was more like to exalt the other ſide: Colonel *Langhorn*, and *Mitton*, two very Active Officers in the Parliament Service, about *Shropſhire* and North *Wales*, by correſpondence with ſome Townſmen, and ſome Soldiers in the Garriſon of *Shrewsbury*, from whence too many of that Garriſon were unhappily drawn out, two or three days before, upon ſome expedition, ſeiſed upon that Town in the Night; and, by the ſame Treachery, likewiſe enter'd the Caſtle; where Sr *Michael Earnly* the Governour had been long ſick, and riſing, upon the Alarm, out of his Bed, was killed in his Shirt; whilſt he behaved himſelf as well as was poſſible; and refuſed Quarter; which did not ſhorten his Life many days, he being even at the point of death by a Conſumption; which kept him from performing all thoſe Offices of Vigilance he was accuſtom'd to, being a Gallant Gentleman, who underſtood the Office and Duty of a Soldier by long experience, and diligent obſervation. The loſs of *Shrewsbury* was a great blow to the King, and ſtreighten'd his Quarters exceedingly, and broke the ſecure Line of Communication with *Cheſter*, and expoſed all North *Wales*, *Hereford*, and *Worceſter*, to the daily inroads of the Enemy: and the News of this, recover'd the dejected Spirits of the Parliament Commiſſioners at *Uxbridge*.

YET there had been an odd Accident which accompanied the Enterpriſe upon *Weymouth*, which gave them afterwards more trouble. Sr *Lewis Dives* had, in his March from *Sherborne*, intercepted a Packet of Letters ſent out of *Somerſet-ſhire* to the Parliament; and among thoſe, there was a Letter from *John Pyne*, a Gentleman well known, and of a fair Eſtate in that Country, to Colonel *Edward Popham*, a principal Officer of the Parliament in their Fleets at Sea, and of a paſſionate and virulent temper, of the Independent Party. The Subject of the Letter was a bitter invective againſt the Earl of *Eſſex*, and all thoſe who advanced the Treaty of Peace, and a great deteſtation of the Peace, with very indecent expreſſions againſt the King himſelf, and all who adhered to him. This Letter had been ſent by Sr *Lewis Dives* to one of the Secretaries at *Oxford*, and from Him to the Commiſſioners at *Uxbridge*; who, aſſoon as they receiv'd it, communicated it to ſome of thoſe Commiſſioners, who they knew deſired a Peace, and were very great Friends to the Earl of *Eſſex*. The *Scots* were likewiſe as much inveighed againſt as any Body elſe. They to whom this Letter was communicated, durſt not undertake to appear to know any thing of it; but adviſed,

adviſed, "that the Marquis of *Hertford*, might ſend a Copy of it to "his Brother the Earl of *Eſſex*, with ſuch reflections as He thought fit: which being done accordingly, the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was yet General, took it ſo much to heart, that he deſired the Marquis of *Hertford* would ſend him the Original; which was preſently done; hoping that it would have given ſome Advantage to the Earl of *Eſſex*, towards whom the Parliament yet behaved it ſelf with all imaginable decency and reſpect.

THE Converſation that this Letter occaſion'd between ſome of the Commiſſioners of both ſides, who in private uſed their old freedom, made a great diſcovery of the Faction that was in the Parliament: that there were many who deſired to have Peace, without any alteration in the Government, ſo they might be ſure of Indemnity, and ſecurity for what was paſt; that the *Scots* would inſiſt upon the whole Government of the Church, and in all other Matters would defer to the King; but that there was another Party, that would have no Peace upon what conditions ſoever, who did reſolve to change the whole frame of the Government in State, as well as Church; which made a great Party in the Army: all thoſe of the Parliament who deſired to remove the Earl of *Eſſex* from being General of the Army, and to make another General, were of that Party. There was likewiſe, among the Commiſſioners themſelves, very little truſt, and communication; Sr *Harry Vane*, *Saint John*, and *Prideaux*, being, upon the matter, but Spies upon the reſt; and though moſt of the reſt did heartily deſire a Peace, even upon any terms, yet none of them had the Courage to avow the receding from the moſt extravagant demand. Beſides, there was reaſon enough to believe, that, if the King had yielded to all that was then propoſed, they would likewiſe have inſiſted upon all which they had formerly demanded, and upon the delivery up of all thoſe Perſons who had faithfully ſerv'd the King, and had been by them allways excepted, as Perſons never to be pardon'd.

FOR though they had aſſign'd thoſe three general heads, of the Church, of the Militia, and of *Ireland*, to be firſt treated upon, which were all plauſible and popular Arguments, and in which they who moſt deſired Peace, would inſiſt at leaſt upon many condeſcenſions, yet they had not, in the leaſt degree, declined any other of their Propoſitions; as the exemption of many of the greateſt Quality, or of the moſt declared Affections to the King, in the three Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, from Pardon; and the making the Eſtates of the reſt, under the Name of Delinquents, liable to pay the Charges of the War; from which, or any of the other very unreaſonable demands, the Houſes had not in their Inſtructions given their Commiſſioners Authority, in the leaſt particle, to recede: They who deſired Peace, being ſatisfied, that they had prevail'd to have a Treaty, which they imagin'd would do all the reſt, and that theſe leſſer demands, would fall off, of themſelves, when ſatisfaction ſhould be given in thoſe important particulars which more concern'd the publick; and, on the other ſide, they who reſolv'd the Treaty ſhould be ineffectual, were well content, that their Commiſſioners ſhould be inſtructed only to inſiſt upon thoſe three Generals, without power to depart from any one expreſſion, in the Propoſitions concerning thoſe particulars; being ſatisfied, that in the particular which concern'd the Church, the *Scots* would never depart from a tittle; and as ſure, that the King would never yield to it; and that, in the Militia, they who moſt deſired Peace, would adhere to that which moſt concern'd

their own Security; and in the buſineſs of *Ireland*, beſides the opportunity to aſperſe the King, upon an Argument in which the People generally concurr'd with them, they were ſafe enough; except the King ſhould abſolutely retract, and recant all that he had done, and by declaring the Ceſſation void, expoſe all thoſe who had a hand in it, to Their cenſure, and judgement; and ſo diſſolve all the Authority he had in that Kingdom for the future; which they knew he would never do. So that they were ſafe enough in thoſe three heads of their Treaty, without bringing any of their other demands into Debate; which would have ſpent much time, and raiſed great difference in opinion among them; yet they had thoſe ſtill in reſerve, and might reaſonably conclude, that if the King ſatisfied them in the Terms of thoſe three Propoſitions, he would never inſiſt upon any of the reſt; which could not relate ſo much to his Conſcience, or his Honour, as the other. Beſides, they knew well, that, if, by the King's Condeſcenſions, they had full ſatisfaction in the former Three, they who had moſt paſſion for Peace, would, for their own ſhares in the particular revenge upon thoſe Men with whom they were angry enough, and in the preferments, which would be then in their diſpoſal, never divide from them in any thing that remain'd to be demanded.

ONE Night, late, the Earl of *Pembroke* came to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Lodging, to return him a viſit; and ſate with him ſome hours; all his diſcourſe being to perſwade him, to think it reaſonable to conſent to all that the Parliament had demanded. He told him, "that "there was never ſuch a Pack of Knaves, and Villaines, as they who now "govern'd in the Parliament; who would ſo far prevail, if this Treaty "were broke off, as to remove the Earl of *Eſſex*; and then they would "conſtitute ſuch an Army as ſhould force the Parliament, as well as the "King, to conſent to whatſoever they demanded; which would end in "the Change of the Government into a Common-wealth. The Chancellor told him, "if he believ'd That, it was high time for the Lords to look "about them, who would be then no leſs concern'd than the King. He confeſſed it, and "that they were now ſenſible, that they had brought "this miſchief upon themſelves; and did heartily repent it, though too "late; and when they were, in no degree, able to prevent the general "deſtruction, which they foreſaw: but, if the King would be ſo gracious "to them, as to preſerve them, by conſenting to thoſe unreaſonable Pro-"poſitions which were made by the Parliament, the other wicked Per-"ſons would be diſappointed by ſuch his conceſſions; the Earl of *Eſſex* "would ſtill keep his power; and they ſhould be able, in a ſhort time after "the Peace concluded, by adhering to the King, whom they would never "forſake hereafter, to recover all for him that he now parted with, and "to drive theſe wicked Men, who would deſtroy Monarchy, out of the "Kingdom; and then his Majeſty would be greater than ever. How extravagant ſoever this diſcourſe ſeems to be, the matter of it was the ſame, which the wiſeſt of the reſt, and there were Men of very good parts among them, did ſeriouſly urge to other of the King's Commiſſioners, with whom they had the ſame confidence: ſo broken they were in their Spirits, and ſo corrupted in their Underſtanding, even when they had their own ruin in their View.

THE Earl of *Northumberland*, who was the proudeſt Man alive, could not look upon the Deſtruction of Monarchy, and the contempt the Nobility was already reduced to, and which muſt be then encreaſed, with any pleaſure: yet the repulſe he had formerly receiv'd at *Oxford*, upon his

his Addreſſes thither, and the fair eſcape he had made afterwards from the jealouſy of the Parliament, had wrought ſo far upon him, that he reſolv'd no more to depend upon the one, or to provoke the other, and was willing to ſee the King's Power and Authority ſo much reſtrain'd, that he might not be able to do him any harm.

THE Earls of *Pembroke*, and *Salisbury*, were ſo totally without credit, or intereſt in the Parliament, or Country, that it was no matter which way Their inclinations or affections diſpoſed them; and their Fear of the Faction that prevailed, was ſo much greater than their Hatred towards them, that though they wiſh'd They might rather be deſtroy'd than the King, they had rather the King and his Poſterity ſhould be deſtroy'd, than that *Wilton* ſhould be taken from the one of them, or *Hatfeild* from the other; the preſervation of both which from any danger, they both believ'd to be the higheſt point of prudence, and politick circumſpection.

THE Earl of *Denbigh* had much greater parts, and ſaw farther before him into the deſperate deſigns of that Party that had then the power, than either of the other three, and deteſted thoſe deſigns as much as any of them; yet the pride of his Nature, not inferior to the proudeſt, and the conſcience of his Ingratitude to the King, in ſome reſpects ſuperior to Theirs who had been moſt obliged, kept him from being willing to quit the Company with whom he had converſed too long. Though he had receiv'd from them moſt ſignal Affronts and Indignities, and well knew he ſhould never more be employ'd by them, yet he thought the King's condition to be utterly deſperate, and that he would be at laſt compell'd to yield to worſe conditions than were now offer'd to him. He conferr'd with ſo much freedom with one of the King's Commiſſioners, and ſpent ſo much time with him in the vacant hours, there having been formerly a great Friendſhip between them, that he drew ſome jealouſy upon himſelf from ſome of his Companions. With Him he lamented his own condition, and acknowledged his diſloyalty to the King, with expreſſions of great compunction; and proteſted, "that he would moſt willingly redeem "his Tranſgreſſions by any attempt that might ſerve the King ſignally, "though he were ſure to loſe his Life in it; but that to loſe Himſelf, with-"out any benefit to the King, would expoſe him to all miſery; which he "would decline, by not ſeparating from his Party. He inform'd him more fully of the wicked purpoſes of thoſe who then govern'd the Parliament, than others apprehended or imagin'd; and had a full proſpect of the vile condition Himſelf, and all the Nobility ſhould be reduced to; yet thought it impoſſible to prevent it, by any Authority of their own; and concluded, "that if any conjuncture fell out, in which, by loſing his Life, "he might preſerve the King, he would embrace the Occaſion; other-"wiſe, he would ſhift the beſt he could for himſelf.

OF the Commiſſioners of the Houſe of Commons, though, the three named before being excepted, the reſt did in their hearts deſire a Peace, and upon much honeſter conditions than they durſt own; yet there were not two of them who had entire confidence in each other, or who durſt communicate their thoughts together: ſo that though they could ſpeak their minds freely enough, ſeverally, to thoſe Commiſſioners of the King's ſide with whom they had former friendſhip, they would not, in the preſence of any of their own Companions, uſe that freedom. The Debate that had been in the Houſe upon the *Self-denying Ordinance*, had raiſed ſo many Jealouſies, and diſcompoſed the confidence that had formerly been between many of them, that they knew not what any Man intended to

do; many who had, from the beginning of the Troubles, profeſſed to have moſt devotion for the Earl of *Eſſex*, and to abhor all his Enemies, had lately ſeem'd to concur in that Ordinance, which was contrived principally for his diſhonour and deſtruction; and others who ſeem'd ſtill to adhere to him, did it with ſo many cautions, that there could be no confidence of their perſeverance.

HOLLIS, who was the frankeſt among them in owning his Animoſity and Indignation againſt all the Independent Party, and was no otherwiſe affected to the Presbyterians, than as they conſtituted a Party upon which he depended to oppoſe the other, did foreſee that many of thoſe who appear'd moſt reſolute to concur with him, would, by degrees, fall from him purely for want of Courage, in which he abounded. *Whitlock*, who, from the beginning, had concurr'd with them without any Inclinations to their Perſons, or their Principles, had the ſame reaſon ſtill not to ſeparate from them. All his Eſtate was in their Quarters, and he had a Nature that could not bear, or ſubmit to be undone: though to his Friends, who were Commiſſioners for the King, he uſed his old openneſs, and profeſſed his deteſtation of all the proceedings of his Party, yet could not leave them. *Pierpoint*, and *Crew*, who were both Men of great Fortunes, and had allways been of the greateſt moderation in their Counſels, and moſt ſollicitous upon all opportunities for Peace, appear'd now to have contracted more bitterneſs, and fourneſs than formerly; and were more reſerv'd towards the King's Commiſſioners, than was expected; and in all conferences inſiſted peremptorily, "that the King muſt yield to what-"ſoever was required in the three Demands, which had been Debated. They all valued themſelves "upon having induced the Parliament, againſt "all Oppoſition, to conſent to a Treaty; which producing no effect, they "ſhould hereafter have no more credit; and it plainly appear'd, that they had perſwaded themſelves, that, in the Treaty, they ſhould be able to perſwade the King's Commiſſioners to concur with them; and that the King would yield upon the very ſame argument, and expectation, that the Earl of *Pembroke* had offer'd to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

SOME of them, who knew how impoſſible it was to prevail with the Commiſſioners, or, if They could be corrupted ſo far in their judgements, how much more impoſſible it would be to perſwade the King to conſent to what was ſo diametrically againſt his Conſcience, and his Honour; and, in truth, againſt his Security, did wiſh, "that, to get the time of the Trea-"ty prolonged, ſome Conceſſions might be made in the point of the Mi-"litia, in order to their ſecurity; which being provided for, might pro-"bably take off many Perſons, who, out of that conſideration principally, "adhered to thoſe who they thought were moſt jealous of it, and moſt "ſollicitous for it. This ſeem'd ſuch an Expedient to thoſe to whom they propoſed it, that they thought fit to make a Debate among all the Commiſſioners about it; "and if it ſhould produce no other effect, than the "getting more days to the Treaty, and making more Diviſions in the Par-"liament, both which they might naturally expect from it, the benefit "was not ſmall that would attend it; for, as long as the Treaty laſted, "there could be little advance made towards new modelling the Army, "the delay whereof would give the King likewiſe more time to make His "preparations for the Field; towards which he was in no forwardneſs. This conſideration prevail'd with the Commiſſioners to ſend their opinion to the King, "that he would give them leave to propoſe, when the next "day came for the Debate of the point of the Militia, that the whole Mi-

"litia

"litia of the Kingdom ſhould be ſettled in ſuch a Number of Perſons, for "ſeven or eight years, who might be all ſworn to the obſervation of all the "Articles which ſhould be agreed upon in the Treaty; after the expira- "tion of which time, which would be ſufficient to extinguiſh all jealouſies, "it ſhould be reſtored to the King. And they ſent the King a Liſt of ſuch Names, as they wiſh'd might be inſerted in the Propoſition, of Perſons in credit with the Parliament, to which his Majeſty might add the like Number of ſuch, of whoſe fidelity he was moſt aſſured.

THE Earls of *Eſſex*, *Northumberland*, *Warwick*, *and Mancheſter*, with *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, were among thoſe they recommended to be named by the King. With this Meſſage they ſent two of their own Body, who added other reaſons, which they conceiv'd might prevail with him; and it was with great difficulty that his Majeſty was prevailed with to conſent, that ſuch an Overture ſhould be made. But being unwilling to diſſent from his Commiſſioners judgement, and believing it would be re- jected, and in hope that it would gain time by lengthning the Treaty, his Majeſty was contented, that the Commiſſioners ſhould make ſuch an Offer as is mention'd, and name the Perſons they had propoſed of the Par- liament Party; and withall, he ſent a Liſt of ſuch Perſons as himſelf thought fit to truſt in that Affair; in whom, together with the others, he would have the power of the Militia to be veſted. But by this time, the Term aſſign'd for the Treaty drawing towards an end, they who had firſt adviſed this Expedient, had not the ſame opinion of the ſucceſs; and had plainly diſcover'd, that the Parliament would not conſent to add one day more to the Treaty. So the farther proſecution of the Overture in that manner was laid aſide. For the King's Commiſſioners concluded, "that at this time to offer any particular Names from the King to be "truſted with the Militia, was but to expoſe thoſe Perſons to reproach, "as ſome of them were very ungracious and unpopular to them; and to "give the other ſide an excuſe for rejecting the offer, upon exception to "their Perſons. However, that they might ſee a greater condeſcenſion from the King in that point, than he had ever yet been induced to, they offer'd, "that the Militia ſhould be ſo ſettled for the ſpace of ſeven years, "as they had deſired, in ſuch a Number of Perſons as ſhould be agreed "upon; a moiety of which Perſons, ſhould be nominated by the King, "and the other moiety by the Parliament: which was rejected by them with their uſual Neglect.

FROM this time the Commiſſioners, on both ſides, grew more reſerv'd, and colder towards each other; inſomuch as in the laſt Conferences, the Anſwers and Replies upon one another, were ſharper and more reflecting than they had formerly been: and in their Conference upon the laſt day, which held moſt part of the night, it was evident, either ſide labour'd moſt to make the other ſeem to be moſt in fault. The King's Commiſſioners deliver'd a Paper, which contain'd a Sum of all that had been done in the Treaty, and obſerv'd, "that after a War of ſo many years, enter'd into, as "was pretended, for the Defence, and Vindication of the Laws of the "Land, and the Liberty of the Subject, in a Treaty of twenty days, they "had not demanded any one thing, that, by the Law of the Land, they "had the leaſt Title to demand; but inſiſted only on ſuch particulars as "were againſt Law, and the eſtabliſh'd Government of the Kingdom; and "that much more had been offer'd to them for the obtaining of Peace, "than they could with juſtice or reaſon require: with which they were ſo offended, that they, for ſome time, refuſed to receive the Paper, upon

pretence, "that the time for the Treaty was expired; becauſe it was then after twelve of the Clock of the Night of the twentieth day: but at laſt they were contented to receive it, finding, that it would not be leſs publick, and would more reflect upon them, if they rejected it: and ſo they parted, a little before the break of day.

The end of the Treaty without effect.

THE next day, being *Sunday*, they reſted in the Town, that they might, in the afternoon, decently take their leaves of each other; though *Monday*, according to the Letter of their Paſs, was the laſt day of their freedom, and at that Seaſon of the year their Journey to *Oxford* might require two days, as they had ſpent two days in coming thither; and the Commiſſioners for the Parliament, had given them a Paper in which they declared, "that they might ſafely make uſe of another day for their return, "of which no Advantage ſhould be taken. But they having on *Sunday*, perform'd their mutual Viſits to each other, parted with ſuch coolneſs towards each other, as if they ſcarce hoped to meet again; and the King's Commiſſioners were ſo unwilling to run any hazard, that they were on the *Monday* morning ſo early in their Coaches, that they came to *Oxford* that night, and kiſs'd the King's hand; who receiv'd them very graciouſly; thanking them for the pains they had taken. Surely the pains they had taken, with how little ſucceſs ſoever, was very great; and they who had been moſt inured to buſineſs, had not in their lives ever undergone ſo great fatigue for twenty days together, as at that Treaty. The Commiſſioners ſeldom parted, during that whole time, till two or three of the Clock in the morning. Beſides, They were obliged to ſit up later who were to prepare ſuch Papers as were directed for the next day, and to write Letters to *Oxford*; ſo that, if the Treaty had continued much longer, it is very probable many of the Commiſſioners muſt have fallen ſick for want of ſleep; which ſome of them were not ſatisfied with in three or four days after their return to *Oxford*. Thus ended the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, the Particulars whereof were, by the King's Command, ſhortly after publiſhed in print, and never contradicted by the Parliament.

THE King ſpoke to thoſe he truſted moſt at that time, with much more Melancholy of his own condition, and the State of his Affairs, than he had uſed to do. The loſs of *Shrewsbury* was attended with many ill conſequences; and that which had ſeem'd to bring ſome kind of recompence for it, the Surpriſe of *Weymouth*, prov'd but a Dream; for the Enemy had loſt but one part of the Town, which they, in a ſhort time after, recover'd again by the uſual Negligence of the King's Governours. So that his Majeſty told them, "he found it abſolutely neceſſary to purſue "his former reſolution of ſeparating the Prince his Son from himſelf, that "the Enemy might not, upon any Succeſs, find them together; which, "he ſaid, would be ruin to them both; whereas, though he ſhould fall "into their hands whilſt his Son was at liberty, they would not dare to "do him harm. He ſeem'd to have very reaſonable Apprehenſions, that upon the loſs of a Battle, he might become a Priſoner; but he never imagin'd, that it would enter into their thoughts to take away his Life; not that he believ'd they could be reſtrain'd from that impious Act, by any remorſe of Conſcience, or that they had not wickedneſs enough to deſign, and execute it: but he believ'd it againſt their Intereſt; and would often, in diſcourſe, ſay, "of what moment the preſervation of his Life was to "the Rebels; and how much they were concern'd to preſerve it, in re- "gard, that if he Himſelf were dead, the Parliament ſtood diſſolv'd; ſo "that there would be an end of their Government: which, though it

were true in Law, would have little ſhaken their Power, of which they were too long poſſeſſed to part with it eaſily.

THIS was a ſpeculation of that Nature, that Nobody had reaſon to endeavour to change the King's opinion in that particular; and his Majeſty thought of nothing ſo much as haſtning the Prince's Journey; and to that purpoſe, commanded thoſe who were appointed to attend him to be ready by a ſhort day, reſolving that his Highneſs ſhould make his journey directly to *Briſtol*, and continue his reſidence there, till ſome emergent alteration ſhould make his remove from thence neceſſary. For whatever diſcourſe was made of raiſing an Army in the Weſt, the King had no purpoſe to put the Prince into the head of any ſuch Army; and though *Goring* had prevail'd to be ſent, with a ſtrong party of Horſe, and ſome Foot, into *Hamſhire*, upon pretence of ſecuring the Weſt from *Waller*'s Incurſion, and upon ſome other deſign; yet the King had not the leaſt purpoſe, that he ſhould be where the Prince was; though he was not himſelf without that deſign at that preſent, as ſhall be made out anon, meaning by that device to withdraw himſelf from the Command of Prince *Rupert*, which the King did not apprehend. But his Majeſty having no more in his purpoſe than is ſaid before, he ſent the Lord *Hopton* to *Briſtol* to provide a Houſe for his Highneſs, and to put that City into as good a poſture of Security for the Prince's Reſidence, as was neceſſary; nor was there any other Strength deſign'd to attend about his Highneſs's Perſon, than one Regiment of Horſe, and one Regiment of Foot, for his Guards, both to be under the Command of the Lord *Capel*; who was likewiſe to raiſe them upon his own Credit and Intereſt; there being, at that time, not one Man rais'd of Horſe or Foot, nor any means in view for the payment of them, when they ſhould be raiſed; nor, indeed, for the ſupport of the Prince's Family, or his Perſon. In ſo great ſcarcity, and poverty, was the King himſelf, and his Court at *Oxford*.

THERE happen'd an Accident at this time, that reconciled the minds of many to this Journey of the Prince into the Weſt, and looked like a good Omen that it would produce good effects; though it prov'd afterwards an occaſion of much trouble and inconvenience. When the King return'd through *Somerſet-ſhire*, after the defeat of the Earl of *Eſſex* in *Cornwal*, there had been a Petition deliver'd to him, in the Names of the Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and others his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects of the County of *Somerſet*, in which they deſired, "that his Majeſty "would give them leave to Petition the Parliament, that there might be "a Treaty for Peace; and that they might have liberty to wait upon his "Majeſty in Perſon in his march; and that when they came to a nearer "diſtance, they might then go before, and deliver their Petition; and if "they ſhould not obtain their ſo juſt Requeſt, they would then aſſiſt his "Majeſty to get that by the Sword, which could be obtain'd no other "way. To that purpoſe, they deſired leave "to put themſelves in Arms, "to atend his Majeſty in the Journey. This Petition, how indigeſted, or impracticable ſoever in the manner, and way propoſed, was contriv'd by ſome Perſons of unqueſtionable Fidelity to the King; who thought, that under this ſpecious Title of Petitioners for Peace, they might draw even that whole populous County to appear for the King; and therefore the King gave them a gracious reception, and liberty to do all that they deſired; believing it poſſible, that he might even from thence recruit his Foot; which he moſt deſired. But his Majeſty's ſpeedy march, left that deſign to be better weighed and digeſted.

UPON

UPON the firſt Fame of the Prince's being to viſit the Weſt, and to keep his Court there, ſome Gentlemen, of the beſt Quality in the Weſt, came to *Oxford*, as entruſted by the reſt to acquaint his Majeſty, that "they had now form'd the Deſign, they had formerly preſented to him, "much better than it was; and that the four Weſtern Counties, *Dorſet*, "*Somerſet*, *Devon*, and *Cornwal*, had reſolv'd to enter into an Aſſocia- "tion, and to be joynt Petitioners to the Parliament for Peace; and that "their Petition ſhould be ſent by very many thouſands of the moſt ſub- "ſtantial Freeholders of the ſeveral Counties, who ſhould have money "enough in their purſes to defray their Charges, going and returning; "and whoſoever refuſed to joyn in the Petition, ſhould be looked upon "as Enemies to Peace and their Country, and accordingly treated; ſo that "this Addreſs could not but have great influence upon the Parliament, "being under the Style of One and All; and could not but be looked upon "as ſuch. They deſired the King, "that the Prince might be made General "of this Aſſociation; in order to which, they would provide for his ſup- "port according to his Dignity; and, in the firſt place, take care for the "raiſing a good Guard of Horſe and Foot, for the ſafety of his Perſon.

THOUGH this deſign, in the Notions thereof, was as unpracticable as the former, yet his Majeſty thought not fit to diſcountenance, and reject it. It was very vehemently preſſed by many Perſons of Quality, in the name of the four Weſtern Counties, and among thoſe who took it moſt to heart, Sr *John Stawel* was the Chief; a Gentleman of one of the largeſt Eſtates that any Man poſſeſſed in the Weſt, who had, from the beginning of the Parliament, ſhew'd very great Affection to the Perſon of the King, and to the Government that was ſettled, both in Church and State; and from the beginning of the War had engaged both his own Perſon, and his two Sons, in the moſt active part of it, with ſingular Courage; and had render'd himſelf as odious to the Parliament, as any Man of that condition had done. This Gentleman, was aſſiſted, and counſel'd by Mr *Fountain*, a Lawyer of eminency, who had been impriſon'd, and baniſh'd *London*, for his declared affection to the Crown; and they two had firſt entertain'd and form'd this project in their own thoughts, and then, upon the communication of it with ſome Gentlemen, and more of the Farmers, and Freeholders of the County, found ſuch a general concurrence with them, that they concluded it could not but have good Succeſs, and would bring the Parliament to be glad of Peace. They were both very tenacious of what they had once reſolv'd, and believ'd all who objected againſt their undertaking to be averſe from Peace; ſo that the King concluded, that he would ſo far comply with them, as to make the Prince General of their Aſſociation; which he was ſure could do no harm; and they were ſo much delighted with the condeſcenſion, that they promiſed ſpeedily to make Proviſion for the Prince's ſupport, and for the raiſing his Guards of Horſe and Foot; and to that purpoſe made haſt to *Briſtol*, that all things might be ready againſt the Prince came thither.

The Prince of Wales made General of the King's Forces, and of the Weſtern Aſſociation.

UPON theſe reaſons, the Prince had two Commiſſions granted to him; one, to be General of the Aſſociation; and another, to be General of all the King's Forces in *England*. For when the King declared his Nephew Prince *Rupert* to be General, in the Place of the Earl of *Brentford*, his Highneſs deſired, "that there might be no General in *England* but "the Prince of *Wales*, and that he might receive his Commiſſion from "Him; which his Majeſty took well; and ſo that Commiſſion of Generaliſſimo was likewiſe given to the Prince, when in truth it was reſolv'd

he ſhould Act no part in either, but remain quiet in *Briſtol*, till the fate of all Armies could be better diſcern'd.

THE Indiſpoſition and Melancholy which poſſeſſed the Court at *Oxford*, and all the King's Party, was preſerv'd from deſpair, only by the extraordinary diſcontents and animoſities in the Parliament; which kept them from purſuing the advantages they had had by united Counſels. Aſſoon as the Commiſſioners were return'd from *Uxbridge*, and that a Treaty could be now no farther urged, the Independent Party (for ſo they were now contented to be call'd, in oppoſition to the other which was ſtyled Presbyterian) appear'd bare faced, and vigorouſly preſſed on their *Self-denying-Ordinance*, that ſo they might proceed towards modelling their new Army, by putting out the old Officers; during the ſuſpenſion whereof, there was no care for providing for the Troops they had, or making recruits, or preparing any of thoſe Proviſions, which would be neceſſary for taking the Field. They were now enter'd into the Month of *March*, which was uſed as a ſtrong Argument by both Parties, the one urging, "from the Seaſon of the year, the neceſſity of expediting their "reſolution for the paſſing the Ordinance, that the Army might be put "into a poſture of marching; the other preſſing, "that ſo great an Alteration ought not to be attempted, when there was ſo ſhort a time to make "it in: That there would be apparent danger, that the Enemy would "find them, without any Army at all fit to take the Field; and therefore deſired, "that all things might ſtand as they were, till the end of the next "Campagne; when, if they ſaw cauſe, they might reſume this Expedient. The other Party were loud againſt the delay; and ſaid, "that was the way "to make the War laſt; for managed as it had been, they ſhould be found "at the end of the next Campagne in the ſame poſture they were now "in; whereas they made no doubt but, if this Ordinance was paſs'd, they "ſhould proceed ſo vigorouſly, that the next Campagne ſhould put an "end to the War.

THE Debate continued many days in the Houſe of Commons, with much paſſion, and ſharp reflections upon Things, and Perſons; whilſt the Houſe of Peers look'd on, and attended the reſolution below. Of the Presbyterian Party, which paſſionately oppoſed the Ordinance, the chief were, *Hollis*, *Stapleton*, *Glin*, *Waller*, *Long*, and others, who believ'd their Party much Superior in Number; as the Independent Party was led by *Nathaniel Fiennes*, *Vane*, *Cromwell*, *Haſlerig*, *Martin*, and others; who ſpoke more and warmer than they that oppoſed them. Of the Houſe of Peers, there was none thought to be of this laſt Party, but the Lord *Say*; all the reſt were ſuppoſed to be of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Party; and ſo, that it was impoſſible that the Ordinance ſhould ever paſs in the Houſe of Peers, though it ſhould be carried by the Commons: But they were in This, as in many other things, diſappointed; for many, who had ſate ſilent, and been thought to have been of one Party, appear'd to be of the other. They who thought they could never be ſecure in any Peace, except the King were firſt at their Mercy, and ſo obliged to accept the conditions They would give him, were willing to change the hand in carrying on the War: and Many, who thought the Earl of *Eſſex* behaved himſelf too imperiouſly, were willing to have the Command in one who was more their equal. Many were willing he ſhould be anger'd, and humbled, that Himſelf might be more concern'd to advance a Peace, which he had not been forward enough to do, whilſt he held the Supreme Command.

WHEN the Debate grew ripe, *Saint John*, *Pierpoint*, *Whitlock*, and *Crew*, who had been thought to be of the Party of the Earl of *Eſſex*, appear'd

pear'd for paſſing the Ordinance, as the only way to unite their Counſels, and to reſiſt the Common Enemy; ſaying, "they diſcover'd by what they "heard abroad, and by the Spirit that govern'd in the City, that there "would be a general diſſatisfaction in the People, if this Ordinance were "not paſſed. Then they fell into a high Admiration of the Earl of *Eſſex*, extolling his great merit, and ſeem'd to fear, "that the War would never "be carried on ſo happily, as it had been under Him; or if it were, that "the good ſucceſs muſt be ſtill imputed to His Conduct, and Courage, "which had form'd their Armies, and taught them to Fight. By this kind of Oratory, and profeſſing to decline their own inclinations and wiſhes, purely for Peace and Unity, they ſo far prevail'd over thoſe who were ſtill ſurpriſed, and led by ſome Craft, that the Ordinance was paſs'd in the Houſe of Commons, and tranſmitted to the Peers for Their conſent; where no body imagin'd it would ever paſs.

The Self-denying Ordinance paſſes the Commons.

AFTER the Battle at *York*, and that the Earl of *Mancheſter* was required to march with his Army againſt the King, upon the defeat of the Earl of *Eſſex* in *Cornwal*, the *Scotiſh* Army march'd Northwards, to reduce the little Garriſons remaining in thoſe parts; which was eaſily done. After which they march'd to *New-Caſtle*; which, being defended only by the Townſmen, and in no degree fortified for a Siege, was given up to them, after as good a reſiſtance as could be made in ſuch a place, and by ſuch People. So that they having no more to do in thoſe parts, the Parliament thought not fit however to diſmiſs them to return into their own Country, not knowing yet, how far their new modell'd Army would be able to carry on all their deſigns. And therefore the *Scotiſh* Army was again advanced as far as *York*, and was to be applied as there ſhould be occaſion.

An account of the Earl of Mountroſe's *Expedition into* Scotland.

THE King had formerly, towards the end of the year forty three, conſider'd how to give ſuch a diſturbance to *Scotland*, as might oblige their Army to ſtay at home to quench a fire in their own Country; but all the Advance which had been made towards the execution of that deſign, in the Conferences with the Earl of *Mountroſe* and in the Commitment of Duke *Hamilton*, had been check'd for ſome time, by the King's not being able to give any Troops to that Earl, by the Protection whereof the loyal Party of that Kingdom might come to his Aſſiſtance, and diſcover their Affection to his Majeſty. Notwithſtanding which, the vigorous ſpirit of the Earl of *Mountroſe*, had ſtirr'd him up to make ſome attempt, whether he had any help or no. The Perſon whom that Earl moſt hated, and contemn'd, was the Marquis of *Argyle*, who had then the Chief Government of *Scotland*; and though he was a Man endued with all the faculties of craft and diſſimulation, that were neceſſary to bring great deſigns to effect, and had, in reſpect of his Eſtate and Authority, a very great Intereſt in that Kingdom; yet he had no Martial Qualities, nor the reputation of more Courage, than Inſolent and imperious Perſons, whilſt they meet with no oppoſition, are uſed to have.

THE Earl of *Mountroſe* believ'd that his getting ſafely into *Scotland*, was much more difficult than it would be to raiſe Men enough there to controul the Authority of *Argyle*. There was, at that time, at *Oxford*, the Earl of *Antrim*, remarkable for nothing, but for having Married the Dowager of the great Duke of *Buckingham*, within few years after the death of that Favourite. By the poſſeſſion of Her ample Fortune, he had liv'd in the Court in great expence and ſome luſtre, until his Riot had contracted ſo great a debt, that he was neceſſitated to leave the Kingdom, and to retire to his own Fortune in *Ireland* (which was very fair) together with his Wife; who gave him reputation, being a Lady, beſides her own great

great extraction and fortune, as Heireſs to the Houſe of *Rutland*, and Wife and Mother to the Dukes of *Buckingham*, of a very great Wit and Spirit; and made the mean parts of her preſent Husband (a handſome Man too) well enough receiv'd in all places: ſo that they had liv'd in *Ireland* in ſplendour, as they might well do, till that Rebellion drove the Lady again from thence, to find a livelyhood out of her own Eſtate in *England*. And upon the Queens firſt coming to *Oxford*, She likewiſe came thither; where ſhe found great reſpect from all. The Earl of *Antrim*, who was a Man of exceſſive pride and vanity, and of a very weak and narrow underſtanding, was no ſooner without the counſel and company of his Wife, than he betook himſelf to the Rebels, with an imagination that his Quality and Fortune would give him the ſupreme power over them; which, probably, he never intended to employ to the prejudice of the King, but deſired to appear ſo conſiderable, that he might be look'd upon as a greater Man than the Marquis of *Ormond*; which was ſo uneaſy and torturing an Ambition to him, that it led him into ſeveral faults and follies. The Rebels were glad of His preſence, and to have his Name known to be among them, but had no confidence in his abilities to adviſe or command them; but relied much more upon his Brother, *Alexander Macdonnel*, who was faſt to their Party, and in their moſt ſecret Counſels.

THE Earl, according to his natural unſteadineſs, did not like his Station there, but, by diſguiſe, got himſelf into the Proteſtant Quarters, and from thence into *England*, and ſo to *Oxford*; where his Wife then was, and made his preſence not unacceptable; the King not having then notice of his having ever been among the *Iriſh* Rebels; but he pretended to have great credit and power in *Ireland* to ſerve the King, and to diſpoſe the *Iriſh* to a Peace, if he ſhould have any countenance from the King; which his Majeſty knew him too well to think him capable of. Whether the Earl of *Antrim* had his original Extraction in *Scotland*, or the Marquis of *Argyle* His in *Ireland*, muſt be left to the determination of thoſe that are skill'd in the Genealogy of the Family of the *Macdonnels*; to the ſuperiority whereof they both pretend; and the Earl of *Antrim*, to much of thoſe Lands in the Highlands of *Scotland*, which were poſſeſſed by *Argyle*; and the greateſt part of his Eſtate in *Ireland* was in that part of *Ulſter* that lies next *Scotland*, and his Dependents near of the ſame Language, and manner of living with the Highlanders of *Scotland*. The knowledge of this, diſpoſed the Earl of *Mountroſe* to make a great acquaintance with him aſſoon as he came to *Oxford*, and to conſult with him, whether it might not be poſſible to draw a Body of Men out of *Ireland* to be ſuch a foundation for raiſing Forces in *Scotland*, as might advance the Enterpriſe he had ſo long in his heart; it being notorious enough that the Highlanders in *Scotland* had very good Affections for the King; and deſired nothing more than to free themſelves from the hard ſlavery, they had long endured under the Tyranny of *Argyle*. The paſſage over the Sea in thoſe places, between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, is ſo narrow, that the People often make their Markets in one and the other, in the ſpace of few hours; and the hardineſs of both People is ſuch, that they have no delight in the ſuperfluity of diet, or cloathing, or the great commodity of Lodging; and were very fit to conſtitute an Army that was not to depend upon any Supplies of Money, or Armes, or Victual, but what they could eaſily provide for themſelves, by the dexterity that is univerſally practiced in thoſe parts.

THE Earl of *Antrim*, who was naturally a great Undertaker, and deſired nothing ſo much, as that the King ſhould believe him to be a Man of intereſt and power in *Ireland*, was highly exalted, when he diſcover'd by

the Earl of *Mountroſe*, that he was thought to have credit enough in that part of *Ireland*, to perform a Service for the King, which he never before entertain'd a thought of. So that he preſently undertook to the Earl of *Mountroſe*, "that, if the King would grant him a Commiſſion, he "would raiſe an Army in *Ireland*, and tranſport it into *Scotland*; and "would himſelf be in the head of it; by means whereof he believ'd all the "Clan of the *Macdonnels* in the Highlands of *Scotland*, might be per-"ſwaded to follow him. When the Earl of *Mountroſe* had form'd ſuch a reaſonable undertaking, as he believ'd the Earl of *Antrim* might in truth be able to comply with, he acquainted the Lord *Digby* with it, who was a friend to all difficult deſigns, and deſired him "to propoſe it to the King, "and to let his Majeſty know, that he was ſo confident of the Earl of *An-*"*trim*'s being able to perform what ſhould be neceſſary (for he would be "very well content, if he would ſend over a Body but of two thouſand "Men into *Scotland*, which he well knew he could eaſily do) that he would "himſelf be in the Highlands to receive them; and run his fortune with "them; if his Majeſty would give him leave to gather up ſuch a Number "of his Country-men about *Oxford*, as would be willing to accompany "him; with whom he would make his way thither; and that, if no time "were loſt in proſecuting this deſign, he did hope that by the time the "*Scotch* Army ſhould be ready to take the Field, they ſhould receive ſuch "an Alarm from their own Country, as ſhould hinder their advance.

UPON this Overture, the King conferr'd with the two Earls together; and finding the Earl of *Antrim* forward to undertake the raiſing as many Men as ſhould be deſired, if he might have the King's Commiſſion to that purpoſe; and knowing well, that he had, in that part of the Kingdom, Intereſt enough to do it; and the Earl of *Mountroſe* as confidently aſſuring his Majeſty, "that with two thouſand Men landed in the High-"lands, he would quickly raiſe an Army, with which he could diſquiet "that Kingdom; and the deſign being more probable, than any other that could be propoſed to the ſame purpoſe, his Majeſty reſolv'd to encourage it all he could, that is, to give it countenance; for he had neither Money, nor Armes, nor Ammunition, to contribute to it in any degree. The great objection, that appear'd at the firſt entrance into it was, "that "though the Earl of *Antrim* had power in *Ulſter*, and among the Roman "Catholicks, he was very odious to the Proteſtants, and obnoxious to the "State at *Dublin*, many things being diſcover'd againſt him of his cor-"reſpondence with the Rebels, which were not known when he came in-"to *England*. But that which gave moſt Umbrage (for no body ſuſpected his conjunction with the Rebels) "was his declar'd Malice to the Lord "Lieutenant, the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the contempt the Marquis "had of him, who would therefore undervalue any Propoſition ſhould "be made by him, being a Man of ſo notorious a levity and inconſtancy, "that he did not uſe to intend the ſame thing long. There could be no "truſting him with any Commiſſion independent upon the Marquis of "*Ormond*, or allowing him to do any thing in *Ireland* without the Mar-"quis's Privity, and ſuch a limitation would by no means be grateful to "him. And though the benefit, the King's Friends in *Scotland* would re-"ceive by the carrying away any Body of Men out of *Ulſter*, would be a "great leſſening and abatement of the ſtrength of the *Iriſh* Rebels, who "had the Command over thoſe parts, yet if the Earl of *Antrim*, un-"der any Authority from the King, ſhould indiſcreetly behave him-"ſelf (as no Man who lov'd him beſt, had any confidence in his diſcre-"tion) all the reproaches caſt upon his Majeſty, of his countenancing

"thoſe Rebels, would receive the greateſt confirmation imaginable.

THE foreſight of theſe difficulties gave life to an Intrigue in the Court, which for ſome time had not ſucceeded. *Daniel ONeile* (who was in ſubtlety and underſtanding much ſuperior to the whole Nation of the old *Iriſh*) had long labour'd to be of the Bed-Chamber to the King. He was very well known to the Court, having ſpent many years between that and the Low Countries, the Winter Seaſon in the one, and the Summer allways in the Army in the other; as good an Education towards advancement in the world, as that Age knew. He had a fair reputation in both Climates, having a competent Fortune of his own, to ſupport himſelf without dependence, and a natural Inſinuation, and Addreſs, which made him acceptable in the beſt Company. He was a great obſerver, and diſcerner of Mens Natures and Humours, and was very dexterous in complyance where he found it uſeful. Aſſoon as the Troubles begun in *Scotland*, he had, with the firſt, the Command of a Troop of Horſe; to which he was by all Men held very equal; having had good experience in the moſt Active Armies of that time, and a Courage very notorious. And though his inclinations were naturally to eaſe and luxury, his induſtry was indefatigable, when his honour required it, or his particular intereſt, which he was never without, and to which he was very indulgent, made it neceſſary or convenient.

IN the ſecond Troubles in *Scotland*, he had a greater Command, and ſome part in moſt of the Intrigues of the Court, and was in great confidence with thoſe who moſt deſign'd the deſtruction of the Earl of *Straffford*; againſt whom he had contracted ſome prejudice in the behalf of his Nation: yet when the Parliament grew too imperious, he enter'd very frankly into thoſe new deſigns, which were contrived at Court, with leſs circumſpection than both the Seaſon, and the weight of the Affair required. And in this combination, in which Men were moſt concern'd for themſelves, and to receive good recompence for the Adventures they made, he had either been promiſed, or at leaſt encouraged by the Queen to hope to be made Groom of the Bed-Chamber, when a vacancy ſhould happen. When the Civil War begun, he, being then in the Low Countries, having made an eſcape out of the Tower, where he ſtood committed by the Parliament upon a Charge of High Treaſon, choſe rather to be Lieutenant Colonel of Horſe to Prince *Rupert*, than the Name of a greater Officer, which he might well have pretended to; preſuming that, by his dexterity, he ſhould have ſuch an Intereſt in that young Prince, as might make his relation to him Superior to thoſe who had greater Titles. He had the misfortune, at the firſt coming of the Prince, to have credit with him to make ſome impreſſions, and prejudices, which he would have been glad afterwards to have removed, when he ſaw others had credit likewiſe to build upon thoſe foundations, which he hoped to have had the ſole Authority to have ſuperviſed, and directed. When he ſaw ſome of his Fraternity promoted to Offices and Honours, who had not ventur'd, or ſuffer'd more than He (for if he had not made his eſcape out of the Tower very dextrouſly, in a Ladies dreſs, he had been in manifeſt danger of his Life) and whoſe pretences were not better founded, than upon the promiſes made at the ſame time, when he had promiſed himſelf to be of the Bed-Chamber, he now preſſed likewiſe to be admitted into that attendance; and the Queen had been very ſollicitous with the King on his behalf, being conſcious to her ſelf, that he had been encouraged by Her to hope it. But the King could by no means be prevailed with to receive him, having contracted a prejudice againſt

him with reference to the Earl of *Strafford*, or upon ſome other reaſon, which could not be removed by all his Friends, or by the Queen her ſelf; who therefore bid him expect a better conjuncture. This, *ONeile* took very heavily; and the more, becauſe his condition in the Army was leſs pleaſant to him, by Prince *Rupert's* withdrawing his Graces from him.

THE deſign of the Earls of *Mountroſe* and *Antrim*, which was yet wholely managed with the King by the Lord *Digby*, who was likewiſe of intimate Friendſhip with *ONeile*, gave him opportunity to ſet this pretence again on foot. It was generally known that *ONeile*, whether by Alliance, or Friendſhip, or long acquaintance, had more power with the Earl of *Antrim* than any Man; and that by the aſcendent he had in his underſtanding, and the dexterity of his Nature, in which he was Superior to moſt Men, he could perſwade him very much; and it was as notorious, that the Marquis of *Ormond* lov'd *ONeile* very well, and had much eſteem for him. Upon this ground the Lord *Digby* told the King, "that he had thought of an expedient, which he did believe might relieve "him in the perplexities he ſuſtain'd concerning the Conduct of the Earl "of *Antrim*; and then propoſed, "the ſending *ONeile* with him; who "ſhould firſt diſſwade him from affecting to have any Commiſſion Him-"ſelf to Act in *Ireland*; and then incline him to depend upon the Aſ-"ſiſtance and Authority of the Marquis of *Ormond*; who ſhould be re-"quired by the King to contribute all he could, for the making thoſe Le-"vies of Men, and for impreſſing of Ships, and other Veſſels for their "Tranſportation into the Highlands; and then, that he ſhould go over "himſelf with the Earl, and ſtay with him during his abode in *Dublin*; "by which he might begin, and preſerve a good Intelligence between "Him, and the Marquis of *Ormond*; and diſpoſe the Marquis of *Ormond* "to gratify him, in all things that might concern ſo important a Ser-"vice; which, beſides the Letters he ſhould carry with him from the "King, his own credit with the Marquis, and his ſingular Addreſs, "would eaſily bring to paſs.

THIS Propoſition was very agreeable to the King, who knew *ONeile* was equal to this buſineſs; and the Lord *Digby* did not in the leaſt inſinuate any deſign for *ONeile's* advantage in the Service, which would have diverted the Negotiation: thereupon his Majeſty himſelf ſpoke to him of the whole deſign, the Lord *Digby* deſiring he would do ſo, pretending that he had not communicated any part of it to him, being not ſure of his Majeſty's Approbation. He receiv'd it as a thing he had never thought of; and when the King asked him, "whether he thought the "Earl had intereſt enough in thoſe parts of *Ireland*, to Levy and Tranſ-"port a Body of Men into the Highlands? he Anſwer'd readily, "that "he knew well, that there were ſo many there, where the Earl's Eſtate "lay, who depended abſolutely upon him, that there would be Men "enough ready to go whither, or do what he required them; and that "the Men were hardy and ſtout for any Service; but the drawing a Bo-"dy of them together, and Tranſporting them, would require, he doubt-"ed, more power than the Earl himſelf had, or could be Maſter of. He ſaid, "there were two Objections in view, and a third, that he was not "willing, for many reaſons, to make. The firſt was, that nothing of that "Nature could be done without the Authority and Power of the Mar-"quis of *Ormond*, which, no doubt, would be applied to any purpoſe his "Majeſty ſhould direct; yet that the Earl of *Antrim* had behaved him-"ſelf ſo indiſcreetly towards the Marquis, and ſo unhandſomly diſobliged

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"him, that it could not but be the ſevereſt Command his Majeſty could "lay upon the Marquis, to enter into any kind of conjunction, or con- "verſation with that Earl. The ſecond was, that, though the Earl's In- "tereſt could make as many Men as he deſired, to enter into any Action "or Engagement he would preſcribe, he much doubted the *Iriſh* Com- "mander in Chief, who had the Military power of thoſe parts, would "hardly permit a Body of thoſe Men, which they reckon'd their beſt Sol- "diers, to be Tranſported; and thereby their own ſtrength to be leſſen'd; which was an objection of Weight, and not mention'd before to the King, nor conſider'd by him. He ſaid, "he was unwilling to make another ob- "jection, which reflected upon a Perſon ſo dear to him, and for whom "he would at any time lay down his Life; which was, that he much fear'd "the Earl of *Antrim* had not ſteadineſs of mind enough to go through "with ſuch an Undertaking, which otherwiſe would be as eaſy as ho- "nourable.

THE King, well ſatisfied with the Diſcourſe he made, told him, "that "he was not Himſelf without the ſame apprehenſions he had, and knew "but one way to ſecure the buſineſs, if he would undertake the Journey "with him, by which all his fears would be compoſed; His Counſel would "govern the Earl in all things, and his credit with the Marquis of *Ormond*, "which ſhould be improv'd by his Majeſty's recommendation, would "prevent any prejudice in him towards the Earl. The King added, "that "the Service it ſelf was of ſo vaſt importance, that it might preſerve his "Crown, and therefore his conducting it, without which he ſaw little "hope of Succeſs, would be a matter of great merit, and could not be "Unrewarded. *O Neile* ſeem'd wonderfully ſurpriſed with the Propoſi- tion, and in ſome diſorder (which he could handſomly put on when he would) ſaid, "that he would never diſobey any Command his Majeſty "would poſitively lay upon him; but that he ſhould look upon it as the "greateſt misfortune that could befall him, to receive ſuch a Command, "as would deprive him of attending upon his Majeſty in the next Cam- "pagne, where he was ſure there muſt be a Battle; from which he had "rather loſe his life than be abſent. Then he ſaid, "though the Earl of "*Antrim* was his Kinſman, and his Friend, and one who, he thought, "lov'd him better than he did any other Man, yet he was the laſt Man in "*England* with whom he would be willing to joyn in any Enterpriſe; mentioning his Pride, and Levity, and Weakneſs, and many Infirmities, which made it appear more requiſite, that a Wiſer Man ſhould have the application of his Intereſt; which he knew muſt be himſelf. The King renew'd his deſire to him to undertake the Service, as the greateſt he could perform for him; and commanded him to confer with the Lord *Digby*, who ſhould inform him of all particulars, and ſhould find the beſt way to make the Earl of *Antrim* to communicate the Affair to him, and to wiſh his Aſſiſtance; which was eaſily brought to paſs, nor was there any thing relating to it that the Lord *Digby* had not before imparted to him; though the King ſuſpected it not.

THE Lord *Digby* had now brought the buſineſs to the ſtate he wiſh'd; and, within two or three days, told the King "how glad the Earl of "*Antrim* was, that he had leave to communicate the matter with "*O Neile*; and deſired nothing more than that his Majeſty would com- "mand him to go over with him; which was an excellent point gain'd, "wherein he had himſelf choſen the Perſon who was only fit to be with "him, whereas he might have been jealous, if he had been firſt recom- "mended to him. The Earl had, upon the firſt mention of him, taken

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"Notice of the difficulty he might find to draw his Men out of the *Iriſh* "Quarters, by the oppoſition of thoſe who commanded there in chief; "but, he ſaid, if the King would make *ONeile* go with him, all that dif- "ficulty would be remov'd; for *Owen ONeile* who was Uncle to *Daniel*, "was the General of all the *Iriſh* in *Ulſter*, and incomparably the beſt "Soldier, and the Wiſeſt Man that was among the *Iriſh* Rebels, having "long ſerv'd the King of *Spain* in *Flanders* in very eminent Command; "and the Earl ſaid, that he was ſure *Daniel* had that credit with his "Uncle, that he would not refuſe at his requeſt, to connive at what was "neceſſary for the Earl to do, which was all he deſired.

THE Lord *Digby* left not this circumſtance, which he pretended never to have thought of before, unobſerv'd, to advance the Counſel he had given for employing *O Neile*; whom he took occaſion then to Magnify again; and told the King, "that he had already convinced the Earl of "*Antrim*, of the folly of deſiring any other Commiſſion, than what the "Marquis of *Ormond* ſhould find neceſſary to give him; and how im- "poſſible it was for him to have any ſucceſs in that deſign, without the "chearful concurrence, and friendſhip of the Marquis: which the Earl "was now brought to confeſs, and ſolemnly promiſed to do all he ſhould "be adviſed, to compaſs it. But after all this, he lamented "*O Neile*'s "obſtinate averſion to undertake the Journey, for many reaſons; who, he "ſaid, had engaged him, under all the obligations of the Friendſhip that "was between them, to prevail with his Majeſty, that he might not be "abſent from his charge in the Army, in a Seaſon when there muſt be ſo "much Action, and when his Majeſty's Perſon, whom he ſo dearly lov'd, "muſt be in ſo great danger; and that he had told him freely, that he "could not honeſtly move his Majeſty to that purpoſe, whom he knew "to be ſo poſſeſſed of the neceſſity of his going into *Ireland* with the "Earl, that he ſhould deſpair of the whole Enterpriſe, which was the "moſt hopeful he had in his view, if he did not chearfully ſubmit to act "his part towards it: but that notwithſtanding all he had ſaid, by which "he had ſhut out all farther importunity towards himſelf, his Majeſty "muſt expect to be very much ſtruggled with; and that *O Neile* would "lay himſelf at his feet, and get all his Friends to joyn with him in a ſup- "plication for his Majeſty's excuſe; and that there was no more to be "done, but that his Majeſty, with ſome warmth, ſhould command him "to deſiſt from farther importunity, and to comply with what he ſhould "expect from him; which, he ſaid, he knew would ſilence all farther op- "poſition: for that *O Neile* had that entire reſignation to his Majeſty's "pleaſure, that he would rather die than offend him. Upon which, and to cut off all farther Mediation, and Interpoſition, the King preſently ſent for him, and graciouſly conjured him, with as much paſſion as he could ſhew, "to give over all thoughts of excuſe, and to provide for his Journey "within three or four days.

ALL things being thus diſpoſed, and the King expecting every day that the Earl and *O Neile* would take their leaves, the Lord *Digby* came to him, and ſaid, "M^r *O Neile*, had an humble Sute to his Majeſty at "parting; which to him did not ſeem unreaſonable, and therefore he "hoped his Majeſty would raiſe the Spirits of the poor Man, ſince he did "believe in his Conſcience, that he deſired it more for the advancement "of his Majeſty's Service, than to ſatisfy his own Ambition. He put him in mind of the "long pretence he had to be Groom of his Bed-Chamber, "for the which he could not chooſe but ſay, that he had the Queen's pro- "miſe, at the ſame time when *Percy*, and *Wilmot* had the like for Their

"Honours, which they had ſince receiv'd the accompliſhment of: That "his Majeſty had not yet rejected the Suite, but only deferr'd the granting it; not without giving him leave in due time to hope it: That "there could not be ſo proper a Seaſon as this, for his Majeſty to confer "this Grace: That M^r *O Neile* was without a Rival, and, in the Eyes "of all Men, equal to his pretence; and ſo no Man could be offended at "the Succeſs: That he was now upon an employment of great truſt, "choſen by his Majeſty as the only Perſon who could bring an Enterpriſe of that vaſt expectation to a good end, by his conduct and dexterity: That it muſt be a Journey of great expence, beſides the hazard "of it; yet he asked no Money, becauſe he knew there was none to be "had; he begg'd only, that he might depart with ſuch a Character, and "Teſtimony of his Majeſty's favour and good opinion, that he might be "thereby the better qualified to perform the truſt that was repoſed in "him: That the conferring this honour upon him, at this time, would "encreaſe the credit he had with the Earl of *Antrim*, at leaſt confirm "his unconſtant Nature, in an abſolute confidence in him: It would "make him more conſiderable to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Council there, with whom he might have occaſion often to confer about his "Majeſty's Service; but above all, it would give him that Authority "over his Country-men, and would be ſuch an obligation upon the "whole *Iriſh* Nation (there having never yet been any *Iriſh* Man admitted to a place ſo near the Perſon of the King) that it might produce "unexpected effects, and could not fail of diſpoſing *Owen O Neile*, the "General, to hearken to any thing his Nephew ſhould ask of him.

How much reaſon ſoever this diſcourſe carried with it, with all the infinuations a very powerful Speaker could add to it in the delivery, the Lord *Digby* found an averſion, and wearineſs in the King all the time he was ſpeaking; and therefore, as his laſt effort, and with a Countenance as if he thought his Majeſty much in the wrong, he concluded, "that he "doubted his Majeſty would too late repent his averſion in this particular; and that Men ought not to be ſent upon ſuch errands, with the "ſharp ſenſe of any diſobligation: That if his Majeſty pleaſed, he might "ſettle this Affair in ſuch a manner as *O Neile* might go away very well "pleaſed, and his Majeſty enjoy the greateſt part of his reſolution: That "*O Neile* ſhould not be yet in ſo near an attendance about his Perſon: "That the Employment was full of hazard, and would require a great "expence of time: That he was a Man of that Nature, as would not "leave a buſineſs half done, and would be aſhamed to ſee his Majeſty's "face, before there were ſome very conſiderable effect of his Activity "and Induſtry; and conſidering what was to be done in *Ireland*, and the "poſture of Affairs in *England*, it might be a very long time before "*O Neile* might find himſelf again in the King's preſence, to enter upon "his Office in the Bed-Chamber; and therefore propoſed, "that the hour "he was to leave *Oxford*, he might be ſworn Groom of the Bed-Chamber; by which he ſhould depart only with a Title, the Effect whereof "he ſhould not be poſſeſſed of, before he had very well deſerv'd it, and "return'd again to his Majeſty's preſence; which, poſſibly, might require "more time than the other had to live. This laſt prevail'd more than all the reſt, and the imagination that the other might be well ſatisfied with a place he ſhould never enjoy, made his Majeſty conſent, that, in the laſt Article of time, he ſhould be ſworn before his departure; with which the other was well ſatisfied, making little doubt but that he ſhould be able to diſpatch that part of the buſineſs which was incumbent on him,

in ſo ſhort a time, as he might return to his attendance in the Bed-Chamber (where he longed to be) ſooner than the King expected; which fell out accordingly, for he was again with his Majeſty in the Summer following, which was that of forty four.

WHILST this Intrigue was carrying on for M^r *O Neile*, there was another, as unacceptable, ſet on foot on the behalf of the Earl of *Antrim*; for whoſe Perſon the King had as little regard or kindneſs, as for any Man of his rank. The Ducheſs of *Buckingham*, his Wife, was now in *Oxford*, whom the King always heard with favour; his Majeſty retaining a moſt gracious memory of her former Husband, whom, He thought, ſhe had forgotten too ſoon. This Lady, being of a great Wit and Spirit, when ſhe found that the King now thought her Husband good for ſomewhat, which he had never before done, was reſolv'd he ſhould carry with him ſome teſtimony of the King's eſteem; which, ſhe thought, would be at leaſt ſome juſtification of the affection ſhe had manifeſted for him. She told the King, "that her Husband was ſo eclipſed in *Ireland*, by "the no-countenance his Majeſty had ever ſhew'd towards him, and by "his preferring ſome who were his equals, to degrees and truſts above "him, and by raiſing others, who were in all reſpects much inferior to "him, to the ſame Title with him, and to Authority above him, that ſhe "believ'd he had not credit and intereſt enough to do the Service he de-"ſired to do: That, in that Country, the Lords and Greateſt Men had "reputation over their Tenants and Vaſſals, as they were known to have "Grace from the King; and when they were known to be without That, "they had no more power than to exact their own juſt ſervices. She lamented "the misfortune of her Husband, which ſhe had the more reaſon "to do, becauſe it proceeded from Her; and that, whereas he had reaſon "to have expected, that, by his Marriage with her, he might have been "advanced in the Court, and in his Majeſty's favour, he had found ſo little "benefit from thence, that he might well believe, as She did, that he ſuf-"fer'd for it: Otherwiſe, it would not have been poſſible for a Perſon of "the Earl of *Antrim*'s Eſtate, and Intereſt, and ſo well qualified, as ſhe "had reaſon to believe him to be in all reſpects, after the expence of ſo "much Money in attendance upon the Court, to be without any mark "or evidence of his Majeſty's favour; and to return now again in the "ſame forlorne condition into *Ireland*, would but give his Enemies more "encouragement to inſult over him, and to croſs any deſigns he had to "advance his Majeſty's Service. In concluſion ſhe deſired, "that the King "would make her Husband a Marquis; without which, ſhe did as good as declare, that he ſhould not undertake that Employment. Though his Majeſty was neither pleaſed with the matter, nor the manner, he did not diſcern ſo great an inconvenience in the gratifying him, as might weigh down the benefit he expected with reference to *Scotland*; which the Earl of *Mountroſe*, every day, with great earneſtneſs, put him in mind of. Thereupon, he gave Order for a Warrant to make the Earl of *Antrim* a Marquis.

The Earl of Mountroſe *goes privately into* Scotland, *and raiſes an Army; and has great ſucceſs.*

So He and *O Neile*, being well pleaſed, begun their Journey for *Ireland*; and at the ſame time the Earl of *Mountroſe* took his leave of the King with ſeveral Gentlemen, as if they meant to make their way together into *Scotland*. But the Earl of *Mountroſe*, after he had continued his Journey two or three days in that Equipage, which he knew could be no ſecret, and that it would draw the Enemies Troops together for the Guard of all Paſſes to meet with him, was found miſſing one morning by his Company; who, after ſome ſtay and enquiry, return'd back to *Oxford*,

whilſt that Noble Perſon, with incredible Addreſs and Fatigue, had not only quitted his Company, and his Servants, but his Horſe alſo, and found a ſafe paſſage, for the moſt part, on foot, through all the Enemies Quarters, till he came to the very Borders; from whence, by the Aſſiſtance of Friends whom he truſted, he found himſelf ſecure in the Highlands, where he lay quiet, without undertaking any Action, until the Marquis of *Antrim*, by the Countenance and Aſſiſtance of the Marquis of *Ormond*, did make good ſo much of his undertaking, that he ſent over *Alexander Macdonnel*, a ſtout and an active Officer (whom they call'd by an *Iriſh* appellation *Calkito*) with a Regiment of fifteen hundred Soldiers; who landed in the Highlands in *Scotland*, at, or near the place that had been agreed on, and where the Earl of *Mountroſe* was ready to receive them; which he did with great joy; and quickly publiſh'd his Commiſſion of being General for the King over all that Kingdom. With this handful of Men brought together with thoſe circumſtances remember'd, he brought in ſo many of his own Country-men to joyn with him, as were ſtrong enough to Arme themſelves at the Charge of their Enemies; whom they firſt defeated; and every day encreaſed in power, till he fought, and prevailed in ſo many ſeveral Battles, that he made himſelf, upon the matter, maſter of the Kingdom; and did all thoſe ſtupendous Acts, which deſervedly are the Subject of a Hiſtory by it ſelf, excellently written in Latin by a Learned Prelate of that Nation. And this preamble to that Hiſtory was not improper for this relation, being made up of many ſecret paſſages known to few; in which the Artifices of Court were very notable, and as myſterious as the Motions in that Sphere uſe to be. There will be hereafter occaſion, before the concluſion of our Hiſtory, to mention that Noble Lord again, and his Zeal for the Crown, before he came to his ſad Cataſtrophe.

THE King now found, that, notwithſtanding all the diviſions in the Parliament, and the factions in the City, there would be an Army ready to march againſt him before he could put himſelf into a Poſture ready to receive it; and was therefore the more impatient that the Prince ſhould leave *Oxford*, and begin his Journey to *Briſtol*; which he did within a fortnight after the expiration of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. And ſince the King did at that time, within himſelf (for publickly he was contented that it ſhould be otherwiſe believ'd) reſolve that the Prince ſhould only keep his Court in the Weſt, that they might be ſeparated from each other, without engaging himſelf in any Martial Action, or being ſo much as preſent in any Army, it had been very happy, and, to diſcerning Men, ſeem'd then a thing deſirable, if his Majeſty had removed His Court into the Weſt too, either to *Briſtol*, or, which it may be had been better, to *Exeter*. For, ſince *Reading* and *Abingdon* were both poſſeſſed by the Parliament, and thereby *Oxford* become the head Quarter, it was not ſo fit that the Court ſhould remain there; which, by the multitude of Ladies, and Perſons of Quality, who reſided there, would not probably endure ſuch an Attack of the Enemy, as the Situation of the place and the good Fortifications which incloſed it, might very well bear. Nor would the Enemy have ſate down before it, till they had done their buſineſs in all other places, if they had not preſum'd, that the Inhabitants within, would not be willing to ſubmit to any notable diſtreſs. If, at this time, a good Garriſon had only been left there, and all the Court, and Perſons of Quality, remov'd into the Weſt with the Prince, it would probably have been a means ſpeedily to have reduced to the King's obedience thoſe ſmall Garriſons, which ſtood out; and the King himſelf might, by the Spring,

have been able to have carried a good recruit of Men to his Army, and might likewiſe have made *Oxford* the place of Rendezvous, at the time when it ſhould be fit for him to take the Field. But the truth is, not only the Ladies, who were very powerful in ſuch conſultations of State, but very few of the reſt, of what Degree, or Quality ſoever, who had excellent accommodations in the Colleges, which they could not have found any where elſe, would, without extreme murmuring, have been content to have changed their Quarters. Beſides, the King had that Royal Affection for the Univerſity, that he thought it well deſerv'd the honour of his own Preſence; and allways reſolv'd, that it ſhould be never ſo expoſed to the extremity of War, as to fall into thoſe barbarous hands, without making all neceſſary conditions for the preſervation of ſo Venerable a place from rapine, ſacrilege, and deſtruction.

THUS that conſideration of removing the Court from thence, was only ſecretly enter'd upon, and laid aſide, without making it the ſubject of any Publick Debate: and ſince the other could not have been effected, it had been well if the whole Council which was aſſign'd to attend the Prince, had been obliged to have perform'd that Service. But both the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, Men of great reputation and authority, excuſed themſelves to the King, for not ſubmitting to that his Command, and for deſiring to continue ſtill about his Perſon; the one thinking it ſome diminution to his greatneſs to be at any diſtance from his Majeſty, to whom he had adher'd with that ſignal Fidelity and Affection, when ſo many had deſerted him; the other, being newly married, and engaged in a Family, which he could not, without great inconveniencies, have left behind him; nor without more have carried with him. Nor was the King difficult in admitting their excuſes, having named them rather to obviate ſome jealouſies, which were like to be entertain'd upon the firſt diſcourſe of ſending the Prince into the Weſt, than that he believ'd they would be willing to be engaged in the Service. However, it was eaſy to be foreſeen, that, upon any ill accidents, which were like enough to fall out, they who were ſtill obliged to that duty, would not have reputation enough to exact that general ſubmiſſion, and obedience, which ought to be paid to the Commands of the Prince; of which there was ſhortly after too manifeſt evidence.

Sr John Hotham *and his Son tryed at a Court of War: Both are condemn'd, and beheaded.*

THERE was an Act of Divine Juſtice about this time executed by thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, which ought not to be forgotten in the relation of the Affairs of this year; and which ought to have cauſed very uſeful reflections to be made by many who were equally engaged; ſome of whom afterwards did undergo the ſame fate. There hath been often mention before of S*r* *John Hotham*, who ſhut the Gates of *Hull* againſt the King, and refuſed to give him entrance into that Town, when he came thither attended only by his own Servants, before the beginning of the War; and was, in truth, the immediate cauſe of the War. It was the more wonderful, that a Perſon of a full and ample fortune, who was not diſturbed by any Fancies in Religion, had unqueſtion'd duty to the Crown, and reverence for the Government both of Church and State, ſhould ſo fooliſhly expoſe Himſelf, and his Family, of great Antiquity, to comply with the humours of thoſe Men whoſe Perſons he did not much eſteem, and whoſe Deſigns he perfectly deteſted. But, as his particular Animoſity againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, firſt engaged him in that Company, ſo his vanity and ambition, and the Conceſſions the King had made to their unreaſonable demands, made him concur farther with them, than his own judgement diſpoſed him to. He had taken upon him the Government

of

of *Hull*, without any apprehenſion, or imagination, that it would ever make him acceſſory to Rebellion; but believ'd, that, when the King and Parliament ſhould be reconciled, the eminence of that Charge would promote him to ſome of thoſe rewards and honours, which that Party reſolv'd to divide among themſelves. Whén he found himſelf more dangerouſly and deſperately embarked than he ever intended to be, he bethought himſelf of all poſſible ways to diſintangle himſelf, and to wind himſelf out of the Labyrinth he was in. His comportment towards the Lord *Digby*, and *Aſhburnham*, and his Inclinations at that time, have been mention'd before at large; and from that time, the entire confidence the Parliament had in his Son, and the vigilance and jealouſy that he was known to have towards his Father, was that alone that preſerv'd him longer in the Government. Beſides that they had ſo conſtituted the Garriſon, that they knew it could never be in the Father's power to do them hurt. But, after this, when they diſcover'd ſome alteration in the Son's behaviour, and that the pride and ſtubborneſs of his Nature would not ſuffer him to ſubmit to the Command of the Lord *Fairfax*, and that ſuperiority over both his Father and Him, with which the Parliament had inveſted that Lord, and had ſome inkling of ſecret Meſſages between the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*, and young *Hotham*, they cauſed both Father and Son to be ſuddainly ſeiſed upon, and ſent up Priſoners to the Parliament; which immediately committed them to the Tower, upon a charge of High Treaſon.

THOUGH there was Evidence enough againſt them, yet they had ſo many Friends in both Houſes of Parliament, and ſome of that Intereſt in the Army, that they were preſerv'd from farther proſecution, and remain'd long Priſoners in the Tower without being brought to any Trial; ſo that they believ'd their puniſhment to be at the higheſt. But when that Party prevail'd that reſolv'd to new Model the Army, and to make as many examples of their rigour and ſeverity, as might terrify all Men from falling from them, they call'd importunately, that the two *Hotham*'s might be tryed at a Court of War, for their Treachery and Treaſon; and they who had hitherto preſerv'd them, had now loſt their Intereſt; ſo that they were both brought to their Trial, ſome little time before the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, and both condemn'd to loſe their heads. The principal Charge againſt the Father was, his ſuffering the Lord *Digby* to eſcape; and a Letter was produced, by the Treachery of a Servant, againſt the Son, which he had ſent to the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*. The vile artifices that were uſed both before and after their Trial, were ſo barbarous, and inhuman, as have been rarely practiced among Chriſtians.

THE Father was firſt condemn'd to ſuffer upon a day appointed, and the Son afterwards to be executed in like manner the day following: the Night before, or the very Morning, that Sr *John Hotham* was to dye, a Reprieve was ſent from the Houſe of Peers to ſuſpend his execution for three days. The Commons were highly incenſed at this preſumption in the Lords; and to prevent the like miſchief for the future, they made an Order "to all Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, and other Miniſters of Juſtice, that "no Reprieve ſhould be granted, or allow'd for any Perſon againſt whom "the ſentence of Death was pronounced, except the ſame had paſſed, and "had the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament; and that if it paſſed only "by the Houſe of Peers, it ſhould be look'd upon as invalid and void, and "execution ſhould not be thereupon forborne, or ſuſpended. By this accident the Son was brought to his Execution before his Father, upon the day on which he was ſentenced to ſuffer; who dyed with Courage, and reproaching "the ingratitude of the Parliament, and their continuance of

"the War; concluded "that, as to Them, he was very innocent, and had "never been guilty of Treaſon. The Father was brought to the Scaffold the next day: For the Houſe of Commons, to ſhew their Prerogative over the Lords, ſent an Order to the Lieutenant of the Tower, that he ſhould cauſe him to be Executed that very day, which was two days before the Reprieve granted by the Houſe of Peers was expired. Whether he had yet ſome promiſe from *Peters*, that he ſhould only be ſhew'd to the People, and ſo return'd ſafe again to the Tower, which was then generally reported, and believ'd, or whether he was broken with deſpair (which is more probable) when he ſaw that his Enemies prevail'd ſo far, that he could not be permitted to live thoſe two days which the Peers had granted him, certain it is that the poor Man appear'd ſo diſpirited, that he ſpoke but few words after he came upon the Scaffold, and ſuffer'd his ungodly Confeſſor *Peters*, to tell the People "that he had reveal'd himſelf to him, "and confeſs'd his offences againſt the Parliament; and ſo he committed his head to the block. This was the woeful Tragedy of theſe two unhappy Gentlemen; in which there were ſo many circumſtances of an unuſual Nature, that the immediate hand of Almighty God could not but appear in it to all Men who knew their Natures, Humours, and Tranſactions.

SINCE the laſt Office of a General, with reference to the King's Quarters, which the Earl of *Eſſex* perform'd before he found it neceſſary to ſurrender his Commiſſion to the Parliament, was done before the end of this year, it will be proper in this place to mention it, both in reſpect of the Nature of the thing it ſelf, and the Circumſtances with which it was conducted, it being a Letter ſign'd by the Earl of *Eſſex*, and ſent by a Trumpet to Prince *Rupert*, but penn'd by a Committee of Parliament, and peruſed by both Houſes before it was ſign'd by their General; who uſed, in all diſpatches made by Himſelf, to obſerve all decency in the forms. It was a very inſolent Letter, and upon a very inſolent occaſion. The Parliament had, ſome Months before, made an Ordinance againſt giving Quarter to any of the *Iriſh* Nation which ſhould be taken Priſoners, either at Sea or Land; which was not taken notice of, or indeed known to the King, till long after; though the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Officers under him at Sea, had as often as he met with any *Iriſh* Frigats, or ſuch Freebooters as ſailed under their Commiſſion, taken all the Sea Men who became Priſoners to them of that Nation, and bound them back to back, and thrown them over board into the Sea, without diſtinction of their condition, if they were *Iriſh*. In this cruel manner very many poor Men periſh'd daily; of which, when it was generally known, the King ſaid nothing, becauſe none of thoſe Perſons were in his Majeſty's Service; and how barbarous ſoever the proceedings were, his Majeſty could not complain of it, without undergoing the reproach of being concern'd on the behalf, and in favour of the Rebels of *Ireland*.

BUT there had been lately, in ſome Service at Land, ſome Priſoners taken of the King's Troops, and upon pretence that they were *Iriſh* Men, as many as they thought to be of that Nation, were all hanged, to the Number of ten or twelve. Whereupon, Prince *Rupert*, having about the time when he heard of that barbarity, taken an equal Number of the Parliament Soldiers, cauſed Them likewiſe to be hanged upon the next Tree; which the Parliament declared to be an Act of great injuſtice, and cruelty; and appointed the Earl of *Eſſex* to expoſtulate it with Prince *Rupert* very rudely, in the Letter they had cauſed to be penn'd for him, and to ſend a Copy of their Ordinance, encloſed in the ſaid Letter, with expreſſions full of reproach, for his "preſumption in making an Or-

"dinance of Theirs, the Argument to juſtify an Action of ſo much inhu-
"manity; which was the firſt knowledge the King had of any ſuch De-
claration, with reference to the War in *England*; nor had there been,
from the beginning of it, any ſuch example made. Prince *Rupert* re-
turn'd ſuch an Anſwer as was reaſonable, and with a ſharpneſs equal to
the provocation, and ſent it to the Earl of *Eſſex*; who, the day before
he receiv'd it, had given up his Commiſſion; but ſent it immediately to
the two Houſes, who were exceedingly enraged at it; ſome of them ſay-
ing, "that they wonder'd it was ſo long on the way, for that certainly it
"had been prepared at *Uxbridge*.

The Prince of Wales ſent by the King to reſide at Briſtol.

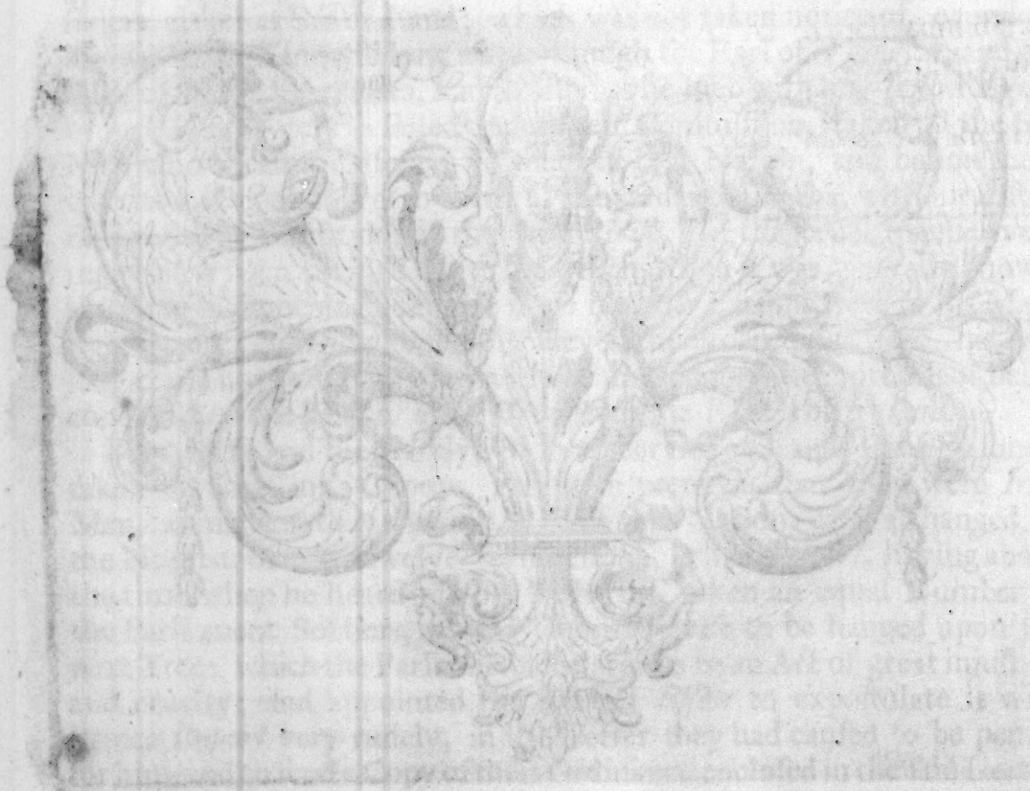
IT was upon the 4th of *March*, that the Prince parted from the King his Father; and about a Week after, came to *Briſtol*; where he was now to act a part by Himſelf, as the Affairs ſhould require, or rather where he was to ſit ſtill without acting any thing; the end being, as was ſaid before, only that the King and the Prince might not be expoſed at the ſame time to the ſame danger; without any purpoſe that he ſhould raiſe any more ſtrength, than was neceſſary to the ſecurity of his own Perſon; or that indeed he ſhould move farther Weſtward than that City. His Highneſs had not been there above two or three days, when Letters were intercepted, that diſcover'd a deſign of *Waller*, who had paſs'd by the Lord *Goring*, and put relief into *Taunton*, and hoped to have ſurpriſed *Briſtol* in his return; whereupon two or three of his Correſpondents fled out of the City, and the reſt were ſo diſpirited with the diſcovery, that they readily conſented to any thing that was propoſed. So the Lord *Hopton* put all things into ſo good a poſture, that there was no farther cauſe to apprehend *Waller*; and he himſelf was required to return to *London*, to deliver up his Commiſſion upon the Self-denying Ordinance.

THUS ended the year 1644, which ſhall conclude this Book.

THE END OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.



THE



THE HISTORY OF THE *REBELLION* AND CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641,

With the precedent Paſſages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Concluſion thereof by the KING's bleſſed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 1660.

The Ninth Book.





THE History of the Rebellion, &c.

BOOK IX.

Is. I. 15.

And when you ſpread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you: Yea when you make many Prayers, I will not hear. Your hands are full of blood.

Is. XXVIII. 15.

For we have made lies our refuge, and under falſhood have we hid our ſelves.

Introduction to the Ninth Book and the year 1645.

WE are now entring upon a time, the repreſentation and deſcription whereof, muſt needs be the moſt unpleaſant, and ungrateful to the Reader, in reſpect of the Subject matter of it; which will conſiſt of no leſs weakneſs and folly, on the one ſide, than of malice and wickedneſs, on the other; and the moſt unagreeable and difficult to the Writer, in regard, that he ſhall, probably, pleaſe very few who acted then upon the Stage of buſineſs, but muſt give very ſevere Characters of the Perſons, and ſeverely cenſure the Actions of many, who wiſh'd very well, and had not the leaſt thought of diſloyalty or infidelity, as well as of thoſe, who, with the moſt deliberate impiety, proſecuted their deſign to ruin and deſtroy the Crown: A time, in which the whole ſtock of Affection, Loyalty, and Courage, which at firſt alone engaged Men in the Quarrel, ſeem'd to be quite ſpent, and to be ſucceeded by negligence, lazineſs, inadvertency, and dejection of Spirit, contrary to the Natural temper, vivacity, and conſtancy of the Nation: A time, in which they who pretended moſt publick-heartedneſs, and did really wiſh the King all the greatneſs he deſired to preſerve for himſelf, did ſacrifice the publick Peace, and the ſecurity of their Maſter to their own paſſions and appetites, to their ambition, and animoſities againſt each other, without the leaſt deſign of Treachery, or

damage towards his Majeſty: A time, in which want of diſcretion, and meer folly, produced as much miſchief, as the moſt barefaced Villany could have done; in which the King ſuffer'd as much, by the irreſolution, and unſteadineſs of his own Counſels, and by the ill humour, and faction of his Counſellors; by their not foreſeeing what was evident to moſt other Men, and by their jealouſies of what was not like to fall out; ſometimes by deliberating too long without reſolving, and as often reſolving without any deliberation, and moſt of all, not executing Vigorouſly what was deliberated and reſolv'd, as by the indefatigable induſtry, and the irreſiſtible power and ſtrength of his Enemies.

ALL theſe things muſt be very particularly enlarged upon, and expoſed to the naked View, in the Relation of what fell out in this year, 1645, in which we are engaged, except we will ſwerve from that preciſe Rule of ingenuity, and integrity, we profeſs to obſerve; and thereby leave the Reader more perplexed, to ſee the moſt prodigious accidents fall out, without diſcerning the no leſs prodigious cauſes which produced them; which would lead him into as wrong an eſtimate of things, and perſwade him to believe, that a univerſal corruption of the hearts of the whole Nation had brought forth thoſe lamentable effects; whereas they proceeded only from the folly and the frowardneſs, from the weakneſs and the wilfulneſs, the pride and the paſſion of particular Perſons, whoſe Memories ought to be charged with their own evil Actions, rather than that the Infamy of them ſhould be laid on the Age wherein they liv'd; which did produce as many Men eminent for their loyalty and incorrupted fidelity to the Crown, as any that had preceded it. Nor is it poſſible to diſcourſe of all theſe particulars, with the clearneſs that is neceſſary to Subject them to Common underſtandings, without opening a door for ſuch reflections upon the King himſelf, as ſhall ſeem to call both his Wiſdom, and his Steadineſs into queſtion, as if he had wanted the one to apprehend and diſcover, and the other to prevent, the Miſchiefs which threaten'd him. All which conſiderations might very well diſcourage, and even terrify me from proſecuting this part of the Work, with ſuch a freedom and openneſs, as muſt call many things to memory which are forgotten, or were never ſufficiently underſtood; and rather perſwade me to ſatisfy my ſelf with a bare relation of what was done, and with the known event of that miſerable year (which, in truth, produced all that follow'd in the ſucceeding years) without prying too ſtrictly into the cauſes of thoſe effects, and ſo let them ſeem rather to be the production of Providence, and the inſtances of Divine diſpleaſure, than ſhew how they proceed from the weakneſs and inadvertency of Men, not totally abandon'd by God Almighty to the moſt unruly luſts of their own appetite, and inventions.

BUT I am too far embarked in this Sea already, and have proceeded with too much ſimplicity and ſincerity with reference to Things, and Perſons, and in the examinations of the grounds, and overſights of Counſels, to be now frighted with the proſpect of thoſe Materials, which muſt be comprehended within the relation of this year's tranſactions. I know my ſelf to be very free from any of thoſe Paſſions which naturally tranſport Men with prejudice towards the Perſons whom they are obliged to mention, and whoſe Actions they are at liberty to cenſure. There is not a Man who acted the worſt part, in this enſuing year, with whom I had ever the leaſt difference, or Perſonal unkindneſs, or towards

whom I had not much inclination of kindneſs, or from whom I did not receive all invitations of farther endearments. There were many who were not free from very great faults, and overſights in the Counſels of this year, with whom I had great Friendſhip, and which I did not diſcontinue upon thoſe unhappy overſights; nor did flatter them when they were paſt, by excuſing what they had done. I knew moſt of the things my ſelf which I mention, and therefore can Anſwer for the Truth of them; and other moſt important particulars, which were tranſacted in places very diſtant from me, were tranſmitted to me, by the King's immediate direction and order, even after he was in the hands and power of the Enemy, out of his own Memorials, and Journals. And as he was always ſevere to himſelf, in cenſuring his own overſights, ſo he could not but well foreſee, that many of the misfortunes of this enſuing year, would reflect upon ſome want of reſolution in Himſelf, as well as upon the groſs errors, and overſights, to call them no worſe, of thoſe who were truſted by him. Wherefore as I firſt undertook this difficult work with His approbation, and by His encouragement, and for His vindication, ſo I enter upon this part of it, principally, that the world may ſee (at leaſt if there be ever a fit ſeaſon for ſuch a Communication; which is not like to be in this preſent Age) how difficult it was for a Prince, ſo unworthily reduced to thoſe ſtreights his Majeſty was in, to find Miniſters, and Inſtruments, equal to the great Work that was to be done; and how unlikely it was for him to have better ſucceſs under their conduct whom it was then very proper for him to truſt with it; and then, without my being over ſollicitous to abſolve him from thoſe miſtakes, and weakneſſes, to which he was in truth ſometimes liable, he will be found not only a Prince of admirable Virtue, and Piety, but of great parts of Knowledge and Judgement; and that the moſt ſignal of his Misfortunes proceeded chiefly from the modeſty of his Nature, which kept him from truſting himſelf enough, and made him believe, that others diſcern'd better, who were much inferior to him in thoſe faculties; and ſo to depart often from his own reaſon, to follow the opinions of more unskilful Men, whoſe affections he believ'd to be unqueſtionable to his Service. And ſo we proceed in our relation of matter of Fact.

WHAT expectation ſoever there was, that the *Self-denying Ordinance*, after it had, upon ſo long deliberation, paſſed the Houſe of Commons, would have been rejected and caſt out by the Peers; whereby the Earl of *Eſſex* would ſtill have remain'd General; it did not take up ſo long Debate there. The Marquis of *Argyle* was now come from *Scotland*, and ſate with the Commiſſioners of that Kingdom, over whom he had a great aſcendent. He was, in matters of Religion, and in relation to the Church, purely Presbyterian; but in matter of State, and with reference to the War, perfectly Independent. He abhorr'd all thoughts of Peace, and that the King ſhould ever more have the Government, towards whoſe Perſon, notwithſtanding the infinite obligations he had to him, he had always an inveterate malice. He had made a faſt Friendſhip with Sr *Harry Vane*, during his late being in *Scotland*; and they both liked each others Principles in Government. From the time of His coming to the Town, the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners were leſs vehement in obſtructing the Ordinance, or the new modelling the Army: ſo that after it came to the Houſe of Peers, though thereby the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earl of *Denbigh*

(whoſe power and authority, that is, the power, credit, and authority, of the three firſt named, had abſolutely govern'd and ſway'd that Houſe from the beginning) were to be diſpoſſeſſed of their Commands, and no Peer of *England* capable of any employment either Martial, or Civil; yet the Ordinance found little Oppoſition, and the old Argument, "that "the Houſe of Commons thought it neceſſary, and that it would be of "miſchievous Conſequence to diſſent from the Houſe of Commons, ſo far prevailed, that it paſſed the Houſe of Peers likewiſe; and there remain'd nothing to be done, but the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Surrender of his Commiſſion into the hands of the Parliament, from whom he had received it; which was thought neceſſary to be done with the ſame formality in which he had been inveſted with it. *Fairfax* was now named, and declared General, though the Earl of *Eſſex* made not haſt to ſurrender his Commiſſion; ſo that ſome Men imagin'd, that he would yet have conteſted it: but he was not for ſuch enterpriſes, and did really believe that the Parliament would again have need of him, and his delay was only to be well adviſed in all the circumſtances of the formality. In the end it was agreed, that, at a conference of both Houſes in the Painted-Chamber, he ſhould deliver his Commiſſion; which he did. And becauſe he had no very plauſible faculty in expreſſing himſelf, he choſe to do it in Writing; which he deliver'd to them; wherein he declared, "with what Affection and Fidelity he had ſerv'd them, and as "he had often ventur'd his Life for them, ſo he would willingly have "loſt it in their Service; and ſince they believ'd, that what they had "more to do would be better perform'd by another Man, he ſubmitted "to their judgement, and reſtored their Commiſſion to them; hoping "they would find an abler Servant: concluding with ſome expreſſions which made it manifeſt that he did not think he had been well uſed, or that they would be the better for the change: and ſo left them, and return'd to his own Houſe; whither both Houſes, the next day, went to attend him, and to return their thanks for the great Service he had done the Kingdom; which they acknowledged with all the Encomiums, and flattering Attributes they could deviſe.

The Self denying Ordinance paſſes in the Houſe of Lords.

The Earl of Eſſex *reſigns his Commiſſion:*

And Divers other Officers.

By this Self-denying Ordinance, together with the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, Sr *William Waller*, the Earl of *Denbigh*, Major General *Maſſy*, loſt their Commands; as *Cromwell* ſhould likewiſe have done. But aſſoon as the Ordinance was paſſed, and before the Reſignation of the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Party that ſteer'd, had cauſed him to be ſent with a Body of Horſe into the Weſt, to relieve *Taunton*, that he might be abſent at the time when the other Officers deliver'd their Commiſſions; which was quickly obſerv'd; and thereupon Orders were given, to require his preſent Attendance in Parliament, and that their new General ſhould ſend ſome other Officer to attend that Service; which was pretended to be done; and the very day named, by which, it was averr'd that he would be in the Houſe. A Rendezvous was then appointed, for their new General to take a View of their Troops, that he might appoint Officers to ſucceed thoſe who had left their Commands by Virtue of the Ordinance; and likewiſe in Their places who gave up their Commands, and refuſed to ſerve in the new Model, who were a great number of their beſt Commanders. From this Rendezvous, the General ſent to deſire the Parliament, "that they would give Lieutenant "General *Cromwell* leave to ſtay with him for ſome few days, for his "better information, without which, he ſhould not be able to perform "what

"what they expected from him. The requeſt ſeeming ſo reaſonable, and being for ſo ſhort a time, little oppoſition was made to it: and ſhortly after, by another Letter, he deſired with very much earneſtneſs, "that "they would allow *Cromwell* to ſerve for that Campagne. Thus they compaſſed their whole deſign, in being rid of all thoſe whoſe affections they knew were not agreeable to Their's, and keeping *Cromwell* in Command; who, in the Name of *Fairfax*, Modell'd the Army, and placed ſuch Officers as were well known to Him, and to no body elſe; and abſolutely govern'd the Whole Martial Affairs; as was quickly known to all Men; many particulars whereof will be mention'd at large hereafter.

Cromwell only finds means to keep his Commiſſion, and new Modells the Army under Fairfax.

THOUGH the time ſpent in paſſing the *Self-denying Ordinance*, and afterwards in new modelling their Army, had exceedingly retarded the preparations the Enemy was to make, before they could take the Field, whereby the King had more breathing time than he had reaſon to expect; yet all the hopes he had of Recruits againſt that Seaſon, depended upon the Activity of thoſe to whoſe Care the providing thoſe Recruits was committed: ſo that there will be little Occaſion to mention any thing that was done at *Oxford*, till the Seaſon of the year obliged his Majeſty to leave that place, and to march with his Army into the Field. Of all the Action that was till that time, the Weſt was the Scene; where the Prince, aſſoon as he came to *Briſtol*, found much more to do (and in which he could not avoid to meddle) than had been foreſeen. One very great end of the Prince's Journey into the Weſt, beſides the other of more importance, which has been named before, was, that by His preſence, direction, and authority, the many Factions and Animoſities between particular Perſons of Quality, and Intereſt in thoſe Parts, equal in their affections to the King's Service (yet they miſerably infeſted and diſtracted it) might be compoſed, and reconciled; and that the endeavours of all Men who wiſhed well, might be united in the advancing and carrying on that publick Service, in which all their joynt happyneſs and ſecurity was concern'd. This Province, beſides the Prince's immediate countenance, and interpoſition, required great diligence and dexterity in thoſe about him, who were truſted in thoſe Affairs. But his Highneſs found quickly another task incumbent on him than had been expected, and a Miſchief much more difficult to be maſter'd, and which, if unmaſter'd, muſt inevitably produce much worſe effects, than the other could, which was, the ambition, emulation, and conteſt, between ſeveral Officers of the Army and Parties, which were then in thoſe Countries, whereby their Troops were without any Diſcipline, and the Country as much expoſed to rapine and violence, as it could be under an Enemy, and in an Article of time when a Body of the Enemy was every day expected. That this may be the better underſtood, it will be neceſſary here, in the entrance upon this diſcourſe, to ſet down truly the Eſtate of the Weſtern Counties, at the time when the Prince firſt came to *Briſtol*.

The State of the Weſtern Countys, when the Prince of Wales *came to* Briſtol.

THE Lord *Goring* had been ſent by his Majeſty, before the time of the Prince's coming into the Weſt, with ſuch a Party of Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, and a Train of Artillery, as he deſired, into *Hamſhire*, upon a deſign of his own, of making an Incurſion into *Suſſex*; where he pretended "he had correſpondence; and that very many well affect-"ed perſons promiſed to riſe, and declare for the King, and that *Kent* "would do the ſame. And ſo a Commiſſion was granted to him, of Lieu-

tenant General of *Hamſhire*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, and *Kent*, without the leaſt purpoſe or imagination that he ſhould ever be near the Prince. Some attempts he made, in the beginning, upon *Chriſt-Church* in *Hamſhire*, a little unfortified Fiſher-Town; yet was beaten off with loſs: ſo that he was forced to retire to *Salisbury*; where his Horſe committed the ſame horrid outrages, and barbarities, as they had done in *Hamſhire*, without diſtinction of Friends or Foes; ſo that thoſe Parts, which before were well devoted to the King, worried by oppreſſion, wiſh'd for the acceſs of any Forces to redeem them. Whilſt the Lord *Goring* lay fruitleſsly in thoſe Parts, a Party of Horſe and Dragoons, under the command of *Vandruske* a *German*, paſſed by him without interruption, to the relief of *Taunton*, then block'd up by Colonel *Windham*, and reduced to ſome ſtreights; and accordingly effected it. About the ſame time, Sr *Walter Haſtings*, Governour of *Portland*, ſeconded by Sr *Lewis Dives* (who had the Command of *Dorſet-ſhire* as Colonel General) had ſurpriſed *Weymouth*, and poſſeſſed the Forts, and the upper Town, the Rebels having withdrawn themſelves into the lower Town, divided from the other by an Arm of the Sea, and of no conſiderable ſtrength: ſo that the ſpeedy reducing that ſmall place was not look'd upon as a matter of difficulty. However, leſt thoſe Forces which had reliev'd *Taunton*, and were conceiv'd to be much greater than in truth they were, ſhould be able to diſturb the work of *Weymouth*, and for the ſooner expediting the buſineſs there, the Lord *Goring*, now pretending that his Friends in *Suſſex* and *Kent* were not ready for him, was by Order from *Oxford*, upon his own deſire, ſent thither; whereby it was thought, both the work of *Weymouth*, and *Taunton*, would be ſpeedily effected. Thereupon the Lord *Hopton*, whoſe right it was to Command in thoſe Counties as Field-Marſhal of the Weſt, being ſent down by the King to compoſe the diſorders there, upon the relief of *Taunton*, was, by ſpecial Order, recall'd to *Briſtol*, leſt there might be diſpute of Command between Him and the Lord *Goring*; the one being General of the Ordnance, the other General of the Horſe; but the Lord *Hopton* was likewiſe Field-Marſhal of the Weſt, in which the Lord *Goring* had no Commiſſion to command.

SHORTLY after the Lord *Goring*'s arrival about *Weymouth*, with his full ſtrength of Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, and Artillery, conſiſting of above three thouſand Horſe, and fifteen hundred Foot, beſides what he found in thoſe parts, that place of ſo vaſt importance, was, by moſt Supine negligence at beſt, retaken by that contemptible number of the Enemy, who had been beaten into the lower Town, and who were look'd upon as Priſoners at Mercy. The myſteries of which fatal loſs were never enquired into; but with great plainneſs, by the Vote of the Country, imputed to General *Goring*'s natural want of vigilance; who thereupon retired with his whole ſtrength into *Somerſet-ſhire*. His Highneſs, upon his arrival at *Briſtol*, found the Weſt in this condition; All *Dorſet-ſhire* entirely poſſeſſed by the Rebels, ſave only what Sr *Lewis Dives* could protect by his ſmall Garriſon at *Sherborne*, and the Iſland of *Portland*, which could not provide for it's own Subſiſtence: the Garriſon of *Taunton*, with that Party of Horſe and Dragoons which reliev'd it, commanding a very large circuit, and diſturbing other parts in *Somerſet-ſhire*: *Devon-ſhire* intent upon the blocking up of *Plymouth*, at one end, and open to incurſions from *Lyme*, and prejudiced by *Taunton*, at the other end: the King's Garriſons, in all three Counties, being ſtronger in Fortifications

tifications (which yet were not finiſhed in any place, and but begun in ſome) than in Men, or any Proviſions to endure an Enemy; whilſt the Lord *Goring*'s Forces equally infeſted the borders of *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, and *Devon*, by unheard of rapine, without applying themſelves to any enterprize upon the Rebels. *Cornwal* indeed was entire; but being wholely aſſign'd to the blocking up of *Plymouth*, yielded no ſupply to any other Service, or to the providing it's own Garriſons againſt the time that they might be viſited by an Enemy.

Sr *William Waller*, and *Cromwell*, march'd together about this time towards the Weſt, and paſſing through *Wilt-ſhire*, had routed, and taken the whole Regiment of Horſe of Colonel *Long*, the High Sheriff of that County, by his great defect of courage, and conduct: and ſeem'd to intend an attempt upon General *Goring*; who was ſo much ſtartled with the noiſe, at a great diſtance, that he drew his Forces ſo far Weſt of *Taunton*, that *Vandruske* had an opportunity to retire with that Body of Horſe and Dragoons with which he had reliev'd *Taunton*, to his fellows; whilſt the King's Forces repoſed themſelves upon the Borders of *Devon-ſhire*, the Lord *Goring* himſelf, and moſt of his principal Officers, taking that opportunity to refreſh at *Exeter*, where they ſtay'd three or four days in moſt ſcandalous diſorder, a great part of his Horſe lying upon free Quarter, and plundering to the Gates of the City; which, in the beginning of the year, was an ill preſage to that people, what they were to expect. But finding that Sr *William Waller* made not that haſt he apprehended, having borrow'd ſuch Horſe and Foot as he could procure from *Exeter*, he return'd again towards *Taunton*, and gave his Highneſs an account of his condition.

THE Prince, being attended at *Briſtol* by the Commiſſioners of *Somerſet*, found no one thing provided, or one promiſe complied with, which had been made by them at *Oxford*: Of his Guards of Horſe and Foot, which they aſſured him, for the proportion of that County, ſhould be ready againſt his coming, not one Man or Horſe provided: Of the hundred pound a Week, to be allow'd by them towards his Highneſs's ſupport, not one penny ready, nor like to be. So that he was forced to borrow from the Lord *Hopton*'s own private ſtore, to buy bread. And, which was worſe than all this, we found plainly, that, what had been ſo particularly, and poſitively undertaken at *Oxford*, was upon the confidence only of three or four Men, who were govern'd by Sr *John Stawel*, and Mr *Fountain*, without any concurrence from the reſt of the Commiſſioners of that, or the other three aſſociated Counties; and that they who had been ſo confident, inſtead of forming and purſuing any deſign for raiſing of Men or Money, were only buſy in making Objections, and preparing Complaints, and purſuing their private quarrels, and animoſities againſt others. So they brought, every day, complaints againſt this and that Governour of Garriſons, for the riots and inſolences of the Lord *Goring*'s Soldiers, and, "that thoſe parts of the Country "which were adjacent to *Sherborne*, and *Bridgewater*, were compell'd "to work at thoſe Fortifications; with other particulars, moſt of which, they well knew, in that conjuncture of time, could not be prevented; and ſome of which were in themſelves very neceſſary. Yet the Prince endeavour'd to give them all encouragement; told them, "that he was "very ſenſible of all thoſe diſorders, of which they complain'd; and "would redreſs them, aſſoon as they ſhould diſcern it to be in his power: "that the Forces under the Lord *Goring* were an Army by themſelves,

"come down into thoſe Parts, before his Highneſs; and ſtay'd then "there for their Protection againſt the power of *Waller* (which was "ready to invade them) and the Garriſon of *Taunton*, which they con- "feſſed infeſted their whole County; that he was very deſirous that Army "might move Eaſtward, aſſoon as they ſhould put themſelves in ſuch a "poſture, as might render them ſecure againſt their Enemies; wiſhed "them to propoſe any Expedients, how the Fortifications of the Garri- "ſons might be finiſh'd, without ſome extraordinary help; or to pro- "poſe the moſt convenient one; and he would joyn with them; and "deſired them to proceed in their levies of Men, and Money, in the "waies agreed on by Themſelves; and they ſhould find all concurrence "and aſſiſtance from him. But notwithſtanding all he could ſay or do, nothing was reaſonably propoſed, or admitted by them, for the advance- ment of the publick Service.

By this time, towards the end of March, Sr *William Waller*, having advanced with his Horſe and Dragoons, by *Bath* towards *Briſtol*, in hope, as hath been ſaid before, to have ſurpriſed that City by ſome treachery within, and being diſappointed there, retired towards *Dorſet- ſhire*, and the edge of *Somerſet*, adjoyning to that County; where *Crom- well* expected him; the Lord *Goring* having, in the mean while, fallen into ſome of *Cromwell*'s Quarters about *Dorcheſter*, and taken ſome Priſoners, and Horſes, and diſorder'd the reſt. Upon a diſpute be- tween themſelves, or ſome other Orders, *Cromwell* retired to joyn with Sr *Thomas Fairfax* towards *Reading*; Sr *William Waller* ſtay'd in thoſe Parts, to intend the buſineſs of the Weſt, but made no haſt to advance, expecting ſome ſupplies of Foot by Sea at *Weymouth*. So that the Lord *Goring* drew back to *Bruton*, and ſent to the Prince to deſire, "that two "of his Council might meet him at *Wells* the next day, to conſider what "courſe was beſt to be taken: accordingly the Lords *Capel* and *Cole- pepper*, the next day, met his Lordſhip at *Wells*. Where, after long conſideration of the whole State of the Weſt, and of the great impor- tance of reducing *Taunton*, without which no great matter could be expected from *Somerſet-ſhire*, the Lord *Goring* propoſed, and put the deſign in Writing under his own hand, for the whole method and man- ner of his proceeding, "that he would leave the groſs of his Horſe, and "two hundred Foot mounted, in ſuch convenient place, upon the skirts "of *Dorſet-ſhire*, and *Wilt-ſhire*, as they might be able to retire to their "Body, if the Enemy advanced powerfully; and that he would him- "ſelf, with all his Foot, and Cannon, and ſuch Horſe as were neceſſary, "attempt the taking, or burning of *Taunton*: and to that purpoſe, de- ſired his Highneſs, "to ſend poſitive Orders to Sr *Richard Greenvil* (who, notwithſtanding his Highneſs's Commands formerly ſent to him, and ſome Orders from the King himſelf, made not that haſt as might reaſonably be expected) "to advance, and to direct the Commiſſioners "of *Somerſet* to give their Perſonal attendance upon that Service; and "in the mean time to take care that ſufficient Magazines of Victual, and "Proviſions, were made for the Soldiers: all which was exactly per- form'd by his Highneſs, the next day after he receiv'd the deſires of Ge- neral *Goring*.

But, within three or four days, and before the deſign upon *Taunton* was ready for Execution, it appear'd by conſtant Intelligence, that *Waller* was advancing with a great Body of Horſe, and Dragoons, and ſome Foot; and therefore the attempt upon *Taunton* was for the preſent to

be laid aſide; and the Lord *Goring* very earneſtly deſired the Prince to command Sr *Richard Greenvil*, who was now drawn near to *Taunton*, with eight hundred Horſe, and above two thouſand Foot, beſides Pioneers, with all poſſible ſpeed to march to him, that ſo he might be able to abide the Enemy, if they came upon him; or, otherwiſe, to compel them to Fight, if they ſtayed in thoſe faſt Quarters, where they then were; which was about *Shaftsbury*, *Gillingham*, and thoſe places. The Prince accordingly ſent his commands poſitively to Sr *Richard Greenvil*, "to advance towards the Lord *Goring*, and to obey all ſuch Orders, as "he ſhould receive from his Lordſhip. But he as poſitively ſent his Highneſs word, "that his Men would not ſtir a foot; and that he had "promiſed the Commiſſioners of *Devon*, and *Cornwal*, that he would "not advance beyond *Taunton*, till *Taunton* were reduced; but that he "made no queſtion, if he were not diſturbed, ſpeedily to give a good "account of that place. In the mean time, the Lord *Goring*, very gallantly and ſucceſsfully, by night, fell upon Sr *William Waller*'s Quarters twice, in leſs than a Week; and kill'd and took ſo good a Number, that it was generally believ'd, Sr *William Waller* was leſſen'd near a thouſand Men by thoſe Rencounters; the Lord *Goring* ſtill declaring, "that he "could neither purſue his advantages upon a Party, nor engage the main "of the Rebels, without the addition of *Greenvil*'s Foot; and he, notwithſtanding all Orders, as peremptorily refuſing to ſtir, but profeſſing, "that, if he had an Addition of ſix hundred Men, he would be in the "Town within ſix days.

WHILST things ſtood thus Sr *William Waller*, much weaken'd with theſe diſaſters, and the time of his Command being near expired, drew back Eaſtward; and was, by night marches, retired as far as *Salisbury*, before the Lord *Goring* had notice of his Motion. Whereupon his Highneſs, upon conſideration how impoſſible it was to overtake him, which General *Goring* himſelf confeſſed by his Letters, or to engage the Forces under the Command of *Greenvil*, and the other Forces of thoſe parts, in any Action, before the buſineſs of *Taunton* ſhould be over (which indeed diſappointed all our hopes both of Men, and Money, in that great County) and on the other ſide, conſidering, if that place were reduced (as Sr *Richard Greenvil* undertook it ſhould be in ſix days, and others, who had viewed it, thought it not a work of time) beſides the terror it would ſtrike into their Neighbours, there would be an Army of four thouſand Horſe, and five thouſand Foot, ready to be applied to any ſervice they ſhould be directed to, and that then the Lord *Goring* might proſecute his Commiſſion in *Suſſex*, and *Kent*, with ſuch a reaſonable Recruit of Foot as ſhould be neceſſary, and yet his Highneſs enabled, in a ſhort time, to be in the head of a very good Army, raiſed out of the four Aſſociated Counties, either for the reducing the few other places which were Garriſon'd by the Rebels, or to march toward his Majeſty: I ſay, upon theſe conſiderations, the Prince (with the privity and advice of Prince *Rupert*, who was then at *Briſtol*, and preſent at the whole conſultation, and the principal adviſer in it) writ, upon the eleventh of *April*, to the Lord *Goring*, being then about *Wells*, "that "his opinion was, that the Horſe and Dragoons under his Lordſhip's "Command, ſhould advance from the Quarters where they then were, "much to the prejudice of that County, into *Dorſetſhire*, or *Wiltſhire*, "or into both of them; and that the Foot and Cannon ſhould march "directly towards *Taunton*, according to the deſign formerly propoſed

"by his Lordſhip; and referr'd it to himſelf, whether his Lordſhip in "Perſon would ſtay with the Horſe, or go with the Foot; and deſired "to receive his opinion, and reſolution upon the whole; there being nothing propoſed to be acted in two days. This Letter was ſent by Colonel *Windham*, the Governour of *Bridgewater*, who came that day, from before *Taunton*, from Sr *Richard Greenvil*; and could beſt inform him of the ſtrength of the Town, and the condition of Sr *Richard Greenvil*'s Forces.

THE next day Colonel *Windham* return'd, with a ſhort ſullen Letter from the Lord *Goring* to the Prince, "that he had, according to his "command, ſent the Foot and Cannon to *Taunton*; and the Horſe, to "the other places; and that, ſince there was now nothing for him to do, "he was gone to *Bath* to intend his Health: where he complain'd privately, "that his Forces were taken from him at a time when he meant "to purſue *Waller*, and could utterly defeat him; and much inveighed againſt the Prince's Council, for ſending Orders to him ſo prejudicial to the King's Service; whereas it was only an Opinion, and not Orders, grounded upon what himſelf had formerly propoſed, and to which he was deſired to return his preſent judgement, being within half a days Journey of the Prince, upon whom he ought to have attended in Perſon, or have ſent his advice to him, if what was then offer'd ſeem'd not convenient. But, after ſome days frolickly ſpent at *Bath*, he return'd to his former temper, and waiting on the Prince at *Briſtol*, was contented to be told, "that he had been more apprehenſive of Diſcourteſies "than he had cauſe; and ſo all miſunderſtandings ſeem'd to be fairly made up.

THE Lord *Goring*'s Foot and Cannon being thus ſuddainly ſent to *Taunton*, under the Command of S^r *Joſeph Wagſtaffe*; for the better preventing any Miſtakes, and Conteſts about Command, the Prince ſent the Lords *Capel* and *Colepepper* to *Taunton*, to ſettle all diſputes that might ariſe, and to diſpoſe the Country to aſſiſt that work in the beſt manner; which prov'd very fortunate; for the ſame day they came thither, Sr *Richard Greenvil*, having brought his Forces within Muſquet-ſhot, on one ſide of *Taunton*, went himſelf to view *Wellington*-Houſe, five miles diſtant, in which the Rebels had a Garriſon, and was, out of a Window, ſhot in the thigh; with which he fell, the wound being then conceiv'd to be Mortal: ſo that there was no Perſon who would pretend to Command; thoſe under *Greenvil*, having no experienced Officer of reputation equal to that charge, yet being Superior in number to the other, would not be commanded by S^r *Joſeph Wagſtaffe*; ſo that if the Lords had not very happily been preſent, it is probable, both thoſe Bodies of Foot, each being too weak for the attempt by it ſelf, would, if not disbanded, at beſt have retired to their former Poſts, and left thoſe of *Taunton* at liberty to have done what they thought beſt. But they being there, and Sr *John Berkley* being in that inſtant come thither to meet them, with an Account of the State of *Devonſhire*, they perſwaded him to undertake the preſent charge of the Whole (all the Officers of both Bodies having formerly receiv'd Orders from him) and to proſecute the former deſign upon the Town; all Perſons ſubmitting till the Prince's Pleaſure ſhould be farther known; thoſe Officers under Sr *Richard Greenvil*, preſently ſending away an expreſs to *Briſtol*, to deſire the Lord *Hopton* to take the Command of them. But his Lordſhip had no mind to enter upon any particular Action with diſ-

joynted Forces, till, upon the withdrawing of the Lord *Goring*, the whole Command might be Executed according to former eſtabliſhment. And ſo a ſpecial direction was ſent to all the Officers, and Soldiers, to obey Sr *John Berkley*, according to what had been formerly ſettled by the Lords. He, in few days, put the buſineſs in very good Order, and by Storm took *Wellington*-Houſe, where *Greenvil* had been hurt. I cannot omit here, that the Lords, coming to viſit *Greenvil*, in the inſtant that he was put into his Litter, and carrying to *Exeter*, told him, what they had thought neceſſary to be done in the point of Command; the which he ſeeming very well to approve, they deſired him to call his Officers (moſt of the principal being there preſent) and to command them to proceed in the work in hand chearfully, under the Command of Sr *John Berkley*; the which he promiſed to do, and immediately ſaid ſomewhat to his Officers, at the ſide of his Litter, which the Lords conceiv'd to be what he had promiſed: but it appear'd after, that it was Not ſo; and, very probably, was the contrary; for neither Officer, nor Soldier, did his duty after he was gone, during the time Sr *John Berkley* Commanded in that Action.

THE Prince, finding the publick Service in no degree advanced by the Commiſſioners of *Somerſet*, and that though there was no progreſs made in the Aſſociation affected, and undertaken by them, yet it ſerv'd to croſs, and oppoſe all other attempts whatſoever; thoſe who had no mind to do any thing, ſatisfying themſelves with the viſible impoſſibility of that deſign, and yet the other, who had firſt propoſed it, thinking themſelves engaged to conſent to no alteration; and his Highneſs being inform'd by a Gentleman (ſent by him, at his firſt coming to *Briſtol*, to the two fartheſt Weſtern Counties, to preſs the execution of whatſoever was promiſed in order to the Aſſociation) "that thoſe two "Counties of *Devon*, and *Cornwal*, were entirely devoted to ſerve the "Prince, in what manner ſoever he ſhould propoſe, he thought fit, to ſummon the Commiſſioners of all the Aſſociated Counties, to attend upon him in ſome convenient place, where, upon full conſideration, ſuch concluſions might be made, as might beſt advance the work in hand, both for the reduction of *Taunton*, and raiſing a marching Army; which Counſel had been ſooner given, and had in truth been fit to be put in practice upon his firſt coming to *Briſtol*, when he diſcern'd the flatneſs, peremptorineſs, and unactivity of the Gentlemen of *Somerſet*; from whom it was evident nothing was to be expected, till, by the unanimity and ſtrength of the two Weſtern Counties, that County could be driven and compelled to do what was neceſſary, and to recede from their own ſullen and poſitive determinations; which had been eaſy to do, but that ſhortly after his Highneſs came to *Briſtol*, upon what apprehenſions no Man knew, there was great jealouſy at *Oxford* of his going farther Weſt; and thereupon direction given, "that he ſhould not "remove from *Briſtol*, but upon weighty reaſons, and with which his "Majeſty was to be firſt acquainted. Whereas, by his inſtructions, "he "was to make his reſidence in ſuch a place, as by the Council ſhould be "thought moſt conducing to his Affairs. However, ſuch a Meeting with all the Commiſſioners being demonſtrably neceſſary, and *Briſtol* thought at too great a diſtance from the Weſt, beſides that the Plague begun to break out there very much, for the time of the year, his Highneſs reſolv'd to go to *Bridgewater* for a few days, and to ſummon thither the Commiſſioners, the rather to give ſome countenance to the buſineſs

The Prince ſummons the Commiſſioners of the four Aſſociated Weſtern Counties to Bridgewater.

of *Taunton*, then cloſely Beſieged by Sr *John Berkley*; and to that purpoſe, directed his Letters to the ſeveral Commiſſioners to attend him there, on *Wedneſday* the three and twentieth of *April*; the King being then at *Oxford*, preparing for the Field, Prince *Rupert* at *Worceſter*, levying Men, and the Rebels at *London* in ſome diſorder and confuſion about their new Model, having newly removed the Earl of *Eſſex*, and Earl of *Mancheſter*, Earl of *Denbigh*, and Sr *William Waller* from any Command, and Subſtituted Sr *Thomas Fairfax* General; who was, out of the other broken and allmoſt diſſolv'd Forces, to mould a new Army, which was then in no very hopeful forwardneſs.

UPON the day, the Prince came to *Bridgewater*; and was attended by a great body of the Commiſſioners of *Somerſet*, that place being near the center of that great County; there appear'd for *Dorſet-ſhire*, as ſent from the reſt, Sr *John Strangwaies*, Mr *Anchetil Grey*, and Mr *Ryves*; for *Devon-ſhire*, Sr *Peter Ball*, Sr *George Parry*, Mr *Saint Hill*, and Mr *Muddyford*; and for *Cornwal*, Sr *Henry Killegrew*, Mr *Coriton*, Mr *Scawen*, and M^r *Roſcorroth*. The whole Body waited on the Prince the next morning; and were then told, "that his coming thither was "to receive Their Advice, and to give His Aſſiſtance, in what might "concern the peace and welfare of each particular County; and might "beſt advance the General ſervice of the King; that if the Aſſociation "which had been propoſed, ſeem'd to them, by the accidents and mu-"tations which had happen'd ſince the time of that firſt propoſal (as in truth very notable ones had happen'd) "not fit now to be further proſe-"cuted, he was ready to conſent to any alteration they ſhould propoſe, "and to joyn with them in any other expedient; and wiſh'd them there-"fore to confer together, what was beſt to be done; and when they "were ready to propoſe any thing to him, he would be ready to receive "it. After two or three days conſultation amongſt themſelves, they were unanimouſly of opinion (except Sr *John Stawel*, who, againſt all the reſt, and againſt all that could be ſaid to him, continued poſitive for the general riſing of One and All, and for that alone) "that That deſign "was for the preſent to be laid aſide; and that, inſtead thereof, thoſe "Counties, according to their ſeveral known proportions, would in a "very ſhort time (as I remember a Month was the utmoſt) "raiſe, and "Arme, fix thouſand Foot, beſides the Prince's Guards, which would "be full two thouſand more; not reckoning thoſe of the Lord *Goring*'s "which were fifteen hundred, but including the Foot of Sr *John Berkley*, "and Sr *Richard Greenvil* then before *Taunton*; which all Men concluded, would be reduced in leſs than a Month. This Propoſition being approv'd by the Prince, all particulars were agreed upon: the ſeveral days for the Rendezvous of the new levies, and the Officers to whom the Men were to be deliver'd, named; and Warrants iſſued out accordingly: all things requiſite for the ſpeedy reduction of *Taunton* order'd, and directed; ſo that, towards the taking that place, and the raiſing an Army ſpeedily, all things ſtood ſo fair, that more could not be wiſhed.

AS this Journey to *Bridgewater* wrought this good effect, ſo it produced one notable inconvenience, and diſcover'd another. The Prince, having before his coming from *Oxford* been very little converſant with buſineſs, had been perſwaded, from his coming out, to ſit frequently, if not conſtantly, in Council, to mark, and conſider the ſtate of Affairs, and to accuſtom himſelf to a habit of ſpeaking, and judging upon what

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was ſaid; to the which he had with great ingenuity apply'd himſelf; but coming to *Bridgewater*, and having an extraordinary kindneſs for Mrs *Windham*, who had been his Nurſe, he was not only diverted by her folly, and petulancy, from applying himſelf to the ſerious conſideration of his buſineſs, but accuſtom'd to hear her ſpeak negligently and ſcornfully of the Council; which though at firſt it made no impreſſion in Him of diſreſpect towards them, encouraged other People who heard it, to the like liberty; and from thence grew an irreverence towards them; which reflected upon himſelf, and ſerv'd to bring prejudice to their Counſels throughout the whole courſe. She had many private deſigns of benefit and advantage to her ſelf, and her Children, and the qualifying her Husband to do all Acts of power without controul upou his Neighbours, and labour'd to procure Grants, or Promiſes of Reverſions of Lands from the Prince; and finding that the Prince was not to tranſact any ſuch thing, without the Advice of the Council, and that They were not like to comply in thoſe enterprizes, ſhe contrived to raiſe jealouſies and diſlikes between them, and kindled ſuch a faction in the Prince's Family, as produced many inconveniences. For from hence Sr *Charles Berkley*, who had a promiſe to be made Controller of the Prince's Houſehold, and Mr *Long*, who had the like promiſe to be his Secretary, when he ſhould be created Prince of *Wales* (till which time thoſe Officers were never made) began to think they had injury done them, that they were not preſently of the Prince's Council, to which the places they were to have, gave them Title; though they knew well, that the Lords who then attended upon the Prince, were of the King's Privy Council, and in that capacity only, waited upon his Highneſs; and that the other were only of the Prince's own Council for his Revenue, and for the adminiſtration of the Dutchy of *Cornwal*, for which his Highneſs had now his livery.

HOWEVER, theſe Fancies, thus weakly grounded, and entertain'd, made ſuch an impreſſion upon thoſe Perſons, that they united themſelves into a Faction, and prevail'd over the weakneſs of the Earl of *Berk-ſhire* to joyn with them; and, by degrees, all of them joyn'd with all other diſcontented Perſons, to render the Council to be much neglected and undervalued. Laſtly, ſhe being a Woman of no good breeding, and of a Country pride, *Nihil muliebre præter corpus gerens*, valued her ſelf much upon the power, and familiarity, which her Neighbours might ſee ſhe had with the Prince of *Wales*; and therefore, upon all occaſions, in company, and when the Concourſe of the People was greateſt, would uſe great boldneſs towards him; and, which was worſe than all this, ſhe affected in all Companies, where ſhe let her ſelf out to any freedom, a very negligent and diſdainful mention of the Perſon of the King; the knowledge of which humour of hers, was one reaſon that made his Majeſty unwilling his Son ſhould go farther Weſt than *Briſtol*; ſince he knew *Bridgewater* muſt be a Stage in that motion. This her ill diſpoſition was no ſooner known to the Lords, who were all abſolute ſtrangers to her before, than they took care that his Highneſs ſhould make no long reſidence in that Garriſon.

THE other inconvenience, that it diſcover'd, was the deſign of the Lord *Goring* to have the command of the Weſt. For then it grew very apparent, that, whatever had been pretended for *Kent*, or *Suſſex*, he had, from the beginning, affected that charge; and, I fear, had ſome other encouragement for it, than was then avow'd. And therefore,

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from his firſt coming into thoſe Parts, he had with great induſtry careſſed the Commiſſioners of *Somerſet*, and *Devon*, and eſpecially thoſe, whom he thought not well inclined to the Lord *Hopton*; whom, by all ill arts, he endeavour'd to undervalue; inveighing againſt "the too "great Contribution, aſſign'd to the Garriſon of *Briſtol*; and that any "ſhould be allow'd to the Unneceſſary Garriſon (as he call'd it) "at "*Lamport*; which had been lately ſettled by the Lord *Hopton*; and, as appear'd afterwards, was of vaſt importance: thoſe diſcourſes being moſt popular to the Country, though moſt pernicious to the King: and promiſed "great ſtrictneſs and ſeverity of Diſcipline, if that Power under "the Prince might be devolved to him. To *Bridgewater* he came at the ſame time from *Bath*, upon pretence of "viſiting *Taunton*, and ſee-"ing whether the work were like to be ſoon done, that it might be worth the intending it. But, in truth, to drive on his Project for Command with the Commiſſioners; who were invited by Sr *Peter Ball* to make it one of their Propoſitions to the Prince, "that the Lord *Goring* "might be conſtituted his Lieutenant-General; which he himſelf had ſo abſolutely digeſted, that, as if the matter it ſelf had been out of queſtion, he propoſed privately to moſt of the Prince's Council, the Rules that ſhould be obſerved between them in the Government of the Army, and the Adminiſtration of the Civil part. Some, of no extraordinary kindneſs to *Goring*, wiſh'd the agreement made, and Him ſettled in the command, as the beſt, if not the only Expedient, for advancement of the King's Service, and for the ſpeedy forming an Army worthy of the Prince's own Perſon in the head of it; apprehending, that the dividing his Forces from the New levies, would leave a good body of Foot without an equal power of Horſe, and without a Train, except a longer time were given for the making it, than the ſtate of Affairs promiſed to permit. But when *Goring* diſcover'd by his diſcourſe with ſeveral of the Council (with whom he communicated upon the Argument very freely, and expreſſed in plain Engliſh, "that except he might be ſatiſ-"fied in the particulars he propoſed, he ſhould have no heart to pro-"ceed in the publick Service) that they would not conſent to any Act that might reflect upon the Lord *Hopton*; and that ſome of them had ſuch a prejudice to his Perſon, that they would make no conjunction with him, he reſolv'd to compaſs his ends ſome other way; and ſo preſs'd it no farther in any publick addreſs to the Prince at that time. It is not to be omitted, that he was then offer'd, and aſſured, "that, aſſoon "as the buſineſs of *Taunton* ſhould be over, he ſhould have ſuch a Re-"cruit out of the New levies, as would make up his own Foot three "thouſand Men, beſides Officers; with which he might well proſecute his former deſign; and, in the mean time, he had the abſolute Command; the Lord *Hopton* not at all interpoſing, or meddling with the Army.

IT was now concluded by All Men who had well conſider'd his carriage and behaviour from his firſt coming into the Weſt, that, as he had form'd that deſign in his own thoughts from the firſt, of being about the Prince, and reſolv'd never to march with the Army under Prince *Rupert* (whoſe nature was not agreeable to him) ſo that he had purpoſely and willingly ſuffer'd *Vandruske* to relieve *Taunton*, and even *Weymouth* to be again recover'd by that handful of Men who had been beaten out of it, leſt the buſineſs of the Weſt might be done without him, by other Men; and that his preſence there might not be thought neceſſary.

ceſſary. For if *Taunton* had been reduced, as it muſt have been if that ſmall Party had not reliev'd it even in the laſt Article, he could have had no pretence to have ſtay'd in thoſe parts, but muſt immediately have purſued his former deſign upon *Suſſex*, and thoſe other Counties, for which he had never any reaſonable foundation; or have continued his march to the King; which he had leſs mind to do. When he firſt left *Oxford*, and went into *Hamſhire*, which was before the end of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, he had in his jovial Fits, where he was allways very unreſerv'd, declared, with great reſentment, "that his Father was ill "treated by the Queen in *France*, and that he hoped ſhortly to be in "ſuch a poſture, that the King ſhould find it reaſonable to uſe both his "Father and Himſelf better. And yet the King had even then, upon his Suit, made his Father Captain of his Guard of Halberteers, and Created him Earl of *Norwich*, whereby himſelf had the Appellation of Lord, which he enough affected: and in his firſt debauches at *Exeter*, his brother *Porter*, who was Lieutenant General of his Horſe, inform'd ſome Perſons of Honour in confidence, "that *Goring* reſolv'd to make "himſelf Lieutenant General to the Prince, or elſe to be very diſcon- "tented. This Advertiſement was ſent to ſome of the Council, upon his Highneſs's firſt coming to *Briſtol*; and was the firſt hint that ever they receiv'd, that he had affected that Charge; and was not, with the reſt of his behaviour, like to diſpoſe them to wiſh that he might obtain his deſire; but to do all that was in their power to prevent it.

The Commiſſioners of Devon complain of Sr Richard Greenvil:

THE general buſineſs concerning the four Counties being agreed and ſettled at *Bridgewater*, the Commiſſioners for *Devon* deſired to be heard in what concern'd that particular County; and then inform'd his Highneſs, "that upon Sr *Richard Greenvil*'s firſt entring upon the work of "*Plymouth*, and his aſſurance under his hand, that he would take the "Town before *Chriſtmas* day, and that he would forthwith raiſe, arme, "and pay twelve hundred Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot, they had aſ- "ſign'd him above one half of their whole Contribution, amounting to "above eleven hundred pounds a Week; and, for the providing Armes "and Ammunition, had aſſign'd him the Arrears of the Contribution "due from thoſe hundreds allotted to him; which amounted to near "6000l; he having likewiſe the whole Contribution of *Cornwal*, being "above ſeven hundred pounds weekly; and had receiv'd moſt part of "the Letter and Subſcription Money of that County, towards the ſame "Service: that he had, from his firſt entring upon the charge, quietly "enjoy'd thoſe Contributions in *Devon*, which were duly paid; and had "receiv'd the greateſt part of the Arrears aſſign'd to him for the Provi- "ſion of Armes and Ammunition: Notwithſtanding all which, he had "never bought above twenty Barrels of Powder, or any Armes, but had "receiv'd both the one and the other from Them, out of their Maga- "zines; and had never maintain'd, or raiſed, near half the Number of "Men to which he was obliged, till the Week before he was required to "march to *Taunton*; when he had called the *Poſſe Comitatus*, and out "of Them forced allmoſt the whole Number of Foot, which marched "with him thither, bringing them with him, as far as *Exeter*, unarm'd; "and there compell'd the Commiſſioners to ſupply him with Armes, "and Ammunition; that having left ſcarce two thouſand Foot, and four "hundred Horſe, before *Plymouth*, he continued ſtill to receive the "whole Contribution formerly aſſign'd when he was to have twelve hun- "dred Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot; and would not part with any of it:

"ſo that he receiv'd more out of *Devon-ſhire* for the blocking up of *Ply-*
"*mouth* (having all *Cornwal* to himſelf likewiſe) than was left for the
"Garriſons of *Exeter*, *Dartmouth*, *Barnſtable*, and *Tiverton*, and for
"the finiſhing thoſe Fortifications, victualling the Garriſons, providing
"Armes and Ammunition; with which they had before not only ſup-
"plied themſelves, but had ſent great quantities to the King's Army,
"to the Lord *Goring*, and to the Siege of *Taunton*: That he would not
"ſuffer them to ſend any Warrants to collect the Letter and Subſcription
"Money, to ſettle the Exciſe, or meddle with Delinquent's Eſtates in
"the hundreds aſſign'd to him for Contribution; and had thoſe conti-
"nual conteſts with Sr *John Berkley*, being Colonel General of the Coun-
"ty, and the other Governours of Garriſons; pretending that He had
"power to command them; that there was ſuch an animoſity grown be-
"tween them, that they very much apprehended the danger of thoſe
"diviſions; there having been ſome blood ſhed, and Men kill'd, upon
"their private Conteſts: and therefore beſought his Highneſs, "by his
"Authority, to ſettle the limits of their ſeveral juriſdictions, in order
"to the Martial Affairs; and likewiſe to order Sr *Richard Greenvil* to
"receive no more Contribution, than would ſuffice for the maintenance
"of thoſe Men, who continued before *Plymouth*; whereby they could
"be only enabled to perform Their parts of the Aſſociation.

THIS was preſſed with ſo much earneſtneſs, and reaſon, that it was thought very adviſable for his Highneſs himſelf to go to *Exeter*, where both the Commiſſioners and Sr *Richard Greenvil* were; and there, upon the hearing of all that could be ſaid, to ſettle the whole diſpute. But, at the ſame time, and whilſt that matter was in conſideration, Letters came from his Majeſty to his Highneſs and the Lords, expreſsly inhibiting his going farther Weſtward; upon what reaſons I cannot imagine; and thereupon the Prince himſelf return'd to *Briſtol* on *Wedneſday* the thirtieth of *April*, having ſtay'd at *Bridgewater* only ſeven days; and ſent the Lords *Capel* and *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to *Exeter*, with inſtructions "to examine all the complaints, and
"allegations of the Commiſſioners, and to ſettle the buſineſs of the Con-
"tribution; and upon view of the ſeveral Commiſſions of Sr *John Berk-*
"*ley*, and Sr *Richard Greenvil*, ſo to agree the matter of juriſdiction,
"that the publick Service might not be obſtructed.

Upon which the Prince ſends three Commiſſioners of his own to Exeter, *and ſo to return to* Briſtol.

ASSOON as the Lords appointed by his Highneſs to go to *Exeter*, came thither, they went the ſame hour to viſit Sr *Richard Greenvil*, who was ſtill bedrid of his hurt. They intended it only as a Viſit, and ſo would not reply, at that time, to many very ſharp, and bitter complaints and invectives he made againſt Sr *John Berkley* (who was then at the Leaguer before *Taunton*) but told him, "that they would come to
"him again the next day, and conſider of all buſineſſes. Accordingly they came, when, with great bitterneſs, he again complain'd of the Governour, and ſome diſreſpects from his Lieutenant Governour; but when he was preſſed to particulars, he mention'd principally ſome high and diſdainful Speeches, the moſt of which were denied by the other, and the witholding ſome Priſoners from him, which he had ſent his Marſhal for near *Taunton*. The truth of which, was this; whilſt Sr *Richard* was before *Taunton*, he had ſent for one Mr *Syms*, a Juſtice of Peace of the County, a rich and decrepit Man, who liv'd within three miles of that Town. He charged him with ſome inclinations to the Rebels, and of favouring their proceedings. The Gentleman ſtood upon

his juſtification, and innocency, and deſired to be put upon any Trial. However, Sr *Richard* told him, "he was a Traytor, and ſhould redeem "himſelf at a thouſand pound, or elſe he would proceed in another way; and gave him three days to provide the Money. Before the time expired, Sr *Richard* was hurt, and carried to *Exeter*; whither he no ſooner came, but he diſpatch'd his Marſhal to fetch Mr *Syms* to him; who appeal'd to Sr *John Berkley* (who had then the Command) and deſired to be put upon any Trial; and (beſides that he was of a very infirm body, and unfit for Travel) many Gentlemen of the beſt quality gave him a very good teſtimony, and undertook for his appearance, when ever he ſhould be called upon. Upon this, Sr *John Berkley* diſcharged the Marſhal, and writ a very civil Letter to Sr *Richard Greenvil*, of the whole matter; "and that he would ſee the Gentleman forth coming upon the "leaſt warning; but that it would be an Act of great cruelty, to carry "him a Priſoner, in that indiſpoſition of health, from his Houſe. Sr *Richard* look'd upon this as the robbing him of a thouſand pounds, and writ ſuch a Letter to Sr *John Berkley*, ſo full of ill Language, and reproach, as I have never ſeen the like From, and To a Gentleman; and complain'd to us of the Injury. We told him, "that neither He, nor Sr *John Berkley*, had any Authority to meddle with Mr *Syms*, or any "Perſons of that Quality; who could not be look'd upon as Priſoners of "War; but if in truth he ſhould prove to be a Delinquent, and guilty "of thoſe crimes objected againſt him, his Fyne and compoſition was "due to the King, who had aſſign'd the ſame to the Prince for the "publick Service; and that there were Commiſſioners, before whom he "was regularly to be tried, and with whom he might only compound. He would not underſtand the reaſon of this, but inſiſted upon "Sr *John* "*Berkley*'s protecting *Syms*, as a great indignity to himſelf. On the other hand, Sr *John Berkley* complain'd by his Letters, "that thoſe Sol-"diers brought to *Taunton* by *Greenvil*, every day moulder'd away, and "he had reaſon to believe it was by His direction; for that thoſe that "ſtay'd, and the Officers, were very backward in performing their du-"ties; and that, after the taking of *Wellington*-Houſe, he had com-"manded that nothing ſhould be done towards the defacing it, becauſe "it might poſſibly be fit to put a Garriſon into it, if the Siege ſhould "be raiſed from *Taunton*; but that the Officer, who was under *Green-*"*vil*, had, notwithſtanding ſuch Command, burn'd it: That he pro-"ceeded in the levying Monies, and ſending out extravagant Warrants "throughout the County; and many other particulars.

Sr *Richard Greenvil* denied, "that the Soldiers left the Leaguer, or "that *Wellington*-Houſe was burn'd by any direction of His: though it appear'd, that all ſuch Soldiers as left their Colours and came to him, were kindly uſed, and had Money given to them by him; and that Lieutenant Colonel *Robinſon*, after he had receiv'd Ordes from Sr *John Berkley* not to ſlight *Wellington*-Houſe, rode to *Exeter* to Sr *Richard Greenvil*, and immediately, upon his return from him, cauſed it to be burnt. *Greenvil* ſaid, "that he levyed no Monies, nor iſſued out any "Warrants, but what he had Authority to do by his Commiſſion. In the end they ſhew'd him their Inſtructions from the Prince, "throughly "to examine all differences between them; and, upon view of both their "Commiſſions, to agree what limits each of them ſhould obſerve. Thereupon, he ſhew'd them his Commiſſion in Paper, under his Majeſty's Sign Manual, atteſted by the Lord *Digby*, by which he was au-

thorized "to Command the Forces before *Plymouth*; and in order thereunto, with ſuch clauſes of latitude and power, as he might both raiſe the *poſſe*, and Command the Train'd-bands, and indeed the whole Forces of both Counties; and was to receive Orders from his Majeſty, and his Lieutenant General; and was likewiſe at that time High Sheriff of *Devon*. Sr *John Berkley*'s Commiſſion was precedent, and more formal, being under the Great Seal of *England*, "of Colonel General of the "Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal*, and to Command the whole Forces "of both Counties, as well Train'd-bands, as others; ſo that, though their Commiſſions were not in intention all one, yet they included clauſes, and powers, ſo much the ſame, that either of them had Authority enough to diſturb the other; and he that only ſaw his own, might reaſonably think he had power over the other: which, between perſons ſo diſinclined one to the other as They were grown to be, might have proved very fatal, if the remedy had not been ſo near by his Highneſs's Authority.

AFTER the peruſal of their Commiſſions, they ſhew'd him their Inſtructions, concerning the regulating the Contributions, in proportionable aſſignments for the ſeveral Services; and deſired his opinion, "what "Forces were now neceſſary for the blocking up of *Plymouth*, ſince "any attempt for the taking it was to be laid aſide, at leaſt for a time? "and that thereupon, ſuch aſſignation might be made to that purpoſe, "as was ſufficient, and the reſt otherwiſe diſpoſed of. He told them, "that the Forces then there (being about fifteen hundred Foot and four "hundred Horſe, of the *Devon-ſhire* ſide) were ſufficient; and propoſed allowance little enough for the Service; and then ſaid, "that it troubled "him to be confined to ſuch an employment, as the blocking up a place, "whilſt there was like to be ſo much Action in the Field; and therefore "he hoped, his Highneſs would give him leave to wait on him in the "Army; where he thought he might do him much better Service. They told him, "they had Authority from the Prince (for ſome of his Friends had mention'd the ſame, ſoon after he had receiv'd his Wound) "if they "found his health able to bear it, and his inclination led him that way, "to let him know, that his Highneſs would be glad of his Service, in the "moulding that Army which was then raiſing; which, allowing two "thouſand Foot to the recruiting the Lord *Goring*, would be in view "ſix thouſand Foot, and above two thouſand Horſe with the Guards; "in which he had deſign'd Him the ſecond place of Command. But then, they ſaid, "they knew not where to place the Command before "*Plymouth*. Sr *Richard* very chearfully receiv'd the Propoſition for Himſelf in the Army; and for *Plymouth*, he ſaid, "no Man was fit to "undertake the work There, but Sr *John Berkley*, who had the Com-"mand of both Counties: that it was viſible by the differences and "breaches that had been between Them, how inconvenient it would "be to have that Charge independent; whereas, if it were in one hand, "the unanimous conſent of both Counties, and all the Forces in them, "would more eaſily do the buſineſs.

ALL things being thus agreed upon, as far as they could be without Sr *John Berkley*'s conſent, who was then before *Taunton*; the Lords reſolv'd to return to the Prince, and in their way to diſpoſe Sr *John Berkley* to what had been propoſed; and left the Chancellor of the Exchequer at *Exeter*, to agree with the Commiſſioners, upon the ſettlement of the Contributions, and to ſettle ſome other particulars which they

had reſolv'd upon. The whole Contribution of the County of *Devon* amounted to two thouſand pound Weekly; whereof ſo many hundreds were aſſign'd by the Commiſſioners, for the maintenance of the Forces before *Plymouth*, as amounted to the juſt proportion and eſtabliſhment propoſed by Sr *Richard Greenvil* himſelf; and then ſo many to the Garriſons of *Exeter*, *Dartmouth*, *Barnſtable*, and *Tiverton*, as amounted to the payment of ſuch Forces, as, on all hands, were agreed to be abſolutely neceſſary for their defence, at the loweſt eſtabliſhment. All which being done, upon ſuppoſition that the whole Contribution, being two thouſand pound Weekly, would be, according to the Aſſignments, exactly paid, there remain'd not a penny overplus, for the buying Ammunition and Armes, for the finiſhing Fortifications, for victualling the Garriſons, or for blocking up of *Lyme*; which if it were not done, all that part of the Country would be liable to that preſſure; and ſo, unable to pay Contribution where it was aſſign'd. But it was ſuppoſed, the laſt might be done by drawing out ſome Numbers from the ſeveral Garriſons, if there were no diſturbance from abroad; and the reſt muſt be ſupplied out of the Exciſe (the major part whereof was by the King aſſign'd for the Support of the Princeſs *Henrietta* left at *Exeter*) and ſome other extraordinary ways to be thought of; the Letter Money and Subſcription Money being allmoſt exhauſted.

The Lord Goring *joyns the King at* Oxford.

HIS Highneſs was no ſooner return'd to *Briſtol* from *Bridgewater*, which was on the laſt day of *April*, than General *Goring* was ſent for by the King, to draw his Horſe and Dragoons towards *Oxford*; that thereby his Majeſty might free himſelf from *Cromwell*; who, with a very ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons, lay in wait, to interrupt his joyning with Prince *Rupert* about *Worceſter*. How unwelcome ſoever theſe Orders were to the Lord *Goring*, yet there was no remedy but he muſt obey them: and it was now hoped, that the Weſt ſhould be hereafter freed from him, where he was at that time very ungracious. He march'd with that expedition towards the King, who was then at *Woodſtock*,, and he fell upon a Horſe Quarter of *Cromwell*'s, and another Party of *Fairfax*'s Horſe, as they were attempting a paſſage over the River of *Iſis*, ſo proſperouſly (the very Evening before he came to the King) that he broke and defeated them with a great ſlaughter, which gave him great Reputation, and made him exceedingly Welcome: and it was indeed a very ſeaſonable Action, to diſcountenance, and break ſuch a Party, in the Infancy of their new model; and did break their preſent Meaſures, and made *Fairfax* to appoint a new place of Rendezvous for his new Army, at a greater diſtance from the King's Forces.

Reſolutions taken at Oxford.

PRINCE *Rupert*, who now met with very little oppoſition in Council, had, throughout the Winter, diſpoſed the King to reſolve "to march "Northwards, and to fall upon the *Scotch* Army in *York-ſhire*, before "*Fairfax* ſhould be able to perfect his new Model to that degree, as to "take the field. This deſign was not unreaſonable; nor the Prince to blame for deſiring to take revenge on them for what paſſed the laſt year; which, now they were ſeparated from the *Engliſh*, who had indeed defeated him, he believ'd was eaſy to be done. That purpoſe of marching Northward was now the more haſten'd, that in the way, *Cheſter* might be reliev'd; which was cloſely beſieged; and then they might come ſoon enough to *Pontefract*-Caſtle, before which the *Scotch* Army then was; and if they could defeat That, the King would be again, upon the matter, Maſter of the North: which, by the inſolence of the

Scots, and the diſlike they had of the new Model, was conceiv'd to be better affected than ever. The next day after *Goring* came to the King, the Army was drawn to a Rendezvous, and conſiſted then of five thouſand Foot, and above ſix thouſand Horſe; an Army not to be reaſonably leſſen'd in the beginning of a Campagne, when the King was to expect he ſhould have ſo much to do; and if it had been kept together, it is very probable, that the Summer might have been crown'd with better ſucceſs.

FAIRFAX was then about *Newbury*, not in readineſs to march; yet reported to be much more unready than he was. It was ſaid, that his deſign was to carry his whole Army to the relief of *Taunton*, brought allmoſt to extremity; which if he could bring to paſs, would give him great reputation, and would make the Parliament near Sharers with the King in the intereſt of the Weſt. Upon this proſpect, it was thought reaſonable, and accordingly propoſed, "that the King himſelf would "march with his Army into the Weſt; and thereby, not only prevent "the relief of *Taunton*, but compel *Fairfax* to fight, before he ſhould "be able to joyn with *Cromwell*; who had not yet gather'd his Troops "together. This was the concurrent advice of the whole Council with which the King uſed to conſult, Prince *Rupert* only excepted, and Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, who commanded the Northern Horſe; which were impatient to be in their own Country. Now the very contrary Affections towards each other, between Prince *Rupert* and the Lord *Goring*, began to cooperate to one and the ſame end. The Prince found that *Goring*, as a Man of a ready Wit, and an excellent Speaker, was like to have moſt credit with the King in all debates; and was jealous, that, by his Friendſhip with the Lord *Digby*, he would quickly get ſuch an Intereſt with his Majeſty, that his own credit would be much Eclipſed. Hereupon, he did no leſs deſire that *Goring* ſhould return again into the Weſt, than *Goring* did, not to remain where Prince *Rupert* commanded. This produced a great Confidence and Friendſhip between them, and the Prince told him all that any of the Council had ſpoken freely to him, when his Highneſs abhorr'd nothing more than that *Goring* ſhould be near the Prince of *Wales*; and *Goring* ſaid all of the Council, which he believ'd would moſt irreconcile him to them. So they both agreed to do all they could, to leſſen the Credit and Authority of the Council. The King was deſired to receive the Information, and State of the Weſt, from *Goring*; who, upon the late good Fortune he had, and by the Artifices of the Lord *Digby*, was too eaſily believ'd. He inform'd the King with all imaginable confidence, "that if, by the poſitive Command of "the Prince, contrary to his opinion and advice, his Forces had not been "taken from him, and applied to the Siege of *Taunton*, he had doubt-"leſs totally ruined all *Waller*'s Forces, and prevented the coming of "thoſe Parties who had given his Majeſty ſo much trouble at *Oxford*: "that he had been allways uſed, upon his reſort to the Prince, with great "diſreſpect, being not call'd into the Council, but put to an attendance "without, amongſt inferior Suiters; and then told many particular paſſages at *Bridgewater*, of which he raiſed advantage to himſelf, upon the prejudice he begot to others.

WHEREAS the truth of the deſign upon *Taunton* is before ſet down, with all the circumſtances; and *Waller* was march'd beyond *Salisbury*, before the Lord *Goring* knew where he was; and confeſſed, there was no overtaking him; and he had allways receiv'd as much reſpect from the

the Prince, and Council, as could be given to a Subject; being constantly call'd, and admitted to Council when he was present; and when absent, opinions and advices sent to him from the Council, upon such particulars as himself proposed, with a full reference to his discretion, to do, upon the place, as he judged most meet: yet, I say, he got so much credit, that the King, by his Letter of the tenth of *May* to the Prince, directed, "that General *Goring* should be admitted into all consultations "and debates, and advised withal, as if he were one of the establish'd Coun- "cil; that Prince *Rupert* having granted him Power, to give Commis- "sions in that Army, All Commissions to be granted should pass by "General *Goring*; and that none should be granted by the Prince, in his "own Name, otherwise than in such Cases as were of relation meerly "to the Association: that the Council should contribute their opinions "and advices to General *Goring*, but that his Highness should carefully "forbear to give unto the Lord *Goring* any positive or binding Orders; whereas, by his Instructions, when he came from *Oxford*, he was to put Both his Commissions, of Generalissimo, and of General of the Association in Execution, as he found most convenient; his Majesty himself then entertaining very little hope of the Association, as it was proposed; and therefore by his Letters to the Prince of the twentieth of *April*, which came to him at *Bridgewater*, all the assignations formerly made towards the Association, were directed to be disposed, and converted to such uses, as by the advice of his Council should be found most advantageous to the Service of those Parts; and thereupon the levies were consented to, and directed as is before mention'd. With these triumphant Orders, the Lord *Goring* return'd into the West; where we shall now leave him, and wait upon his Majesty, in his unfortunate march, until we find cause enough to lament that Counsel, which so fatally dismissed *Goring*, and his Forces, at a time, in which, if he had been born to Serve his Country, his presence might have been of great use and benefit to the King; which it was never after in any occasion.

The Lord Goring *sent back into the West.*

When *Goring* was thus separated from the King's Army, his Majesty marched to *Evesham*; and in his way, drew out his Garrison from *Cambden*-House; which had brought no other benefit to the Publick, than the enriching the licentious Governour thereof; who exercised an illimited Tyranny over the whole Country, and took his leave of it, in wantonly burning the Noble Structure, where he had too long inhabited, and which, not many years before, had cost above thirty thousand pounds the building. Within few days after the King left *Evesham*, it was surprised by the Enemy, or rather storm'd and taken for want of Men to defend the Works; and the Governour, and all the little Garrison made Prisoners. The loss of this place was an ill Omen to the succeeding Summer; and, upon the matter, cut off all the intercourse between *Worcester*, and *Oxford*; nor was it at all repair'd by the taking of *Hawkesly*-House in *Worcester-shire*; which the Rebels had fortified, and made strong, and which the King's Army took in two days, and therein the Governour, and one hundred and twenty Prisoners; who served to redeem those who were lost in *Evesham*. And so, by easy and slow marches the Army prosecuted their way towards *Chester*. But, in *Stafford-shire*, the Lord *Byron*, who was Governour of *Chester*, met the King; and inform'd him, "that the Rebels, upon the noise of his "Majesty's advance, were drawn off; and so there was no more to be done,

Marches of the King's Army towards the North, whilst T. Fairfax *with his, sate down before* Oxford.

done, but to profecute the Northern deſign; which was now intended, and the Army upon it's march accordingly, when Intelligence was brought, "that *Fairfax* had ſent a ſtrong Party to relieve *Taunton*, and "was Himſelf, with his Army, ſate down before *Oxford*. This could not but make ſome alteration, at leaſt a pauſe in the Execution of the former Counſels; and yet *Oxford* was known to be in ſo good a condition, that the loſs of it could not in any degree be apprehended, and nothing could more reaſonably have been wiſhed, than that *Fairfax* ſhould be throughly engaged before it: And it was concluded, "that "the beſt way to draw him from thence, would be to fall upon ſome "place poſſeſſed by the Parliament.

The King Storms, and takes Leiceſter.

THEY had no Town ſo conſiderable near the place where the King then was, as *Leiceſter*; in which there was a good Garriſon, under the Command of Sr *Robert Pye*; and Prince *Rupert*, who was allways pleaſed with any briſk attempt, chearfully entertain'd the firſt motion, and ſent Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* forthwith to ſurround it (which was of great extent) with his Horſe; and the next day, being the laſt of *May*, the whole Army was drawn about the Town, and the Prince, having taken a view of it, commanded a Battery to be forthwith raiſed againſt an old high ſtone Wall, on the South ſide of the Town; which, by his own continued preſence, was finiſhed with admirable diligence: which done, he ſent a Summons to the Governour; who return'd not ſuch an Anſwer as was required. Thereupon, the Battery began to play; and, in the ſpace of four hours, made ſuch a Breach, that it was thought Counſelable, the ſame night to make a general Aſſault with the whole Army, in ſeveral places; but principally at the Breach; which was defended with great courage, and reſolution; inſomuch, that the King's Forces were twice repulſed with great loſs, and ſlaughter; and were even ready to draw off in deſpair: when another Party, on the other ſide of the Town, under the Command of Colonel *Page*, ſeconded by a Body of Horſe that came but that day from *Newarke*, and, putting themſelves on Foot, advanced, with their Swords and Piſtols, with the other, enter'd the Town; and made way for their fellows to follow them: ſo that, by the break of day, the Aſſault having continued all the night, all the King's Army enter'd the Line. Then the Governour, and all the Officers and Soldiers, to the Number of twelve hundred, threw down their Armes, and became Priſoners of War: whilſt the Conquerors purſued their advantage, with the uſual Licence of rapine, and plunder, and miſerably ſacked the whole Town, without any diſtinction of Perſons, or Places; Churches, and Hoſpitals, as well as other Houſes, were made a Prey to the enraged, and greedy Soldier, to the exceeding regret of the King; who well knew, that how diſaffected ſoever that Town was generally, there were yet many who had faithful hearts to him, and who he heartily wiſh'd might be diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt: but thoſe Seaſons admit no difference of Perſons. Though the place was well gotten, becauſe ſo little time had been ſpent in the getting it, yet it was not without very conſiderable loſs on the King's ſide; there being near two hundred Soldiers dead upon the places of Aſſault, with many Officers; Colonel *Saint George*, and others of Name; beſides many more wounded, and maimed. The King preſently made the Lord *Loughborough*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Huntington*, and one who had ſerv'd him eminently from the beginning of the War, Governour of *Leiceſter*; and Sr *Mathew Appleyard*, a Soldier of known courage and experience, his Lieutenant Governour.

THE

THE taking of *Leiceſter*, the chief Town of that Province, even as ſoon as he came before it, and in that manner, purely by an Act of great courage, gave the King's Army great reputation, and made a wonderful impreſſion of terror upon the hearts of thoſe at *Weſtminſter*; who now revolv'd the conditions, which were offer'd at *Uxbridge*; which they had refuſed. They begun to curſe their new model; and to reproach thoſe who had perſwaded them "ſo ingratefully to throw off their old "General, who was ready to foment all their diſcontents. It was not "above twenty days, that the King's Army had been in the Field, and "in that ſhort time, it had reduced two ſtrong Garriſons of Theirs, "without giving the Soldiers any conditions, *Hawkeſly*-Houſe in *Wor-"ceſter-ſhire*, and the Town of *Leiceſter*: whilſt their new General *Fair-"fax* had only faced *Oxford* at a diſtance, to try whether the Ladies "would prevail for the giving up of the Town, to pacify their fears; and "had attempted to take a poor houſe that lay near, *Borſtall*-Houſe, and "had been beaten from thence with conſiderable loſs, and had drawn off "from both, very little to his honour. Theſe diſcourſes were ſo publick in the City, and had ſo much credit in both Houſes of Parliament, that they exceedingly deſired Peace, and exerciſed their thoughts only how they might revive the old Treaty, or ſet a new one on foot; when the evil Genius of the Kingdom in a moment ſhifted the whole Scene.

LEICESTER was a Poſt, where the King might, with all poſſible Convenience and Honour, have ſate ſtill, till his Army might have been recruited, as well as throughly refreſhed. Colonel *Gerrard* was upon his march towards him from *Wales*, with a body of three thouſand Horſe and Foot: and he had reaſon to expect, that the Lord *Goring* would be very ſhortly with him with His Horſe; for he was not departed from the King above four or five days, with thoſe Orders which are mention'd before (and with which he was ſo well pleaſed) but that the King ſaw cauſe to repent his ſeparation, and ſent other Orders to recall him as ſoon as was poſſible. But the King's fate, and the natural unſteadineſs, and irreſolution of thoſe about him, hurried him into Counſels very diſagreeable to the poſture he was in. He knew not that *Fairfax* was gone from *Oxford*; and the Intelligence which ſome Men pretended to have receiv'd from thence, was, "that it was in diſtreſs. The Duke of *York* remain'd there; the Council, many Lords and Ladies, who ſent Intelligence to their Friends, and all the Magazines were there; and if all theſe ſhould fall into the Enemy's hands, *Leiceſter* would appear a very poor recompence. Theſe particulars being unskilfully, yet warmly preſſed by thoſe who could not be underſtood to mean amiſs, the King reſolv'd to march directly for *Oxford*; and in order thereunto, within five days after the taking of *Leiceſter*, he appointed the Rendezvous for his Army; where he might yet very reaſonably have been diſcouraged from proſecuting that intention; for it then appear'd evidently, how very much it was weaken'd by, and ſince that Action, by the loſs of thoſe who were killed and wounded in the Storm; by the abſence of thoſe who were left behind in the Garriſon; and by the running away of very many with their Plunder, who would in few days have returned.

The King marches back towards Oxford.

THE number of the King's Foot which remain'd, did not amount to above three thouſand five hundred; which was not a body ſufficient to fight a Battle for a Crown. Then, all the Northern Horſe, who had promiſed themſelves, and were promiſed by the King, that they ſhould go

into their own Country, were ſo diſpleaſed with this new reſolution, that they were with great difficulty reſtrain'd from disbanding; and, though they were at laſt prevail'd with to march, were not enough recover'd to be depended upon in any ſuddain Action. Notwithſtanding all this, the march was continued; the next day, at *Harborough*, the Intelligence came "that *Fairfax* was drawn off from *Oxford*, without "having ever approached ſo near it, as to diſcharge one Piece of Cannon "upon it; that he had been beaten off from *Borſtall*-Houſe with the "loſs of Officers, as well as Soldiers; and that he was marched with "his whole Army to *Buckingham*. But this kindled a greater appetite to find him out, than there was before. Indeed there was leſs reaſon to march Northward, ſince they might well apprehend the *Scotch* Army in their face, and *Fairfax* in their rear. But there was the ſame reaſon ſtill for their retiring back to *Leiceſter*, or to *Worceſter*, where they might expect, and could not fail of an Addition of Forces to the Army; and where the Enemy, who muſt now be obliged to find them out, muſt come with many diſadvantages. Theſe conſiderations were all laid aſide, and every body believ'd, that *Fairfax* his Army was much diſpirited, by having fail'd in their two firſt enterprizes; and that it was now led out of the way, that it might recover courage, before it ſhould be brought to fight with ſo victorious Troops, as the King's were; and therefore, that it was beſt to find them out, whilſt their fear was yet upon them: all Men concluding that to be true, which their own wiſhes ſuggeſted to them. So the Army marched to *Daintry* in *Northampton-ſhire*: where, for want of knowing where the Enemy was, or what he intended to do, the King remain'd in a quiet poſture the ſpace of five days.

S^r Th. Fairfax *draws off from* Oxford.

UPON the thirteenth of *June*, the King receiv'd Intelligence, that *Fairfax* was advanced to *Northampton*, with a ſtrong Army; much ſuperior to the Numbers he had formerly been advertiſed of. Whereupon, his Majeſty retired the next day to *Harborough*; and meant to have gone back to *Leiceſter*, that he might draw more Foot out of *Newark*, and ſtand upon his defence, till the other Forces which he expected, could come up to him. But, that very Night, an Alarm was brought to *Harborough*, that *Fairfax* himſelf was quarter'd within ſix miles. A Council was preſently call'd, the former reſolution of retiring preſently laid aſide, and a new one as quickly taken, "to fight; to which there was allways an immoderate appetite, when the Enemy was within any diſtance. They would not ſtay to expect his coming, but would go back to meet him. And ſo, in the Morning early, being Saturday the fourteenth of *June*, all the Army was drawn up, upon a riſing ground of very great advantage, about a mile South from *Harborough* (which was left at their back) and there put in order to give, or receive the charge. The main body of the foot was led by the Lord *Aſtley* (whom the King had lately made a Baron) conſiſting of about two thouſand and five hundred Foot; the right Wing of Horſe, being about two thouſand, was led by Prince *Rupert*; the left Wing, conſiſting of all the Northern Horſe, with thoſe from *Newark*, which did not amount to above ſixteen hundred, was commanded by Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*; in the Reſerve, were the King's life-Guard, commanded by the Earl of *Lindſey*, and Prince *Rupert*'s Regiment of Foot (both which did make very little above eight hundred) with the King's horſe-Guards, commanded by the Lord *Bernard Stuart* (newly made Earl of *Lichfield*) which made that day about five hundred Horſe.

THE Army, thus diſpoſed in good order, made a ſtand on that ground to expect the Enemy. About eight of the Clock in the Morning, it began to be doubted, whether the Intelligence they had receiv'd of the Enemy was true. Upon which the Scoutmaſter was ſent to make farther diſcovery; who, it ſeems, went not far enough; but return'd and averr'd, "that he had been three or four Miles forward, and could nei-"ther diſcover, nor hear any thing of them: preſently, a report was raiſed in the Army, "that the Enemy was retired. Prince *Rupert* thereupon drew out a Party of Horſe and Muſqueteers, both to diſcover, and engage them, the Army remaining ſtill in the ſame place, and poſture they had been in. His Highneſs had not march'd above a mile, when he receiv'd certain Intelligence of Their advance, and in a ſhort time after, he ſaw the Van of their Army, but it ſeems not ſo diſtinctly, but that he conceiv'd they were retiring. Whereupon, he advanced nearer with his Horſe, and ſent back, "that the Army ſhould march "up to him; and the Meſſenger who brought the Order, ſaid, "that the "Prince deſired they ſhould make haſt. Hereupon the advantage ground was quitted, and the excellent order they were in, and an advance made towards the Enemy, as well as might be. By that time they had march'd about a mile and an half, the Horſe of the Enemy was diſcern'd to ſtand upon a high ground about *Naſeby*; whence, ſeeing the manner of the King's march, in a full Campagne, they had leiſure and opportunity to place themſelves, with all the advantages they could deſire. The Prince's natural heat, and impatience, could never endure an Enemy long in his view; nor let him believe that they had the courage to endure his Charge. Thus the Army was engaged before the Cannon was turn'd, or the ground made choice of upon which they were to Fight: ſo that Courage was only to be relied upon, where all Conduct failed ſo much.

The Battle of Naſeby.

IT was about ten of the Clock, when the Battle began: The firſt Charge was given by Prince *Rupert*; who, with his own, and his Brother Prince *Maurice*'s Troop, perform'd it with his uſual vigour; and was ſo well ſeconded, that he bore down all before him, and was Maſter of ſix pieces of the Rebels beſt Cannon. The Lord *Aſtley*, with His Foot, though againſt the Hill, advanced upon Their Foot; who diſcharged their Cannon at them, but over-ſhot them, and ſo did their Muſqueteers too. For the Foot on either ſide hardly ſaw each other till they were within Carabine ſhot, and ſo only gave one Volly; the King's Foot, according to their uſual cuſtom, falling in with their Swords, and the But-ends of their Muſquets; with which they did very notable execution, and put the Enemy into great diſorder and confuſion. The right Wing of Horſe and Foot being thus fortunately engaged and advanced, the left Wing, under Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, in five Bodies, advanced with equal reſolution; and was encounter'd by *Cromwell*, who Commanded the right Wing of the Enemies Horſe, with ſeven Bodies greater, and more numerous than either of the other; and had, beſides the Odds in number, the advantage of the ground; for the King's Horſe were obliged to march up the Hill, before they could Charge them: yet they did their duty, as well as the place, and great inequality of Numbers would enable them to do. But being flanked on both ſides by the Enemies Horſe, and preſſed hard, before they could get to the top of the Hill, they gave back, and fled farther and faſter than became them. Four of the Enemies Bodies, cloſe, and in good order, follow'd them, that they might not rally again; which they never thought of

doing; and the reſt Charged the King's Foot, who had till then ſo much the advantage over Theirs; whilſt Prince *Rupert*, with the right Wing, purſued thoſe Horſe, which he had broken and defeated.

THE King's Reſerve of Horſe, which was his own Guards, with Himſelf in the head of them, were even ready to Charge thoſe Horſe who purſued his left Wing, when, on a ſuddain, ſuch a Pannick fear ſeiſed upon them, that they all run near a quarter of a mile without ſtopping; which happen'd upon an extraordinary accident, that hath ſeldom fallen out, and might well diſturb and diſorder very reſolute Troops, as thoſe were, and the beſt Horſe in the Army. The King, as was ſaid before, was even upon the point of Charging the Enemy, in the head of his Guards, when the Earl of *Carnewarth*, who rode next to him (a Man never ſuſpected for infidelity, nor yet one from whom the King would have receiv'd counſel in ſuch a caſe) on a ſuddain, laid his hand on the bridle of the King's Horſe, and ſwearing two or three full Mouthed *Scotch* Oaths (for of that Nation he was) ſaid, "will you go upon your "death in an inſtant? and before his Majeſty underſtood what he would have, turn'd his Horſe round; upon which a word run through the Troops, "that they ſhould *march* to the right hand; which led them both from Charging the Enemy, and aſſiſting their own Men: Upon this they all turn'd their Horſes, and rode upon the Spur, as if they were every Man to ſhift for himſelf.

IT is very true, that, upon the more Souldierly word, *ſtand*, which was ſent after them, many of them return'd to the King; though the former unlucky word carried more from him. By this time, Prince *Rupert* was return'd with a good Body of thoſe Horſe, which had attended him in his proſperous Charge on the right Wing; but they having, as they thought, acted their parts, could never be brought to rally themſelves again in order, or to Charge the Enemy. That difference was obſerv'd all along, in the diſcipline of the King's Troops, and of thoſe which marched under the Command of *Fairfax*, and *Cromwell* (for it was only under Them, and had never been remarkable under *Eſſex*, or *Waller*) that, though the King's Troops prevail'd in the Charge, and routed thoſe they Charged, they ſeldom rallied themſelves again in order, nor could be brought to make a ſecond Charge again the ſame day: which was the reaſon, that they had not an entire Victory at *Edge-hill*: Whereas the others Troops, if they prevail'd, or though they were beaten, and routed, preſently rallied again, and ſtood in good order, till they receiv'd new Orders. All that the King and Prince could do, could not rally their broken Troops, which ſtood in ſufficient Numbers upon the Field, though they often endeavour'd it, with the manifeſt hazard of their own Perſons. So that, in the end, the King was compell'd to quit the Field; and to leave *Fairfax* Maſter of all his Foot, Cannon, and Baggage; amongſt which was his own Cabinet, where his moſt ſecret Papers were, and Letters between the Queen and Him; of which, they ſhortly after made that barbarous uſe as was agreeable to their Natures, and publiſh'd them in Print; that is, ſo much of them, as they thought would aſperſe either of their Majeſties, and improve the prejudice they had raiſed againſt them; and conceal'd other parts, which would have vindicated them from many particulars with which they had aſperſed them.

I SHALL not ſtay, in this place, to mention the Names of thoſe Noble Perſons who were loſt in this Battle; when the King, and the

Kingdom were loſt in it; though there were above one hundred and fifty Officers, and Gentlemen of prime Quality, dead upon the ſpot; whoſe Memories ought to be preſerv'd. The Enemy left no manner of cruelty unexerciſed that day; and in the purſuit kill'd above one hundred Women, whereof ſome were the Wives of Officers of Quality. The King and Prince *Rupert*, with the broken Troops, marched by *Leiceſter* that night to *Aſhby de la Zouch*; and the next day to *Lichfield*; and continued two days march more, till they came to *Bewdley* in *Worceſter-ſhire*; where they reſted one day; and then went to *Hereford*, with ſome disjoynted imagination, that they might, with thoſe Forces under *Gerrard*, who was General of South *Wales*, and was indeed upon his march, with a Body of two thouſand Horſe and Foot, be able to have raiſed a new Army. At *Hereford*, Prince *Rupert*, before any form'd Counſel was agreed upon, what the King ſhould do next, left the King, and made haſt to *Briſtol*, that he might put that place into a condition to reſiſt a Powerful and Victorious Enemy; which, he had reaſon to believe, would in a ſhort time appear before it. Nothing can be here more wonder'd at, than that the King ſhould amuſe himſelf about forming a new Army in Counties which had been vexed, and worn out with the oppreſſions of his own Troops, and the Licence of thoſe Governours, whom he had put over them; and not have immediately repaired into the Weſt, where he had an Army already form'd, and a People, generally, well devoted to his Service; whither all his broken Troops, and General *Gerrard*, might have tranſported themſelves, before *Fairfax* could have given them any interruption; who had ſomewhat to do, before he could bend his courſe that way: of which unhappy omiſſion we ſhall have too much occaſion to take more notice, after we have again viſited the Weſt.

The King retires by Lichfield *to* Bewdley; *thence to* Hereford.

Thence Prince Rupert *retires to* Briſtol.

THE Sickneſs which infeſted *Briſtol*, and which was thought to be the Plague, had made it neceſſary for the Prince of *Wales* to remove from thence: and no place was thought ſo convenient for his reſidence as *Barnſtable*, a pleaſant Town in the North part of *Devon-ſhire*, well Fortified, with a good Garriſon in it, under the Command of Sr *Allen Apſley*. And as his Highneſs was upon his way thither, he receiv'd the Orders which the Lord *Goring*, who was now return'd, had procured from the King; which he carefully tranſmitted to his Highneſs, aſſoon as he arriv'd. At the ſame time, the Lord *Colepepper* receiv'd another Letter from the Lord *Digby*, dated four days after the former Orders, by which he ſignified "the King's expreſs pleaſure, that the Lord *Goring* "ſhould Command thoſe Forces in Chief; that Sr *Richard Greenvil* "ſhould be Major General of the whole Army; that Sr *John Berkley*, "as Colonel General of *Devon* and *Cornwal*, ſhould intend the work "before *Plymouth*; and that Prince *Rupert* would ſend his Ratification "of all theſe; that the Lord *Hopton* ſhould attend his charge at the "Army, as General of the Artillery. To which purpoſe, his Majeſty with his own hand writ to the Lord *Hopton*; and that the Prince "ſhould not be in the Army, but keep his reſidence in a ſafe Garriſon; "and There, by the advice of his Council, manage and improve the "buſineſs of the Weſt, and provide reſerves, and reinforcements for the "Army: with an Intimation, "that Mr *Smith*'s Houſe, near *Briſtol*, "would be a convenient place for his reſidence.

The Affairs of the Weſt in the mean time.

THE Prince and Council were much amazed at theſe orders and reſolutions, ſo different from thoſe which had been made; and therefore

they thought it fit to conceal them, till they might repreſent faithfully to his Majeſty the ſtate and condition of thoſe parts, and their advice thereupon: well knowing, that if it were believ'd in the County, that the Prince's Authority was in the leaſt manner ſuperceded, or diminiſhed, beſides other inconveniences, the hopeful levies, upon the agreement at *Bridgewater*, would be in a moment determined; the Gentlemen who were to raiſe Regiments, profeſſing, "that they would receive no "Commiſſions but from his Highneſs. But whatever care They uſed to conceal the matters of thoſe Letters, and to haſten away a diſpatch to the King concerning them, the Lord *Goring* took as much care to publiſh them; and from that time expreſſed all poſſible contempt at leaſt, of the Council attending the Prince. However, within three days, there was another change; for the Lord *Digby* (ſending at the ſame time expreſs Orders from the King to the Lord *Goring* to that purpoſe) by his Letters to the Lords of the Council, of the nineteenth of *May*, within five days after the former, ſignified "his Majeſty's pleaſure, that "the Lord *Goring* ſhould march forthwith towards *Northampton-ſhire* "with all the Forces could be ſpared; and that the Prince himſelf ſhould "ſtay at *Dunſtar*-Caſtle, and encourage the new Levies: it being (I preſume) not known at Court, that the Plague, which had driven him from *Briſtol*, was as hot in *Dunſtar* Town, juſt under the Walls of the Caſtle. At the ſame time, a Letter to the Lord *Hopton* from the King, order'd him "to Command the Forces under the Prince. The Prince was then, as was ſaid before, in his way to *Barnſtable*; having left five hundred of his Guards to keep the Fort in *Briſtol*, the Garriſon being then very thin there, by reaſon of ſo many drawn from thence for the Service before *Taunton*.

GENERAL *Goring*, upon his return from the King, found *Taunton* reliev'd by a ſtrong Party of two thouſand Horſe, and three thouſand Foot, which unhappily arriv'd in the very Article of reducing the Town, and after their Line was enter'd, and a third part of the Town was burn'd. But this Supply raiſed the Siege, the Beſiegers drawing off without any loſs; and the Party that reliev'd them, having done their work, and left ſome of their Foot in the Town, made what haſt they could, to make their Retreat Eaſtward; when *Goring* fell ſo opportunely upon their Quarters, that he did them great miſchief; and believ'd that, in that diſorder, he had ſo ſhut them up between narrow paſſes, that they could neither retire to *Taunton*, nor march Eaſtward: and doubtleſs he had them then at a great advantage, by the opinion of all Men that knew the Country. But, by the extreme ill diſpoſing his Parties, and for want of particular Orders (of which many Men ſpoke with great licence) his two Parties ſent out, ſeveral ways, to fall upon the Enemy at *Petherton*-Bridge, the one Commanded by Colonel *Thornhill*, the other by Sr *William Courtney* (both diligent, and ſober Officers) they fell foul on each other, to the loſs of many of their Men; both the chief Officers being dangerouſly hurt, and one of them taken, before they knew their Error; through which the Enemy with no more loſs got into, and about *Taunton*; notwithſtanding which untoward accident, General *Goring* was, or ſeem'd, very confident that he ſhould ſpeedily ſo diſtreſs them, that the place would be the ſooner reduced, by the relief that had been put into it, and that in few days they would be at his Mercy.

THIS was before the latter end of *May*; when, upon the confidence of ſpeedily diſpatching that work, all poſſible and effectual care was taken

taken to ſupply him with Proviſions, and to ſend all the new levied Men, and his Highneſs's own Guards thither. Inſomuch, as he had within few days a Body of full five thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe; which he Quarter'd at the moſt convenient places; rather for eaſe, than duty; having publiſh'd Orders, under pretence of preſerving the Country from plunder, and with a promiſe of moſt exemplary Diſcipline, "that ſix pence a day ſhould be collected for the payment of each "Trooper; to which he got the Commiſſioners conſent; by virtue whereof, he raiſed great Sums of Money, without the leaſt abatement of the former diſorders: yet he proceeded with ſuch Popular circumſtances, ſending moſt ſpecious Warrants out, and Declarations for Reformation; ſometimes deſiring, that ſolemn Prayers might be ſaid in "all Churches for him; and to deſire God to bleſs ſome attempt he had "then in hand; allways uſing extreme Courtſhip to the Commiſſioners, (whom he barefaced inform'd, "that he was to have, or rather, that he "had the abſolute Command of the Weſt under the Prince, without "reference to his Council) that with his Promiſes, Proclamations, and Courtſhip, together with laughing at thoſe Perſons they were angry at, he had wrought himſelf into very Popular conſideration; till they found, that he promiſed and publiſhed Orders, to no other purpoſe than to deceive them; and that, whilſt he ſeem'd with them to laugh at other Men, he made them Properties only to his own ends.

IN this conjuncture, the King's Letter came to the Lord *Goring*, "to march towards *Northampton-ſhire*; to which he return'd an Anſwer by an Expreſs, before he deſired the Prince's directions; though he was diligent enough to procure his Highneſs's opinion for the reſpit of his march. The truth is, the aſſurance that he gave of his reducing thoſe Forces within very few days: the leaving all the Weſt to the Mercy of the Rebels, if he went before they were reduced; the danger of their marching in his Rear, and carrying as great an addition of ſtrength to the Enemy, as General *Goring* could carry to the King, except he carried with him the Forces of the ſeveral Garriſons, which were then joyn'd to him, made it very Counſelable to ſuſpend a preſent Obedience to thoſe Orders, till his Majeſty might receive the full and true State of his Affairs in thoſe parts; to which purpoſe, an expreſs was ſent likewiſe by his Highneſs to the King. In the Mean time, General *Goring* was ſo far from making any advance upon *Taunton*, that he grew much more negligent in it, than he had been; ſuffer'd Proviſions, in great quantities, to be carried into the Town, through the midſt of his Men; neglected, and diſcouraged his own Foot ſo much, that they ran away faſter than they could be ſent up to him; and gave himſelf wholely to Licence; inſomuch that ſometimes he was not ſeen abroad, in three or four days together. At this time came the news of the fatal blow at *Naſeby*, which freed him from any fear of being drawn out of the Weſt; yet he uſed no expedition to attempt any thing upon the Enemy, who were exceedingly diſhearten'd; but ſuffer'd the Guards to be more negligently kept; inſomuch that his Quarters were often beaten up, even in the day time; whilſt ſome principal Officers of his Army, as Lieutenant General *Porter*, and others, with His leave, had ſeveral Parleys with the Officers of the Rebels, to the very great ſcandal of the reſt; who knew not what interpretation to make of it, at a time that he uſed to mention the Perſon of the King with great contempt, and avow'd in all places a virulent diſlike of the Prince's Council. Thus,

after

after about six Weeks lying about *Taunton*, the Forces whereof he promised to confound (I mean those that marched to the relief of it) within few days, he was forced himself to retire, and suffer them to joyn with Sr *Thomas Fairfax*; who in the beginning of *July* marched towards those parts.

The Prince of Wales comes to Barnstable.

AFTER the Prince came to *Barnstable*, though he very seldom receiv'd any account from the Lord *Goring* of what happen'd, he was inform'd by several Persons of Credit, "that he was much discontented; "and expressed a great sense of disrespect, and unkindnesses that he "had receiv'd. Therefore it was wished by them, "that some means "might be found out, to settle a good understanding with him, where- "by he might be encouraged to an Alacrity in so important a Season: and he having appointed to be at *Tiverton* on such a day, the Prince sent thither Sr *John Berkley*, Sr *Hugh Pollard*, and Colonel *Ashburnham*, to confer with him, and to know what he desired; the Prince having never denied to assist him, in any one particular, he had ever proposed, or to grant him any thing he had expressed a desire of. Upon their meeting there, he carried himself very high; talked only of "gene- "ral neglects put upon him by the Prince's Council; that he had been "promised by the King to have the Command of the West, but that "They had hinder'd it; which affront he required to have repair'd, be- "fore he would do any Service upon the Enemy; with many bitter invectives against particular Persons; "whereof, he said, Prince *Rupert* "had told him that some thought him not a Man fit to be trusted. They had indeed spoken freely to his Highness to that purpose, upon His very franckly discoursing of him. In the end, these three Persons pressing him as Friends to deal particularly with them, what would satisfy him; he told them, "if he might be presently made Lieutenant-General "to the Prince, and admitted of his Council, and be promised to be "Sworn of the Privy Council, assoon as might be, and to be Gentleman "of the Prince's Bedchamber, he would then proceed roundly and chear- "fully in the business; otherwise, the Prince's Council should do the "work Themselves for Him. All this being so extravagant, it cannot be thought any Answer could be given to it, especially it being said to them as Friends, and not expressly sent to the Prince.

WHEN the Prince first apprehended the advance of Sr *Thomas Fairfax* to the West, he very earnestly recommended to the Lord *Goring* the state of the Garrisons about *Bridgewater*, especially the Garrison of *Lamport*, which was of so great importance, that, being well supplied, it had secured *Bridgewater*, and all that part of the Country. This Garrison had been settled by the Lord *Hopton*, upon his first coming down to *Taunton*, after *Vandruske* had raised the Blockade that Colonel *Windham* had laid to it; and Sr *Francis Mackworth* (who, having been formerly Major-General to the Marquis of *New-Castle*, was now, that Army being dissolv'd, returning to his Command in the Low Countries by his Majesty's leave) was engaged by him, to take the Command of it till, upon the Prince's coming into those Parts, a Worthier command could be provided for him; and before the Lord *Goring*'s coming to *Taunton*, he had Fortify'd it to a good degree. This Garrison, from the first Establishment, had been much maligned by Colonel *Windham*, who desired not to have another Governour so near him, who was to receive some of the fruit that he had before looked on as his own, though never assign'd to him: and then, upon some differences between Sr *John Stawel*,

Stawel, and Sr *Francis Mackworth*, it was more inveighed againſt: inſomuch as at the firſt coming down of the Prince to *Briſtol*, moſt of the time was ſpent in complaints from Sr *John Stawel* of this Garriſon, and of the forcing the Country to work, and contribute to thoſe Fortifications. After the Lord *Goring*'s coming to *Taunton*, he had, as a compliment to *Bridgewater*, and to all the Gentlemen, who were grown angry with my Lord *Hopton*, upon their own fancies, beſides the former unkindneſſes he had to Sr *Francis Mackworth* upon ſome diſputes they had had in the North (where they were both General Officers) very much neglected, and oppreſſed that Garriſon; not only by countenancing all complaints againſt it, but by taking away all the Contribution aſſign'd for the ſupport of it, for the ſupplying his own Army; and expreſsly inhibiting him by force to Levy thoſe Rates, which the Prince himſelf had aſſign'd to him. Inſomuch as when the Club-men of the County aſſembled together in great Numbers, and, having taken ſome Officers and Soldiers of that Garriſon Priſoners, for requiring their juſt Contributions in Money, or Proviſions, came up to the Walls of *Lamport*, and diſcharged their Muſquets upon the Works, and Sr *Francis Mackworth* thereupon with his Horſe Charged them, and killing one or two of them, forced the reſt to run away, the Lord *Goring* ſent him a very ſtrict reprehenſion for ſo doing, and poſitively commanded him "to do ſo no more; nor in any caſe to diſturb or injure thoſe People. This brought that Garriſon ſo low, that when it might have preſerv'd that Army, it had not two days Proviſions in it; Sr *Francis Mackworth*, having been called to wait on the Prince's Perſon, as well by his own choice (when he ſaw the carriage towards him, believing that ſome prejudice to his Perſon brought a diſadvantage to the place) as by Prince *Rupert*'s advice; who promiſed, when he left the Prince at *Barnſtable*, and viſited *Goring*, and *Bridgewater*, "to ſettle that Garriſon of *Lam-*"*port*, and make Colonel *Windham* Governour of it.

Of the Club-men in Somerſet and Dorſet-ſhire.

HERE I cannot but ſay ſomewhat of the Club-men; who began then to riſe, in great Numbers, in ſeveral parts of the Country, about the time that the Prince went from *Bath* to *Bridgewater*, in his Journey to *Barnſtable*; and that night his Highneſs lay at *Wells*, which was the ſecond of *June*, a Petition was deliver'd to him, which had been agreed upon that day at *Marſhals Elme*, where there had then aſſembled five or ſix thouſand Men, moſt in Armes; and the Petitioners were appointed to attend the next day at *Bridgewater* for an Anſwer. It was evident, though the avow'd ground for the riſing was the intolerable oppreſſion, rapine, and violence, exerciſed by the Lord *Goring*'s Horſe, that, in truth, they receiv'd encouragement from many Gentlemen of the Country; ſome of them thinking, it would be a good Expedient to neceſſitate a Reformation of the Army; others believing it would be a profitable Riſing for the King, and would grow into the matter of the firſt Aſſociation, One and All. Therefore ſome principal Agents of Sr *John Stawel*'s were very active in thoſe Meetings; and he himſelf was very ſollicitous, that a very gracious Anſwer might be return'd to their Petition; which was follow'd by ſome Farmerly Men, and others of the Clergy, both which had good reputations of affection, and integrity to the King's Service. The Prince expreſſed a great ſenſe of the Oppreſſions they ſuffer'd, by the diſorder of the Army, which he promiſed to do his beſt to reform; to which end, he writ many earneſt Letters to the Lord *Goring*. But his Highneſs told them, "that this unwarrantable

"courſe of aſſembling together, and being their own Judges, would "prove very pernicious: for though many of them might mean well, "yet ſome active Miniſters would mingle with them, on the behalf of "the Rebels, and having once brought them to a kind of neutrality, "and unconcernedneſs for the King, would, in a moment, be able, "againſt all their good wiſhes to apply them againſt him; and therefore "ſtreightly inhibited them to meet any more in that manner, except "they firſt liſted themſelves in Regiments, and choſe Gentlemen of the "Country to command them; to whom his Highneſs offer'd to grant Commiſſions to that purpoſe.

THIS Anſwer ſeem'd to ſatisfy thoſe who attended on the behalf of the Petitioners, until they were perſwaded by ſome Gentlemen not to ſubmit to it; and ſo they continued their meetings; many inferior Officers of the Army quitting their Charges, and living amongſt them, and improving their diſcontents. When the Prince went to *Barnſtable*, he gave General *Goring* Advertiſements "of the great danger that might "ariſe out of the licence that People took to themſelves; and therefore adviſed him, "as on the one hand, to ſuppreſs and reform the crying "Diſorders of the Army by good Diſcipline, and ſeverity upon enormous "tranſgreſſours; ſo on the other, ſeaſonably to diſcountenance, and "puniſh thoſe Aſſemblies of Clubmen; which would otherwiſe, in time, "prove as dangerous to him, as any other ſtrength of the Rebels. But, whether it were to ſhew his greatneſs, and ſo, Popularly to comply with what the Prince had diſcountenanced, or whether in truth he believ'd he ſhould be able to make uſe of them, and perſwade them to become a part of his Army, he did uſe all poſſible compliance with them, and would not ſuffer any force to be uſed againſt them. So that they grew to be ſo powerful, that they kept Proviſions from the Army, and the Garriſons; and when he moved from *Taunton*, upon the coming down of Sr *Thomas Fairfax*, they kill'd many of his Soldiers; and did him more miſchief, than all the power of the Rebels.

WHEN the Prince came to *Barnſtable*, he receiv'd the fatal news of the Battle of *Naſeby*, by the noiſe and triumphs which the Rebels made in thoſe parts for their Victory, without any particular information, or account from *Oxford*, or any credible Perſons; which left ſome hope that it might not be true, at leaſt not to that degree that diſaffected People reported it to be. However, at the worſt, it concern'd him the more to be ſollicitous to put the Weſt into ſuch a Poſture, that it might be able to repair any loſs the King had receiv'd; which he might have done, if the Jealouſies and Animoſities between particular Perſons could have been reconciled, and a Union been made amongſt all Men, who pretended to wiſh, and really did wiſh, proſperity to the King's Affairs; which were diſturbed, and even render'd deſperate, by the intolerable pride of incorrigible Faction. Notwithſtanding the Orders, which had been made by the Commiſſioners of *Devonſhire*, for diſtributing the Contributions of that County, which have been mention'd before, and in which ſuch a proportion was aſſign'd for the maintenance of the Forces before *Plymouth*, as in Sr *Richard Greenvil*'s own judgement was ſufficient for them; he had ſtill continued to Levy the whole Contribution, which he had done formerly, for ſix thouſand Foot, and twelve hundred Horſe; and ſaid, "he could not ſubmit to the other diviſion "and retrenchment; for that there was nothing aſſign'd, or left for the "payment of his Men before *Taunton*. He was told by the Commiſ-

sioners, "that they were now a part of the Army, and liv'd as their fel-
"lows did; that they had receiv'd no Money from him since their going
"thither, but had had free Quarter as the rest of the Army; and that
"it would prove of ill consequence, and beget a mutiny, if They should
"receive a Weekly pay, when none of the rest did, nor any Army the
"King had in *England*: that he could not but confess, by the State of
"the Whole, that the dispensation was very reasonable; and that it
"could not be expected that the County would be contented to pay their
"Contribution for the payment of other Forces, not of their own Coun-
"ty, when their own Garrisons, that were kept for their Defence, should
"be compell'd for want of pay, to disorders, or to disband. But that,
"if he thought any thing in those Establishments unnecessary, or that
"he thought provision could be otherwise made for them, they would
"be contented that the overplus should be disposed as he desired. He
Answer'd none of their reasons; but positively said, "he would spare
"none of the Contributions formerly assign'd to him; though the Com-
missioners had the same Authority now to take it away, as they had then
to dispose it to him; and though it appear'd to be assign'd for the main-
tenance of so great a Force, as was before spoken of, and upon his un-
dertaking, under his hand, "to take the Town before *Christmas* day.

Transactions at Barnstable: *especially complaints against* Sr R. Greenvil.

WHEN this Account was presented to the Prince, he found it ne-
cessary, and resolv'd to confirm what was proposed by the Commissioners,
without which those Garrisons could not be supported; yet deferr'd the
settling thereof, till he came to *Barnstable*, being resolv'd speedily to
go thither; and, before his coming thither, had sent to the Commis-
sioners both of *Devon* and *Cornwal* to attend him; which they did with-
in a day or two after he came thither, together with Sr *John Berkley*,
and Sr *Richard Greenvil*. The Commissioners for *Devon* very earnestly
pressed the settling the Contributions in the manner before proposed;
and the regulating the exorbitant power of Sr *Richard Greenvil*, who
raised what Money he pleased, and committed what Persons he pleased;
and the Commissioners from *Cornwal* presented a very sharp complaint
against him, in the Name of the whole County, for several exorbitances,
and strange Acts of Tyranny exercised upon them: "That he had com-
"mitted very many honest substantial Men, and all the Constables of
"the East part of the County, to *Ludford* Prison in *Devon-shire*, for no
"offence, but to compel them to ransom themselves for Money; and
"that his Troops had committed such outrages in the Country, that they
"had been compell'd, in open Sessions, to declare against him; and to
"authorise the Country, in case that he should send his Troops in such
"manner, to rise, and beat them out; which Declaration was produced,
sign'd by all the Commissioners, who were most eminently and zealously
affected to his Majesty; and was indeed no other than a denouncing
War against *Greenvil*; and was excused by them, "as an act of necessity
"to compose the People, who would otherwise in the instant have risen,
"and cut the throats of all his Men. So that, whoever would have made
a judgement, upon what he heard from the Commissioners of *Devon*
and *Cornwal* at that time, must have concluded, that Sr *Richard Green-
vil* was the most justly odious to both Counties, that can be imagined.
And no doubt he had behaved himself with great pride, and tyranny
over them; though the discipline he exercised over his Men at *Plymouth*,
in keeping them from committing any disorder, or offering the least
prejudice to any Man (which, considering the great assignment of Money

he had, and the ſmall Numbers of Men, was no hard matter to do) had raiſed him much credit among the Country People, who had liv'd long under the Licence of Prince *Maurice*'s Army; and the fame of it had extended his reputation to a greater diſtance.

THERE hath been too much ſaid already, to diſcover the nature and the temper of this Gentleman, if the current of this diſcourſe did not make it abſolutely neceſſary to mention many particulars, with which the Prince was troubled allmoſt in all places, and which exceedingly diſorder'd the whole buſineſs of *Devon* and *Cornwal*; and, indeed, thereby the whole Weſt. There was one particular that made a great noiſe in the Country: ſhortly after he was deputed to that Charge before *Plymouth*, upon the hurt of Mr *Digby*, one *Brabant*, an Atturney at Law, (who had heretofore ſollicited the great Suit againſt Sr *Richard* in the Star-Chamber, on the behalf of his Wife and the Earl of *Suffolk*, living in thoſe parts, and having allways very honeſtly behaved himſelf towards the King's Service) knowing, it ſeems, the Nature of the Gentleman, reſolv'd not to venture himſelf within the Precincts where he commanded; and therefore intended to go to ſome more ſecure Quarter; but was taken in his Journey, having a Mountero on his head. Sr *Richard Greenvil* had laid wait to apprehend him; and he likewiſe had conceal'd his Name; but, being now brought before Sr *Richard*, was immediately, by his own direction, without any Council of War, becauſe he ſaid he was diſguiſed, hanged as a Spy: which ſeem'd ſo ſtrange and incredible, that one of the Council asked him, "whether it was true? and he Anſwer'd very unconcernedly, "yes, he had hanged him, for he was "a Traytor, and againſt the King; and that he had taken a Brother of "his, whom he might have hanged too, but he had ſuffer'd him to be "exchanged. He ſaid, "he knew the Country talked, that he hanged "him for revenge, becauſe he had ſollicited a cauſe againſt him; but "that was not the cauſe; though, having play'd the Knave with him, he ſaid ſmiling, "he was well content to find a juſt occaſion to puniſh "him.

THE Prince was very unwilling to enter ſo far, and ſo particularly upon the paſſionate complaint of either County, as thereby to be compell'd to cenſure, or to diſcountenance Sr *Richard Greenvil*; who, he thought, might be applied very uſefully to the Publick Service. Therefore his Highneſs reſolv'd, according to the former deſign, to commit the buſineſs of *Plymouth* to Sr *John Berkley*; who might, without any reproach to the other, diſcharge ſuch from Impriſonment as had lain long enough there, and who made no other pretence to the Contribution, than according to the Aſſignments made by the Commiſſioners; and to diſpoſe Sr *Richard Greenvil* to the Field, according to his own Propoſition; for which there was now the more ſeaſonable opportunity, the Lord *Goring* having then written to the Prince, "to deſire him, "that, in regard very many of Sr *Richard Greenvil*'s Soldiers before "*Taunton* were run away, inſomuch that of the two thouſand two hun-"dred brought thither by him, there were not ſix hundred left, and "that there could be no ſuch expedient to bring them back, or to en-"courage the new Levies, as by his preſence in that Army, that he "would ſend Sr *Richard Greenvil* thither; where he ſhould Command "as Field-Marſhal: to which purpoſe he had likewiſe written to Sr *Richard Greenvil*, perſwading him, "that he ſhould fix a Quarter to-"wards *Lyme*, and have the whole managing of that Province: and ſo

a very good correſpondence was begun between them. Thereupon, his Commiſſion of Field-Marſhal of the Aſſociated Army was deliver'd to him, with direction, "in the mean time to abide with the Lord *Goring*; who deputed him to Command in the ſame place. It is true that he then deſired, "to continue the Command before *Plymouth* in *Commen-* "*dam*, and to execute the ſame by his Major General; but he was told, "that it was otherwiſe ſettled by his own Propoſition, and Advice, and "therefore that it could not be alter'd: and indeed would have pre-vented the ſatisfaction, which was to be given to the two Counties. Then he inſiſted very much upon ſome Aſſignment of Contribution for the Army; for, he ſaid, "he neither would, nor could Command Men "who were not paid. But after ſome ſharp invectives againſt the exceſs, and lazineſs of Governours, and the needleſs Contribution aſſign'd to Garriſons, finding that the ſubſiſtence for the Army muſt be provided out of *Somerſet*, and *Dorſet*, he took his leave of the Prince; and with his Commiſſion of Field-Marſhal, went to the Lord *Goring* before *Taun-ton*; Sr *John Berkley* being at the ſame time diſpatch'd to *Plymouth*.

ABOUT the beginning of *July* Sr *Thomas Fairfax* enter'd into *So-merſet-ſhire*; ſo that General *Goring* found it convenient to draw off from *Taunton*, and ſeem'd to advance towards him, as if he intended to Fight; fixing his Quarters between the Rivers about *Lamport*, very advantagiouſly for defence, having a Body of Horſe and Foot very little inferior to the Enemy, although by great negligence he had ſuf-fer'd his Foot to moulder away before *Taunton*, for want of Proviſions, and Countenance; when the Horſe enjoy'd Plenty, even to Exceſs and Ryot. He had been there very few days, when the Enemy, at Noon day, fell into his Quarters, upon a Party of Horſe of above a thouſand, commanded by Lieutenant General *Porter*; who were ſo ſurpriſed, that though they were in a bottom, and could not but diſcern the Enemy coming down the Hill, half a mile at the leaſt, yet the Enemy was upon them, before the Men could get upon their Horſes; they being then feeding in a Meadow; ſo that this Body was entirely routed, and very many taken; and, the next day, notwithſtanding all the Advantages of Paſſes, and Places of Advantage, another Party of the Enemies Horſe and Dragoons fell upon the whole Army; routed it; took two pieces of Cannon; and purſued *Goring*'s Men through *Lamport* (a place, which if it had not been with great induſtry diſcountenanced, and oppreſſed, as is ſaid before, might well have ſecured His, and refiſted Their Army) and drove them to the Walls of *Bridgewater*; whither the Lord *Go-ring* in great diſorder retired; and ſpending that Night there, and leaving with them the Cannon, Ammunition, and Carriages, and ſuch Soldiers as were deſired, in equal diſorder, the next day, he retired into *Devon-ſhire*; the Club-men and Country people infeſting his march, and knock-ing all Straglers, or wearied Soldiers, on the head. Upon that rout, which was no leſs than a defeat of the whole Army, the Lord *Goring* retired to *Barnſtable*; from whence (the Prince being gone ſome days before to *Launceſton* in *Cornwal*) he writ to the Lord *Digby*, "that there "was ſo great a terror, and diſtraction among his Men, that he was con-"fident, at that preſent, they could not be brought to fight againſt half "their number. In the Letter he writ, "that he had then (being within three days after their rout, when very many ſtraglers were not come up) "between three and four thouſand Foot (Prince *Rupert*'s Regiment being left in *Bridgewater*, conſiſting of above five hundred Men, and

Sr T. Fairfax with his Army enters Somerſet-ſhire.

Beats Goring near Lamport.

two hundred in *Burrow*, and five and twenty hundred Horſe, beſides Sr *Lewis Dives*'s Regiment, and all the Weſtern Horſe) ſo that, by his Account, conſidering that there were not leſs than one thouſand Men kill'd, and taken Priſoners, in thoſe two unlucky days, and that very many were run to *Briſtol*, and others not come to him, it appears, that, when he roſe from *Taunton*, he had a ſtrength little inferior to the Enemy.

Sr *Thomas Fairfax* then no more purſued them, after this running away, but left them time enough to refreſh, and recover themſelves; whilſt he himſelf intended the recovery of *Bridgewater*; which was exceedingly wonder'd at; though it was quickly diſcern'd, he had good reaſon to ſtop there. In the mean time General *Goring* ſpent his time at *Barnſtable*, and thoſe parts adjacent; his Army Quartering at *Torrington*, and over the whole North of *Devon*, and his Horſe commiting ſuch intolerable inſolences and diſorders, as alienated the hearts of thoſe who were beſt affected to the King's Service. Inſtead of endeavouring to recruit his Army, or to put himſelf in a readineſs and poſture to receive the Enemy, he ſuffer'd all, who had a mind, to depart; inſomuch, as he writ to the Lord *Colepepper*, on the 27th of *July*, "that he "had not above thirteen hundred Foot left. When he was at *Barnſtable*, he gave himſelf his uſual Licence of drinking; and then, inveighing againſt the Prince's Council, ſaid, "he would juſtify that They had been "the cauſe of the loſs of the Weſt; inveighing likewiſe in an unpardonable dialect againſt the Perſon of the King, and diſcourſing much of the revenge he would take upon thoſe who had affronted him: and in this manner he entertain'd himſelf to the end of *July*, writing Letters of diſcontent to the Prince, and the Lords; one day complaining for want of Money, and deſiring the Prince to ſupply that want, when he well knew he wanted Supply for his own Table; and never receiv'd penny of the publick Collections, or Contributions: Another day, deſiring, "that all ſtragling Soldiers might be ſent out of *Cornwal*, and "drawn from the Garriſons, that he might advance upon the Enemy; and the next day propoſing, "that all the Foot might be put into Gar-"riſons, for that they could not be fit for the Field; ſo that before an Anſwer could be ſent to his laſt Letter, another commonly arriv'd of a different temper.

Sr *Richard Greenvil* grew again no leſs troubleſome and inconvenient, than the Lord *Goring*. He had left the Prince at *Barnſtable*, well pleaſed with his Commiſſion of Field-Marſhal, and more that he ſhould Command alone the blocking up of *Lyme*; which, he reſolv'd, ſhould bring him in plenty of Money; and in order to that, it was agreed, that, on ſuch a day appointed, "ſo many Men from the Garriſons of *Dartmouth*, "*Exeter*, and *Barnſtable*, ſhould be drawn to *Tiverton*; where they "ſhould receive Orders from Sr *Richard Greenvil*, and joyn with ſuch "as he ſhould bring from the Lord *Goring*, for making a Quarter to-"wards *Lyme*; and Orders iſſued from his Highneſs accordingly. Thoſe from *Exeter*, according to order, appear'd at the time; and thoſe from *Barnſtable* and *Dartmouth*, march'd a days journey and more, towards *Tiverton*; but then, hearing that the Lord *Goring* was riſen from *Taunton*, made a halt; and ſent back to the Prince for Orders; who conceiv'd that, upon the riſing of the Lord *Goring*, the deſign of fixing a Quarter upon *Lyme*, would be diſappointed, and that it would be neceſſary to ſtrengthen *Barnſtable*, where his own Perſon was; and recall'd thoſe Men back thither; having diſpatched Letters to Sr *Richard Greenvil*,

Greenvil, to acquaint him with the accidents that had diverted thoſe from *Dartmouth* and *Barnſtable*; but letting him know, "that, if the "deſign held, thoſe of *Barnſtable* ſhould meet, where and when he "would appoint.

Sr *Richard Greenvil* took an occaſion, from the Soldiers failing to meet, at the day appointed, at *Tiverton* (though if they had met, there could have been no progreſs in the former deſign) to exclaim againſt the Prince's Council; and, the next day, in a Cover directed to Mr *Fanſhaw*, who was Secretary of the Council; without any Letter, return'd the Commiſſion of Field-Marſhal, formerly given him by the Prince; and within two or three days after, on the fifth of *July*, he ſent a very inſolent Letter to the Lords of the Council, complaining of "many "undeſerv'd abuſes offer'd to him; implying, "that the ſame were "faſten'd on him by Them, on the behalf of Sr *John Berkley*; told them "that when they moved him to give over the Command of the Forces "before *Plymouth* to Sr *John Berkley*, they had promiſed him the Prin-"cipal Command of the Army under the Prince: whereas the truth is before ſet down, that the Propoſition was made by Himſelf, both of quitting that Charge, and of Sr *John Berkley*'s taking it, as the only fit Perſon. He ſaid, "he had hitherto ſerv'd the King upon his own Charge, "and upon his own Eſtate, without any allowance; and that, when he "went from *Barnſtable*, he was promiſed a Protection for his Houſe "and Eſtate; but when, after he was gone, his Servant brought a Pro-"tection ready drawn, all the Clauſes that comprehended any thing of "favour, were left out; and ſuch a Protection ſent to him as he cared "not for. He concluded, "that he would ſerve as a Voluntier, till he "might have opportunity to acquaint his Majeſty with his Sufferings. Here it will be neceſſary, upon the mention of this Protection (which he took ſo ill to be denied) and the mention of ſerving the King, without allowance, upon his own Eſtate, which he very often, and very inſolently objected both in his Letters, and in his diſcourſe to the Prince himſelf, to ſay ſomewhat of his Eſtate, and what ſmall allowance, as he pretended, he had from the King for his Service.

WHEN he came firſt into that Country, he had no Command at all; armed only with a Commiſſion to raiſe a Regiment of Horſe, and a Regiment of Foot; of which, he never raiſed Horſe or Man, till long after, that he came to the Command about *Plymouth*. Eſtate he had none, either there, or, that I have heard, any where elſe. It is true, his Wife had an Eſtate, of about five hundred pounds a year, about *Taviſtock* and other parts of *Devon*; but it is as true, that it was convey'd before Marriage, as hath been ſaid, in ſuch a manner, to Friends in truſt, that upon long Suits in Chancery, and in other Courts, in the time of Peace, there were ſeveral Judgements and Decrees in Chancery againſt him. So that he had never, ſince the difference with his Wife, which was many years before, receiv'd the leaſt benefit, or advantage from it. The firſt thing the King granted to him, was the Sequeſtration of all his Wife's Eſtate to his own uſe (ſhe living then in the Rebel's Quarters) upon which Title he ſettled himſelf in Her Houſe near *Taviſtock*; and, by virtue of that Grant, took all the Stock upon the Ground; and compell'd the Tenants to pay to him all the Arrears of Rent, or as much as he ſaid was in Arrear, which amounted to a very conſiderable value. When Colonel *Digby* receiv'd his unfortunate hurt, which render'd him for that time uncapable to exerciſe his Command, Sr *John Berkley*

Berkley very earneſtly, and He only, moved Prince *Maurice*, to confer that Charge upon Sr *Richard Greenvil*; and, though it was within a County of which he himſelf had the principal Charge as Colonel General, procured a full Commiſſion for the other to Command thoſe Forces in Chief; and deliver'd, or ſent the ſame to him; having, from the time of his firſt coming down, uſed him with much kindneſs. He had not then commanded long, when the Earl of *Eſſex* came into thoſe Parts; whereupon he was compell'd to riſe; and after joyn'd with the King.

WHEN the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Forces were diſſolv'd, he was again deſign'd for that Service; and before the King left the Country, he granted him the Sequeſtration of all the Eſtate of the Earl of *Bedford* in *Devon-ſhire*, all the Eſtate of Sr *Francis Drake* (by which he had *Buckland Monachorum*, which was his Quarter whilſt he block'd up *Plymouth*; and *Worrington* by *Launceſton*) in *Devon*, and the Lord *Roberts* his Eſtate in *Cornwal*; all which, and his Wife's Eſtate, he enjoy'd by the Sequeſtration granted from his Majeſty, and of which he made a greater Revenue than ever the owners did in time of Peace. For, beſides that he ſuffer'd no part of theſe Eſtates to pay Contribution (whereby the Tenants very willingly paid their full Rents) he kept very much ground, about all the Houſes, in his own hands; which he ſtocked with ſuch Cattle as he took from Delinquents; for though he ſuffer'd not his Soldiers to plunder, yet he was, in truth, himſelf the greateſt plunderer of this War; for whenever any Perſon had diſobey'd, or neglected any of his Warrants, or when any Man fail'd to appear at the *Poſſe* (which he ſummon'd very frequently after he was Sheriff of *Devon*, and for no other end but the penalty of Defaulters) he ſent preſently a Party of Horſe to apprehend their Perſons, and to drive their Grounds. If the Perſons were taken, they were very well content to remit their Stock to redeem their Perſons. For the better diſpoſing them thereto, he would now and then hang a Conſtable, or ſome other poor fellow, for thoſe faults of which a hundred were as guilty: and if, out of the terror of this kind of Juſtice, Men hid themſelves from being apprehended, they durſt not ſend to require their Stock; which was from thence quietly enjoy'd: ſo that he had a greater Stock of Cattle, of all ſorts, upon his Grounds, than any Perſon whatſoever in the Weſt of *England*. Beſides this, the ordering of Delinquent's Eſtates in thoſe Parts being before that time not well look'd to, by virtue of theſe Sequeſtrations, he ſeiſed upon all the Stock upon the Grounds, upon all the Furniture in the ſeveral Houſes, and compell'd the Tenants to pay to him all the Rents due from the beginning of the Rebellion. By theſe, and ſuch like means, he had not only a vaſt Stock, but received great Sums of Money, and had as great ſtore of good Houſehold-Stuff, as would Furniſh well thoſe Houſes he looked upon as his own. This was his own Eſtate, upon which, he ſaid, he had maintain'd himſelf, without any allowance from the King; which, I am confident, beſides what he got by his Contributions, which would allways pay double the Men he had, and were ſtrictly levied, and by his other arts, and extortions of ſeveral kinds, was more, and more worth in Money to him, than his Majeſty beſtow'd upon all his General Commanders of Armies, and upon all his Officers of State, ſince the beginning of the Rebellion to that time. This computation would ſeem too enviouſly made, if I ſhould proceed here to take any view of the Services he ever did; and therefore (though they

they that are very good Witneſſes, ſay, that notwithſtanding all the bold promiſes of taking *Plymouth* within few days, "his fartheſt Guards were "never nearer the Town, than the Lord *Hopton*'s head Quarter was the "firſt day that he came thither) I ſhall leave that to other Men to make the particular Eſtimate.

Now when Sr *Richard Greenvil* deſired at *Barnſtable* a Protection for his Houſes and Eſtates, it was conceived, that he apprehended there might, under pretence of Claim, ſome attempt be made upon his Stock by the Owners; or that he feared, that there might be too ſtrict an enquiry, by him that ſucceeded, for ſuch things as being deſign'd for the Publick Service, had been applied to his particular private Uſe; as having, with great importunity (as a thing upon which the Service depended) gotten from the Commiſſioners of *Devon* above a thouſand Deal-boards, to make huts for the Soldiers, he employ'd them all in the building a great riding Houſe at *Buckland*, for his own Pleaſure. However, ſo ſevere and terrible a Perſon might eaſily be thought lyable to many treſpaſſes, when he ſhould be remov'd from the place where he Govern'd ſo abſolutely. The Protection was no ſooner asked by him, than promiſed by the Prince; but, after his departure, his Servant bringing ſuch a Protection drawn, as exempted all thoſe Eſtates which the King had Granted to him in Sequeſtration, from the payment of any Contributions (the which had been already ſo ſcandalous, that moſt of the principal Perſons of *Cornwal* had by that example, and with indignation at it, forborn to pay their Rates; and he was told the ill conſequence of it; and, "that no Perſon there in Council, whereof "ſome had had very much greater Commands in Armies than He, and "though others thought their Services deſerved any reaſonable Privi-"lege, had been ever freed from Contribution) thereupon thoſe clauſes were ſtruck out, and the Protection, in a fuller manner ſtill than ordinary, ſign'd by the Prince; and Sr *John Berkley*, then preſent, declared (of which his Servant was advertiſed, though it was not fit, for the Example, to put it in writing) "that he would not require any Contribution for "that Eſtate which was his Wife's, and enjoy'd by him only by virtue "of the Sequeſtration: and the denying of this Protection was his great grievance. And yet he did not only never pay a penny Contribution before, or after, for all theſe Eſtates, but refuſed to pay the Fee-farm Rent, due to the King out of the Earl of *Bedford*'s Eſtate, being two hundred Marks *per annum*, though the Auditor was ſent to him to demand it; but this was meerly an Act of his own Soveraignty.

AFTER this Angry Letter to the Lords, and the throwing up his Commiſſion without a Letter, and ſo having no Commiſſion at all to meddle in Martial Affairs, he fixed a Quarter, with his own Horſe and Foot, at St *Mary Ottree*, within nine or ten Miles of *Exeter*; where he govern'd as imperiouſly as ever; raiſed what Money he would, and impriſon'd what Perſons he pleaſed. In the end, Sr *John Berkley*, having appointed the Conſtables of thoſe hundreds which were aſſign'd for *Plymouth*, to bring in their Accounts of what Money they had paid to Sr *Richard Greenvil* (which, he proteſted, he did only that thereby he might ſtate the Arrears, without the leaſt thought of reproach to the other) he cauſed a Warrant to be read in all Churches in the County (that is, order'd it to be read in all, and in ſome it was read) "that all "Perſons ſhould bring him an Account of what Monies, or Goods had "been plunder'd from them by Sr *John Berkley*, or any under him; with

ſeveral Clauſes very derogatory to his reputation. This, as it could not otherwiſe, begot great reſentments; inſomuch as the Commiſſioners of *Devon* ſent an Expreſs to the Prince, who was then in *Cornwal*, beſeeching him "to call Sr *Richard Greenvil* from thence, and to take "ſome Order for the ſuppreſſing the Furious inclinations of both ſides, "or elſe they apprehended, the Enemy would quickly take an advan- "tage of thoſe Diſſentions, and invade the Country before they other- "wiſe intended; and, in their Letter, ſent one of the Warrants that Sr *Richard* had cauſed to be read in the Churches; which indeed was the ſtrangeſt I ever ſaw.

HEREUPON, the Prince ſent for Sr *Richard Greenvil* to attend him; who accordingly came to him at *Liskard*; where his Highneſs told him "the ſenſe he had of his diſreſpect towards him, in the ſending back his "Commiſſion in that manner; and of his carriage after; and asked him, "what Authority he now had either to Command Men, or to "publiſh ſuch Warrants? He anſwer'd, "that he was High Sheriff of "*Devon*, and by virtue of that Office he might ſuppreſs any Force, or "enquire into any grievance his County ſuffer'd; and, as far as in Him "lay, give them remedy. He was told, "as Sheriff he had no power to "raiſe or head Men, otherwiſe than by the *Poſſe Comitatus*; which he "could not neither upon his own head raiſe, without Warrant from "the Juſtices of Peace: that, in times of War, he was to receive Orders, "upon occaſions, from the Commander in Chief of the King's Forces; "who had Authority to Command him by his Commiſſion. He was asked, "what he himſelf would have done, if when he Commanded be- "fore *Plymouth*, the High Sheriff of *Cornwal* ſhould have cauſed ſuch "a Warrant concerning Him, to be read in Churches? He anſwer'd lit- tle to the Queſtions, but ſullenly extoll'd his Services, and enlarged his Sufferings. Afterwards, being reprehended with more Sharpneſs than ever before, and being told, "that, whatever diſcourſes he made of "ſpending his Eſtate, it was well underſtood, that he had no Eſtate by "any other Title than the meer bounty of the King; that he had been "courted by the Prince more than he had reaſon to expect; and that "he had not made thoſe returns on His part which became him; In "ſhort, if he had inclination to ſerve his Highneſs, he ſhould do it in "that manner he ſhould be directed; if Not, he ſhould not, under the "Title of being Sheriff, ſatisfy his own Pride, and Paſſion (Upon which reprehenſion being become much gentler, than upon all the gracious Addreſſes which had been made to him) he anſwer'd, "he would ſerve "the Prince in ſuch manner, as he ſhould command; and thereupon he was diſcharged, and return'd to his Houſe to *Worrington*, one of thoſe places he had by Sequeſtration (It belonged to Sr *Francis Drake*) where he lived privately, for the ſpace of a fortnight, or thereabouts, without interpoſing in the Publick buſineſs. Let us now ſee how this Tragedy was acted in other places.

WE left the King at *Hereford*, not reſolv'd what courſe to ſteer; Prince *Rupert* gone to *Briſtol*, from whence he had made a ſhort viſit to the Prince at *Barnſtable*, to give him an account of the ill poſture he had left the King in, and from thence went to *Goring* to conſult with Him: and it was exceedingly wonder'd at, that when he ſaw in what condition he was (for he was then before *Taunton*) and the Number of his Horſe and Foot (which every body then thought had been his buſineſs to be inform'd of) he did not then haſten advice to the King, for

his ſpeedy repair thither; but his chief care was to ſecure *Briſtol*; which, ſure, at that time he made not the leaſt queſtion of doing; and believ'd the Winter would come ſeaſonably for future Counſels.

THE King quickly left *Hereford*, and went to meet the Commiſſioners for South *Wales* at *Abergaveny*, the Chief Town in *Monmouthſhire*. As they were for the moſt part Perſons of the beſt Quality, and the largeſt Fortunes of thoſe Counties, ſo they had manifeſted great Loyalty and Affection, from the beginning of the War, by ſending many good Regiments to the Army, and with their Sons, and Brothers, and neareſt Kindred; many of whom had loſt their lives Bravely in the Field: They now made as large and ample Profeſſions as ever, and ſeem'd to believe, that they ſhould be able, in a very ſhort time, to raiſe a good Army of Foot, with which the King might again look upon the Enemy; and accordingly agreed what Numbers ſhould be levied upon each of the Counties. From thence his Majeſty went to *Ragland*-Caſtle, the Noble Houſe of the Marquis of *Worceſter*; which was well Fortify'd, and Garriſon'd by him; who remain'd then in it. There he reſolv'd to ſtay, till he ſhould ſee the effect of the Commiſſioners mighty promiſes. But he found in a ſhort time, that, either by the continued ſucceſſes of the Parliament Armies in all places, the particular information whereof was every day brought to them, by Intelligence from their Friends, or the Triumphs of their Enemies in *Monmouth* and *Gloceſter*, or by the renew'd troubles, which the preſence of their Governour, General *Gerrard*, gave them (who had been, and continued to be, a paſſionate, and unskilful manager of the Affections of the People; as having govern'd them with extraordinary rigour, and with as little courteſy and civility towards the Gentry, as towards the Common People) there was little probability of raiſing an Army in thoſe parts: where all Men grew leſs affected, or more frighted, which produced one and the ſame effect. The King ſtay'd at *Ragland*, till the News came "that "*Fairfax*, after he had taken *Leiceſter* (which could not hold out longer than to make honourable conditions) "was march'd into the Weſt, "and had defeated *Goring*'s Troops at *Lamport*; and at the ſame time, "that the *Scotch* Army was upon its march towards *Worceſter*, having "taken a little Garriſon that lay between *Hereford* and *Worceſter* by "Storm; and put all within it to the Sword. And Prince *Rupert* ſent for all thoſe Foot which were levied towards a new Army, and part of thoſe which belonged to General *Gerrard*, to ſupply the Garriſon of *Briſtol*: ſo that his Majeſty ſeem'd now to have nothing in his Choice, but to tranſport himſelf over the *Severn* to *Briſtol*, and thence to have repair'd to his Army in the Weſt; which would have been much better done Before, yet had been well done Then; and the King reſolv'd to do ſo; and that the Horſe under *Gerrard*, and *Langdale*, ſhould find a tranſportation over *Severn* (which might have been done) and then find the way to him, wherever he ſhould be.

The King goes to Abergaveny to meet the Commiſſioners of South Wales.

Thence to Ragland-Caſtle:

THIS was ſo fully reſolv'd, that his Majeſty went to the Water ſide near *Chepſtow*; where Veſſels were ready to tranſport him, and where Prince *Rupert* from *Briſtol* met him, very well pleaſed with the Reſolution he had taken, though he had not been Privy to the Counſel. Here again the unhappy diſcord in the Court, raiſed new obſtructions; they who did not love Prince *Rupert*, nor were lov'd by him, could not endure to think that the King ſhould be ſo wholely within his power; and he himſelf was far from being importunate that his Majeſty ſhould pro-

Thence to Chepſtow:

ſecute his purpoſe, which he had not adviſed, though he liked it well enough; and ſo would not be anſwerable for any ſucceſs. His Majeſty himſelf being too irreſolute, the counſel was again changed, and the King marched to *Cardiff*; where he had been very little time, when he was inform'd, that *Bridgewater* was loſt: and then they, who had diſſwaded the King's embarkation for *Briſtol*, were much exalted, and thought themſelves good Counſellors; though, in truth, the former reſolution had been even Then much better purſued; for nothing could have hinder'd his Majeſty from going to *Exeter*, and joyning all his Forces; which would have put him in a poſture much better than he was ever afterwards. Indeed the taking *Bridgewater*, which the King had been perſwaded to believe a place impregnable, could not but make great impreſſions upon him, to think that he was betrayed, and conſequently not to know whom to truſt. It was in truth matter of amazement to all Men, nor was it any excuſe, that it was not of ſtrength enough againſt ſo ſtrong an Army; for it was ſo ſtrongly ſituated, and it might well have had all thoſe Additions which were neceſſary, by Fortifications, that it was inexcuſable in a Governour (who had enjoyed that Charge above three years, with all allowances he had himſelf deſired, and had often aſſured the King, "that it was not to be taken) that it did not reſiſt any the greateſt ſtrength that could come before it for one Week; and within leſs than that time, it was ſurrender'd, and put into *Fairfax*'s hands.

Thence to Cardiff.

Sr T. Fairfax *takes* Bridgewater.

THAT this prodigious ſucceſs on the Enemies ſide, ſhould break the Spirits of moſt Men, and even caſt them into deſpair, is not at all to be wonder'd at; but that it ſhould raiſe the hopes of any that it would produce a Peace, is very ſtrange; yet this imagination did ſo much harm, that Men generally neglected to make that preparation againſt a powerful and inſulting Enemy, that was in their power to have made, out of confidence that the offer of a Treaty would now prevail, and produce a Peace; and every Man abounded ſo much in his own ſenſe on this point, that they were not capable of any reaſon that contradicted it. The Commiſſioners of all Counties, which were the beſt Gentlemen, and of beſt Affections, upon whom the King depended to apply the Common People to his Service, were ſo fully of this opinion, that they made Cabals with the principal Officers of the Army, to concur with them in this judgement, and to contrive ſome way how it might be brought to paſs; and too many of them were weary of doing their duty, or ſo much aſhamed of not having done it, that they profeſſed themſelves to deſire it, at leaſt as much as the reſt. This temper ſpread itſelf ſo univerſally, that it reach'd to Prince *Rupert* Himſelf; who writ his Advice to that purpoſe to the Duke of *Richmond*, to be preſented to the King; who took that occaſion, to write the enſuing Letter to the Prince, with his own hand; which was ſo lively an expreſſion of his own Soul, that no Pen elſe could have written it, and deſerves to be tranſmitted to Poſterity, as a part of the Portraiture of that excellent Perſon, which hath been diſguiſed by falſe, or erroneous Copies from the true Original; and follows in theſe words.

From Cardiff in the beginning of the Month of Auguſt 1645.

The King's Letter to Prince Rupert *againſt Treating of Peace at that time.*

Nephew,

"THIS is occaſion'd by a Letter of yours, that the Duke of *Richmond* ſhew'd me yeſternight. And firſt, I aſſure you, I have been,

"and

"and ever will be, very careful to advertiſe you of my reſolutions, aſ-
"ſoon as they are taken; and if I enjoyn'd Silence to that which was
"no ſecret, it was not my fault; for I thought it one, and I am ſure
"it ought to have been ſo now. As for the opinion of my buſineſs, and
"your Counſel thereupon, if I had any other quarrel but the defence
"of my Religion, Crown, and Friends, you had full reaſon for your ad-
"vice. For I confeſs, that ſpeaking either as to meer Soldier, or States-
"man, I muſt ſay, there is no probability but of my ruin; but as to
"Chriſtian, I muſt tell you, that God will not ſuffer Rebels to proſper,
"or His Cauſe to be overthrown: and whatſoever Perſonal puniſh-
"ment it ſhall pleaſe him to inflict upon me, muſt not make me repine,
"much leſs to give over this Quarrel; which, by the Grace of God, I
"am reſolv'd againſt, whatſoever it coſt me; for I know my obligations
"to be both in Conſcience, and Honour, neither to abandon God's cauſe,
"injure my Succeſſors, nor forſake my Friends. Indeed I cannot flat-
"ter my ſelf with expectation of good ſucceſs, more than this, to end
"my days with Honour, and a good Conſcience; which obliges me to
"continue my endeavour, as not deſpairing that God may in due time
"avenge his own Cauſe. Though I muſt avow to all my Friends, that
"he that will ſtay with me at this time, muſt expect, and reſolve, either
"to dye for a good Cauſe, or, which is worſe, to live as miſerable in the
"maintaining it, as the violence of inſulting Rebels can make him.
"Having thus truly and impartially ſtated my Caſe unto you, and plain-
"ly told you my poſitive reſolutions, which, by the grace of God, I
"will not alter, they being neither lightly nor ſuddainly grounded, I
"earneſtly deſire you not in any ways to hearken after Treaties; aſſuring
"You, as low as I am, I will not go leſs than what was offer'd in my
"Name at *Uxbridge*; confeſſing that it were as great a Miracle that
"they ſhould agree to ſo much reaſon, as that I ſhould be, within a
"Month, in the ſame Condition that I was immediately before the Bat-
"tle of *Naſeby*. Therefore, for God's ſake, let us not flatter our ſelves
"with theſe Conceits; and, believe me, the very imagination that you
"are deſirous of a Treaty, will loſe me ſo much the ſooner. Where-
"fore, as you love me, whatſoever you have already done, apply your
"diſcourſe according to my Reſolutions, and Judgement. As for the
"*Iriſh*, I aſſure you, they ſhall not cheat Me; but it is poſſible they
"may couzen Themſelves: for be aſſured, what I have refuſed to the
"*Engliſh*, I will not grant to the *Iriſh* Rebels, never truſting to that kind
"of People (of what Nature ſoever) more than I ſee by their Actions;
"and I am ſending to *Ormond* ſuch a diſpatch, as I am ſure will pleaſe
"You, and all honeſt Men; a Copy whereof, by the next opportunity,
"you ſhall have. Laſtly, be confident I would not have put you, nor
"my ſelf, to the trouble of this Letter, had I not a great eſtimation of
"you, and a full confidence of your Friendſhip to

Your &c.

WHEN the King came to *Cardiff*, he was entertain'd with the News,
"that the *Scotch* Army was ſet down before *Hereford*, and that, if it
"were not reliev'd within a Month, it muſt fall into their hands. To
provide for this, there could be no better way found out, than to di-
rect the Sheriffs of thoſe *Welſh* Counties to Summon their *poſſe Comi-
tatus*, whereby the King was perſwaded to hope, that there would be
Men enough to wait upon him in that expedition; who with the Horſe

he had, would have been equal to any attempt they could make upon the *Scots*. But it was quickly diſcover'd, that this Expedient had raiſed an unruly Spirit, that could not eaſily be ſuppreſs'd again; for the diſcontented Gentlemen of thoſe Counties, now they had gotten the People legally together, put them in mind of "the Injuries they had re-"ceiv'd from General *Gerrard*, and the intolerable exactions they lay "under, which would undoubtedly be increaſed, if he continued in that "Government. So that, inſtead of providing Men to march with the King, they provided a long liſt of Grievances; from all which they deſired to be reliev'd before they would apply themſelves towards the relief of *Hereford*. All this was ſo ſturdily urged, that a Body of no leſs than four thouſand Men, of thoſe who were thus called together, continued together many days, and would not be ſeparated, till the King was even compell'd to give them ſatisfaction in the particular they moſt inſiſted upon; which was the removal of General *Gerrard* from having any command over them; and that Charge was preſently conferr'd upon the Lord *Aſtley*, the Major General of the Army; who was moſt acceptable to them; and they afterwards conform'd themſelves as much to his directions, as from the diſtraction of the time, and the continual ill ſucceſſes, could be expected by him.

BUT it was the hard fate of the King, that he could not provide what was fit for his own Service, except he provided likewiſe for the ſatisfaction of other Mens humours and appetites. *Gerrard* had now, upon the matter, the Command of all the Forces the King had to truſt to in thoſe parts; and he was of too impetuous a nature, to ſubmit to any thing for Conſcience, or Diſcretion, or Duty; ſo that the King was compell'd to ſatisfy his ambition for this preſent degradation, by making him a Baron; and, which was an odd and a very fantaſtical circumſtance that attended it, for no other reaſon, than becauſe there was once an Eminent Perſon, called *Charles Brandon*, who was afterwards made a Duke, he would be Created Baron of *Brandon*, that there might be an other *Charles Brandon*, who had no leſs aſpiring thoughts than the former; when he had no pretence to the Lands of *Brandon*; which belonged to, and were, at that time, in the poſſeſſion of a gallant and worthy Gentleman Sr *Thomas Glemham*; who at the ſame time (very unluckily upon that account) came to the King at *Cardiff*, with about two hundred Foot, which he had brought with him out of the Garriſon of *Carliſle*; which place he had defended for the ſpace of eleven Months againſt *David Leſley*, and till all the Horſes of the Garriſon were eaten, and then had render'd, upon as honourable conditions, as had been given upon any Surrender; *David Leſley* himſelf conveyed him to *Hereford*; where he joyn'd with the other part of that Army, and from thence Sr *Thomas Glemham* (who was by his conditions to march to the King wherever he was) came to his Majeſty at *Cardiff*, at the time when the Title of his own Land, which came to him by inheritance, was conferr'd upon a Gentleman of another Family: who, how well extracted ſoever, was of leſs Fortune, and, as many thought, of no greater Quality, or Merit. This unſeaſonable preferment more irritated the Country, from which the King then expected aſſiſtance, that when they believ'd they had accuſed him of crimes which deſerv'd the higheſt cenſure, they ſaw him pretend to, and rewarded in, an higher degree than he could ever probably have arrived to, but for that Accuſation. Here the King, after all his endeavours werre render'd fruitleſs, entertain'd a new

imagination, that he might get into *Scotland* to the Marquis of *Mountroſe*, who had done wonders there; and thereupon left *Cardiff*; and, over the Mountains of *Brecknock*, and *Radnor*, paſſed the *Scotch* Quarters, and came to *Ludlow*, before that Army had any Notice of his march.

WHEN the King came firſt to *Ragland*, he had ſent an Expreſs to the Prince, by which he wiſhed "that the Lord *Colepepper*, and the "Chancellor of the Exchequer, might, aſſoon as was poſſible, attend his "Majeſty. The danger of the way was ſuch, and the paſſage ſo difficult, that the Meſſenger came not quickly to his Highneſs. The Chancellor being then unfit to travel by reaſon of the Gout, the Lord *Colepepper* made all poſſible haſt out of *Cornwal*, where the Prince then was, and found his Majeſty at *Cardiff*, when he was departing from thence; and waited on him to *Brecknock*; from whence he was again diſpatched with this Letter to the Prince; which, being the firſt direction the King gave of that Nature, is neceſſary to be here inſerted in ſo many words.

Brecknock 5th *Auguſt* 1645.

Charles,

The King's Letter to the Prince of Wales from Brecknock.

"IT is very fit for me now to prepare for the worſt, in order to which "I ſpoke with *Colepepper* this Morning concerning You; judging it fit "to give it you under my hand, that you may give the readier obe- "dience to it. Wherefore know that my pleaſure is, whenſoever you "find your ſelf in apparent danger of falling into the Rebels hands, that "you convey your ſelf into *France*, and there to be under your Mo- "ther's care; who is to have the abſolute full power of your Education "in all things, except Religion; and in That, not to meddle at all, but "leave it entirely to the care of your Tutor, the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, "or to whom he ſhall appoint to ſupply his place, in time of his ne- "ceſſitated abſence. And for the performance of this, I command you "to require the aſſiſtance and obedience of all your Council; and, by "their Advice, the ſervice of every one whom you and they ſhall think "fit to be employ'd in this buſineſs; which I expect ſhould be per- "form'd, if need require, with all obedience, and without grumbling: "This being all at this time, from

Your loving Father, *Charles R.*

The Lord Goring makes Propoſitions to the Prince:

AFTER the Lord *Goring* had lain ſome time in the ill humour we leſt him at *Barnſtable*, he enter'd into correſpondence with Sr *Richard Greenvil*; who, he knew well, was as uninclined to the Council about the Prince as Himſelf; and finding that the Enemy troubled him not, but had given him reſt, whilſt the Army was employ'd upon other important Service, They two met privately; and, upon the encouragement and Money he receiv'd from *Greenvil*, he writ to the Chancellor a very chearful, and a very long Letter, bearing date the firſt of *Auguſt*, in which he inſerted ſeveral Propoſitions; which, he ſaid, had been framed "upon conference with Sr *Richard Greenvil*; which he de- "ſired might be preſented to the Prince; and if they ſhould be conſented "to, and confirm'd by his Highneſs, he ſaid, he would engage his life, "that he would in a very ſhort time have an Army of ten or twelve "thouſand Men, that ſhould march whereſoever they ſhould be com- "manded; and ſhould be in as good order, as any Army in the World: and concluded his Letter with theſe Words; "I ſee ſome light now of "having

"having a brave Army very ſpeedily on Foot, and I am ſending a Copy "of this incloſed Letter to the King, with this profeſſion, that I will "be content to loſe my Life, and my Honour, if we do not perform "our parts, if theſe demands be granted.

Which the Prince granted.

THIS Letter being preſented to his Highneſs, then at *Launceſton*, found ſo gracious a reception, that the next day, being the ſecond of *Auguſt*, the Prince return'd him an anſwer of full conſent; and the ſame day Sign'd all the particulars propoſed by him; expreſſing a further reſolution "to add whatever elſe ſhould be propoſed to him, and within "his Power to grant; ſo that there was once more a hope of looking the Enemy in the face, and having a fair day for the Weſt. The next day, or thereabouts, Sr *Richard Greenvil* himſelf attended the Prince, in a ſeeming good humour; all the Propoſitions were immediately confirm'd; ſome of which were, "that Sr *Richard Greenvil* ſhould receive ſuch a "proportion of the Contributions of *Cornwal*, and five thouſand pounds "of the Arrears, for the payment of the Officers of the Army; and "thereupon Sr *Richard* would gather up all the ſtraglers, who were re-"turn'd into *Cornwal* from their Colours; who, he ſaid, would amount "to three thouſand Foot; and he would raiſe three thouſand Foot more "in *Devon-ſhire*. So he betook himſelf again to Action, ſending out his Warrants, and levying Men and Money; having lent two hundred pounds to the Lord *Goring* at their firſt meeting, and calling the *Poſſe* of *Devon* to meet at ſeveral places, where himſelf was ſtill preſent; by which, he pretended, he ſhould ſpeedily recruit the Army. But before the end of *Auguſt*, that Friendſhip grew colder; Sr *Richard* obſerving a better correſpondence between the Lord *Goring*, and Sr *John Berkely*, than he hoped would have been, and hearing that the Lord *Goring* uſed to mention him very ſlightly (which was true) he writ a very ſharp Letter to him, in which he ſaid, "he would have no more to do with "him. However he continued as Active as before, being now in *Devon*, and then in *Cornwal*, where he Commanded abſolutely without any Commiſſion, and very ſeaſonably Suppreſſed an Inſurrection about St *Ives*, which might elſe have grown to a head; and hanged two or three fellows, who, I believe, were guilty enough, by his own order without any Council of War; and raiſed what Money he pleaſed upon others; then return'd to his Houſe at *Worrington*. All the Vivacity that had ſo lately appear'd in the Lord *Goring*, upon the news of the loſs of *Sherborne*, declined; and then there was nothing, but complaint of want of Money, and a Propoſition to put the Army into Garriſons; although the Enemy gave them the ſame leiſure, to purſue the former deſign, *Fairfax* being then engaged with his Army before *Briſtol*.

ASSOON as the Prince, who was then at *Launceſton*, had read the Letter, which the Lord *Colepepper* brought to him from the King, he return'd it to the Lord *Colepepper* to keep, and to communicate it to the Lords *Capel*, *Hopton*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; for it was a misfortune, that there was not ſo good Correſpondence with the Earl of *Berk-ſhire* (through ſome jealouſies that were infuſed into him) as might have been wiſh'd; and from the Prince's firſt coming into *Cornwal*, ſome of his Servants of the beſt Quality, who had from the beginning been diſcontented, and upon ſtrange pretences thought themſelves undervalued that they were not of the Council, and, ſince the King's misfortune at *Naſeby*, expreſſed their indiſpoſitions with more Licence, and whiſper'd abroad "that there was a purpoſe of carrying

"the

"the Prince into *France*, not that they believ'd it, but thereby thought to render the Council odious, and ſuſpected, had wrought ſo far upon the Earl of *Berkſhire*, that He ſeem'd to believe it too, whereby they got ſo much intereſt in him, that he allways communicated whatſoever paſſed in Council to them; ſo that a Letter of ſo great importance was not thought fit to be communicated to him, nor to the Earl of *Brentford*, who (though he was very kind, and juſt to the other four) was not without his jealouſies, and was an ill treaſurer of Secrets. They were very much troubled at the ſight of the Letter, not at the command of leaving the Kingdom, for, though they had never communicated their thoughts to each other upon that ſubject before, they found themſelves unanimous in the reſolution, "that rather than he ſhould be "taken by the Rebels, they would carry him into any part of the Chriſtian "World. For the better doing whereof, from that Minute, they took care that there was allways a Ship ready in the Harbour of *Falmouth*. But it troubled them, "that the King's Command was ſo poſitive for "*France*, againſt which they could make to themſelves many Ob-"jections. Beſides that, one of the Prince's Bedchamber, who was newly return'd from *Paris*, brought a Letter from the Earl of *Norwich*, then the King's Embaſſadour there, to one of the Council; in which taking notice of a report there of the Prince of *Wales*'s coming thither, he paſſionately declared againſt it, "as a certain Ruin to the Prince; of which the Meſſenger, by His direction, gave many inſtances of moment. And they were the more troubled, becauſe the Lord *Colepepper*, who brought that Letter from the King, averr'd, "that he had had "no conference with the King upon the Argument, but had wholely de-"clined it, as a matter too great for him: ſo that they had nothing before them but that Letter. After two or three Sad Debates between themſelves, they agreed upon "a Letter to be prepared in Cipher, pre-"ſenting their reaſons, and what they had been inform'd concerning "*France*; and therefore offer'd it to his Majeſty, whether he would not "leave the choice of the place to Them, or nominate ſome other, againſt "which ſo many exceptions might not be made; and propoſed *Ireland* "(if the Peace were made there) or *Scotland*, if the Marquis of *Moun-"troſe* was as victorious as he was reported to be; withal aſſuring his "Majeſty, that, in caſe of danger, they would run any hazard, or into "any Country, before the Prince ſhould fall into the hands of the Re-"bels. This Letter after it was communicated with the Prince, as the debates had been, was forthwith ſent by an Expreſs.

TOWARDS the end of *Auguſt*, the Lord *Goring*, after he had, in all his ſecret diſcourſes, and in the hours of his jollity, ſpoken very bitterly of the Council about the Prince, as the Authors of all the Miſcarriages, ſent the Lord *Wentworth* to *Launceſton* to his Highneſs, with certain demands, as he call'd them, on his behalf; but with direction, "that "before he preſented them to the Prince, he ſhould communicate them "to the Lord *Colepepper*, or to the Chancellor, and be adviſed by them, "in what manner to preſent them.

HIS Demands were, and ſo he ſtyled them (1) To have a Commiſſion to be Lieutenant-General of all the Weſt, and to Command immediately under the Prince, Garriſons as well as the Army, and to be ſworn of the Council aſſoon as might be. (2) That all Commiſſions to Officers of the Army, when his Highneſs is preſent, be given by the Prince; but that his Highneſs ſhould Sign none but ſuch as he ſhould

prepare for him. (3) That in the Prince's abſence he ſhould Sign, and grant all Commiſſions; and that, if any Governments of Towns ſhould fall vacant, he might have the abſolute recommendation of thoſe that are to ſucceed, or, at leaſt, a Negative Voice. (4) That all deſigns of Conſequence ſhould be debated, in the Prince's preſence, by the Prince's Council, and ſuch Officers of the Army as he ſhould chooſe to aſſiſt at it. (5) That the Number of the Prince's Guards ſhould be limited; and many other particulars, which ſeem'd ſo unreaſonable, and unfit to be publickly urged, that the Lord *Colepepper* perſwaded the Lord *Wentworth*, to ſuſpend the preſenting them; the rather (as he ſaid) "because the Chancellor was then abſent (being ſent by his Highneſs to *Pendennis* Caſtle, under pretence of giving ſome direction in the matter of the Cuſtoms, but, in truth, to take care that the Frigat provided for the Prince's tranſportation might be in readineſs, and Victuals be privately made ready, to be preſently put on Board, when the occaſion ſhould require) "and likewiſe, becauſe his Highneſs intended to be "ſhortly at *Exeter*, where the Lord *Goring*, being preſent, might better conſider, and debate his own buſineſs; to the which the Lord *Wentworth* conſented:

FOR the Commiſſioners of *Devon* had beſought his Highneſs to interpoſe his Authority, in the regulating and diſpoſing the Army to march towards the relief of *Briſtol*; declaring, "as the poſture of it then was, "that both that County, and Garriſons, muſt in a ſhort time be as much "undone, and loſt by Them, as by the Invaſion of the Enemy; that "all the Foot ſubſiſted by, and liv'd upon, the Magazines of the Garri-"ſons; and the Horſe poſſeſſed the other part of the Country to themſelves; and would neither ſuffer proviſions to be brought to the Markets, "for the repleniſhing their Stores, nor Warrants to be executed for any "payments; pretending they were to defend their own Quarters; whilſt "themſelves levied what Moneys they pleaſed, and committed all ſorts "of inſolencies and outrages. By this means both before in *Somerſetſhire*, and afterwards in *Devon-ſhire*, when the King's Army was forced to retire, the Enemy found great plenty of Proviſions in thoſe Quarters, where His Forces had been in danger of ſtarving: as, all about *Taunton*, there were very great quantities of Corn, when the King's Forces had cauſed all their Bread to be brought out of the Stores of *Bridgewater*, and *Exeter*; which proceeded partly from the negligence, and lazineſs of the Officers and Soldiers, who would not be at the trouble of threſhing out the Mows, and Ricks, which were there; but principally by the Protection given by the Horſe; who would not ſuffer any thing to be carried out of their Quarters; and ſuch as ſent their Proviſions to Market, were ſure to have their Money taken from them in their return. Inſomuch as it was affirm'd by the Commiſſioners of *Exeter*, "that before the Enemy had any Quarter within ten miles, there was not ſo much proviſion brought into that City in a fortnight, as "they ſpent in a day: which was only by reaſon of the diſorder of our own Horſe, General *Goring* being all this time in *Exeter*, breaking Jeſts, and Laughing at all People who brought complaints to him; as, one day, when the Fiſhermen complain'd to him, "that as they came to "the Market, they were robb'd by his Troopers, who took all their Fiſh from them, he ſaid, "that they might by this ſee what great In-"jury was done to his Men, by thoſe who accuſed them of great Swear-"ing; for if they did Swear, you know (ſaid he) they could catch no Fiſh.

UPON theſe reaſons, and the very earneſt deſire of the Lord *Goring*, and the Commiſſioners, the Prince, on *Friday* the 29th of *Auguſt*, went from *Launceſton* to *Exeter* in one day; leaving Sr *Richard Greenvil* (who then ſeem'd to be in good humour) to bring up the Soldiers in *Cornwal*, and to haſten his Levies in the North and Weſt parts of *Devon*. The Army having now lain ſtill from the beginning of *July* to the end of *Auguſt*, without the leaſt Action, or Alarm from the Enemy, and ſo being ſufficiently refreſh'd, and, as their Officers ſaid, awaken'd to a ſenſe and a ſhame of their former amazements, it was unanimouſly agreed at a Council of War, his Highneſs being preſent, "that the Foot "ſhould preſently advance to *Tiverton*; and the Horſe to the Eaſt of "*Exeter*; and that, aſſoon as Sr *Richard Greenvil* could come up with "his Men, they ſhould all advance to the relief of *Briſtol*; which was underſtood to be in a very good condition; the laſt Meſſenger that came thence, aſſuring the Prince, as from Prince *Rupert*, that he was ſufficiently provided with all Neceſſaries for ſix Months.

A deſign to Petition the Prince to ſend Conditions of Peace, prevented

THERE had been, from the time of the firſt going of the Prince into *Cornwal*, ſeveral rumours diſperſed, as hath been ſaid, by thoſe who were diſcontented or angry with the Council, "that there was an in-"tent to carry the Prince into *France*; which begot infinite prejudice to all that was adviſed. Of this diſcourſe General *Goring* had made great uſe, to the diſadvantage of all thoſe whom he deſired to diſcredit, which was indeed one of the Motives of his Highneſs's Journey to *Exeter*, that he might diſcountenance that Report; which had wrought ſo far amongſt the Gentlemen of the ſeveral Weſtern Counties, who were retired thither for ſafety, that there was a Reſolution among them "to "Petition the Prince to interpoſe between the King, and the Parliament; "and to ſend a Meſſage to the latter with Overtures of Peace: and to that purpoſe, meetings had been amongſt thoſe Gentlemen, to agree upon what Articles the Prince ſhould propoſe a Peace; every Man declaring his opinion, what condeſcenſion ſhould be in the matter of the Church, of the Militia, and of *Ireland*, upon conſideration of what had paſſed at *Uxbridge*. When my Lords of the Council heard of theſe conſultations, they apprehended great inconveniences might ariſe from thence to the King's Service, and to the Prince; who, by being preſſed by their deſires, and importunities, would loſe the honour and thanks of the good Succeſs that might attend it: Beſides that, if he ſhould ſend any Meſſage upon their motion, they would quickly make Themſelves judges of the matter of it, and Counſellors of what was to be done upon it: therefore they were of opinion, "that all endeavours were to be "uſed to divert, and prevent any Petition of ſuch a nature from being "preſented to his Highneſs; which, with great difficulty, was at laſt effected.

A Conference between the Lord Goring *and one of the Prince's Council.*

SHORTLY after the Prince's coming to *Exeter*, the Lord *Goring* being not then well, but engaged in a courſe of Phyſick, deſired that he might have a free conference with one of the Council in private; in which, he profeſſed he would diſcover his heart, and whatever had ſtuck with him. Whereupon, according to appointment, the Perſon he had deſired, went to him one Morning to his Lodging; when he cauſed all Perſons to withdraw; and bid his Servant not to ſuffer any Man to diſturb them. When they were by themſelves, he began with the diſcourſe of "unkindneſſes he had apprehended from the Council, and from "that Perſon in particular; but confeſſed he had been deceiv'd, and

"abuſed by wrong information: that he was now very ſenſible of the "damage that had befallen the Publick by thoſe private Jealouſies and "Miſtakes; and deſired, that if any thing had indiſcreetly or paſſionate-"ly fallen from him, it might be forgotten; and that they might all "proceed vigorouſly in what concern'd the King's Service; in which "he could not receive a better encouragement, than by an aſſurance of "that Perſon's Friendſhip. From this, he diſcourſed at large "his ap-"prehenſions of his Brother *Porter*, of his Cowardice, and of his Trea-"chery, with very great freedom in many particular inſtances; and concluded, "that he reſolv'd to quit himſelf of him; and after two hours ſpent in thoſe diſcourſes, and in ſomewhat that concern'd his Father, in which he ſaid, "he was to receive this Perſon's advice by his Father's "direction (it being about the Government of *Pendennis*) as if he had ſaid all he meant to ſay, he asked the other negligently, "what he thought "of the Demands he had ſent by the Lord *Wentworth*? proteſting, "he "had no Private thoughts, but only an eye to the Publick Service; "towards the doing whereof, as the exigents of affairs then ſtood, he "did not think himſelf ſufficiently qualified. The other told him, "that "whatever He thought of them would not ſignify much, being but a "ſingle voice in Council; by the concurrent advice whereof, he pre-"ſumed, the Prince would govern himſelf. However, if he would have "him tell him his opinion as a Friend, he would ſhew himſelf ſo ill a "Courtier, as to tell it him frankly; which, except he reform'd him in "his judgement, he ſhould declare where it ſhould be propoſed, and, "he believ'd, it would be the opinion of moſt of the Lords, if it were "not His. Thereupon he told him very freely and plainly, "that he "thought his demands not fit for the Prince to grant, nor ſeaſonable "for Him to ask; his Authority being the ſame, as to the Publick, all "his Orders being obeyed, and the Prince giving him the ſame aſſiſtance, "as if he were his Lieutenant General: that the Prince had not hitherto "interpoſed his Authority in the governing that Army; and therefore, "that he conceiv'd it unſeaſonable, at that time, for his Highneſs to in-"tereſt himſelf in the command thereof; which he ſhould do by making "him Lieutenant General: that the King having directed the Prince to "make the Lord *Hopton* his Lieutenant General, it would not become "Them to adviſe the Prince to alter that deſignation, without receiving "his Majeſty's Command: therefore he adviſed him, "ſince the altera-"tion was no way neceſſary, and would inevitably beget much trouble, "that he would defer the preſſing it, till the King's Affairs ſhould be in "a better poſture. Satisfied he was not, yet he forbore to importune the Prince to that purpoſe at this time.

Prince Rupert *delivers up* Briſtol.

ABOUT the middle of *September*, the Prince being ſtill at *Exeter*, the News came of the fatal loſs of *Briſtol*; which, as all ill accidents at that time did, caſt all Men on their faces, and damped all the former Vigour and Activity for a march. However the former reſolution continued of drawing to *Tiverton*, and at leaſt of defending thoſe Paſſes, and keeping the Enemy from invading *Devon*: for the better doing whereof, and enabling them to Fight, if *Fairfax* ſhould advance, the Prince return'd to *Launceſton*; whither he Summond all the Train'd-bands of *Cornwal*, and an appearance of the whole Country; which ap-pear'd very chearfully, and ſeem'd well inclined to march to *Tiverton*. In the mean time the ſame negligence and diſorder continued in the Army, and the Lord *Goring*, with the ſame Licence and Unconcerned-neſs,

neſs, remain'd at *Exeter*, to the great Scandal of the Country, and diſheartning of the Army. About the latter end of *September*, his Lordſhip writ a Letter to the Lord *Colepepper*; in which he remember'd him of the Propoſitions formerly ſent by the Lord *Wentworth* to *Launceſton*; and recounted at large, but very unjuſtly, the diſcourſe which had paſſed between the other Counſellor and Him, at *Exeter*, upon that Subject; in which he charged the other with Anſwers very far from thoſe he had receiv'd from him; and deſired his Lordſhip, "that, by "His means, he might know poſitively what he was to truſt to; concluding, "that without ſuch a Commiſſion as he deſired, he could not "be anſwerable for the mutinies and diſorders of the Army. Whereupon his Highneſs, upon full conſideration of the miſchiefs that would attend his Service, if he ſhould conſent to the Matter of thoſe demands, or comply with the Manner of the demanding, ſent him word, "that "he would not, for the preſent, grant any ſuch Commiſſion; and wiſh'd him "to purſue the former Counſels and Reſolutions, in advancing to-"wards the Enemy; all things being in a good forwardneſs in *Cornwal* "to ſecond him. And ſo there was no further preſſing that Overture; however, he preſumed to ſtyle himſelf, in all his Warrants, and Treaties with the Commiſſioners, and in ſome Orders which he Printed, "General of the Weſt.

THE ſuddain and unexpected loſs of *Briſtol*, was a new Earthquake in all the little Quarters the King had left, and no leſs broke all the Meaſures which had been taken, and the deſigns which had been contrived, than the loſs of the Battle of *Naſeby* had done. The King had made haſt from *Ludlow*, that the *Scotch* Army might no more be able to interrupt him; and with very little reſt paſſed through *Shropſhire*, and *Derbyſhire*, till he came to *Wellbeck*, a Houſe of the Marquis of *New-Caſtle* in *Nottinghamſhire*, then a Garriſon for his Majeſty; where he refreſh'd Himſelf, and his Troops, two days; and, as far as any reſolution was fixed in thoſe days, the purpoſe was, "to march directly "into *Scotland*, to joyn with the Marquis of *Mountroſe*; who had, upon the matter, reduced that whole Kingdom. During his Majeſty's ſhort ſtay at *Wellbeck*, the Governour of *Newark*, with the Commiſſioners for *Nottingham* and *Lincoln*, repaired to him, as likewiſe all thoſe Gentlemen of *York-ſhire* who had been in *Pontefract*-Caſtle (which, after a long and worthy defence, was lately, for meer want of all kind of Proviſions, Surrender'd upon good conditions; whereby, "all the Soldiers "had liberty to repair to their own Houſes, and might live quietly there) whereupon the Gentlemen aſſured the King, "they were as ready as "ever to ſerve him, when they ſhould be required. Whether the wonted irreſolution of thoſe about the King, or the imagination, upon this report of the Gentlemen, that a body of Foot might be ſpeedily gather'd together in thoſe parts (which was enough encouraged by the chearfulneſs of all the Gentlemen of the ſeveral Counties) prevailed, or not, ſo it was, that the King was perſwaded, "that it was not beſt to continue "his march, with that ſpeed he intended, towards *Mountroſe*; but that "it would be better to ſend an Expreſs to him, to agree upon a fit place "for their meeting; and in the mean time, his Majeſty might be able "to refreſh his wearied Troops, and to raiſe a Body of Foot in thoſe "parts. To which purpoſe, *Doncaſter* was propoſed as a fit place to begin in: and to *Doncaſter*, thereupon the King went; and the Gentlemen ſo well perform'd their undertaking, that, within three days, *The King goes to Doncaſter.*

there was an appearance of full three thouſand Foot; who undertook, within four and twenty hours, to appear well armed, and ready to march with his Majeſty, what way ſoever he would go.

HERE again the King's froward Fortune, deprived him of this opportunity to put himſelf into a poſture of War. That very night, they receiv'd Intelligence, "that *David Leſley* was come to *Rotheram* with "all the *Scotch* Horſe; which was within ten miles of *Doncaſter*. The News whereof ſo confounded them (as beaten and baffled Troops do not naturally, in a ſhort time, recover courage enough to endure the ſight of an Enemy) that they concluded "he came in purſuit of the King, "and therefore that it was now too late to proceed upon their Northern "Expedition, and that the King muſt ſpeedily remove to a greater di-"ſtance for his own ſecurity. Whereupon, he made haſt (without ex-*Thence to* Newark. pecting that recruit of Foot) from *Doncaſter*, back again to *Newark*; Reſolving then to go directly to *Oxford*: whereas, in truth, *David Leſley* knew nothing of the King's being in thoſe parts; but, upon ſuddain Orders from *Scotland*, was required to march, with all poſſible expedition, with the Horſe, to relieve his own Country from being totally over-run and ſubdued by the Marquis of *Mountroſe*; who had then actually taken *Edenborough*. The Orders had no ſooner come to the *Scotch* Army before *Hereford*, but he begun his march, without the leaſt apprehenſion of any Enemy in his way, till he ſhould come into *Scotland*; and ſo, as he had made a very long march that day, he came tired and wearied with his Troops that night into *Rotheram*. And he confeſſed afterwards, "if the King had then fallen upon him, as he "might eaſily have done, he had found him in a very ill poſture to have "made reſiſtance, and had abſolutely preſerv'd *Mountroſe*. But by his ſo ſuddain retreat, *David Leſley* was at liberty to purſue his march for Mountroſe *defeated by* David Leſley. *Scotland*, and came upon *Mountroſe*, before he expected ſuch an Enemy; and ſo prevented his future triumph, that he was compell'd with great loſs to retire again into the Highlands; and *Leſley* return'd time enough to relieve and ſupport the *Scotch* Army, after they were compell'd to riſe from *Hereford*.

The King goes to Oxford: THE King now, with great expedition, proſecuted his Journey to *Oxford*, though not without making ſome Starts out of the way; by which he had opportunity, to beat up ſome Quarters of new levied Horſe for the Service of the Parliament; and, before the end of *Auguſt*, he arriv'd at *Oxford*; where he did not ſtay more than two days, but departed from thence again to *Worceſter*, with a reſolution to attempt the relief of *Hereford*; which had defended it ſelf bravely, and very much weaken'd the *Scotch* Army by frequent Sallies. They had only a Body of eight hundred tired Horſe remaining, which *David Leſley* left behind him when he march'd with the reſt into *Scotland*; and therefore the raiſing that Siege was thought the leſs difficult; and with this reſo-*Thence to* Rogland. lution his Majeſty left *Oxford* the third day after he came thither. Upon his arrival at *Ragland*, he was certainly inform'd, "that *Fairfax* had Be-"ſieged *Briſtol*; for which no body underwent any trouble; for all Men looked upon that place as well Fortified, Manned, and Victualled; and the King even then receiv'd a very chearful Letter from Prince *Rupert*; in which, "he undertook to defend it full four Months. So that the Siege being begun ſo late in the year, as the beginning of *September*, there was reaſonable hope that the Army might be ruin'd, before the Town taken. Therefore the King proſecuted his former reſolution, at

leaſt to endeavour the relief of *Hereford*. And as he was upon his march thither, he receiv'd Intelligence, "that the *Scotch* Army, upon the no- "tice of his Purpoſe, was that Morning riſen in great diſorder and con- "fuſion, and reſolv'd to make their retreat on the *Welſh* ſide of the Ri- "ver, and ſo to paſs through *Gloceſter*. This news was ſo welcome, that his Majeſty was receiv'd with ſo full joy into the City of *Hereford*, that he ſlipp'd the opportunity he then had of diſcommoding at leaſt, if not ruining the *Scotch* Army; which now paſſed through a ſtrange Country, where they had never been, and where the whole Nation was extremely odious to the People. Nor would the Governour of *Gloceſter* ſuffer them to paſs through his Garriſon, till they ſent him word plainly "that if they might not paſs through that Town, they knew they ſhould "be very welcome to paſs through *Worceſter*; by which Argument he was convinced; ſo that he permitted them to go through that Town, from whence they proſecuted their march into the North. If, in all this time, they had been purſued by the King's Horſe, conſidering the ſmall Body they had of their own, there is little doubt to be made, very many, if not the greater part of that Army, had been deſtroy'd.

The Scotch *riſe from before* Hereford *and march into the North.*

BUT the King's heart was now ſo wholely ſet upon the relief of *Briſtol*, that nothing elſe was thought upon, which might in any degree delay it. And ſo the King, from *Hereford*, advertiſed Prince *Rupert*, "that he had raiſed the Siege of *Hereford*, and that the *Scots* were "marched Northward; that he intended ſpeedily to relieve him; and "in order to it, that he had then commanded General *Goring*, to draw "what force he could out of the Weſt; and to march to the *Somerſet-* "*ſhire* ſide of *Briſtol*; and that his Majeſty would himſelf have a Body "of three thouſand Foot, drawn out of the ſeveral Garriſons of thoſe "parts, which ſhould paſs over the *Severn*, about *Berkley*-Caſtle on *Glo-* "*ceſter-ſhire* ſide; and that his Horſe, which were then above three "thouſand, ſhould at the ſame time Ford the *Severn* not far from *Glo-* "*ceſter* (as they might have done) "and ſo joyn with his Foot; and by "this means, all things being well concerted, they might hopefully fall "on *Fairfax* his Quarters on both ſides. And the better to bring all this to paſs, the King himſelf went the ſecond time to *Ragland*, the Houſe of the Marquis of *Worceſter*; ſending the Horſe to thoſe ſeveral places, as might beſt facilitate the execution of the deſign that was form'd for the relief of *Briſtol*.

BUT when the King came to *Ragland*, he receiv'd the terrible information of the ſurrender of *Briſtol*, which he ſo little apprehended, that if the evidence thereof had not been unqueſtionable, it could not have been believ'd. With what indignation, and dejection of mind, the King receiv'd this advertiſement, needs no other deſcription and enlargement, than the ſetting down, in the very words of it, the Letter which the King writ thereupon to Prince *Rupert*; which, conſidering the unſpeakable indulgence his Majeſty had ever ſhew'd towards that Prince, is ſufficient evidence, how highly he was offended and incenſed by that Act; which yet he took ſome time ſadly to think of, and conſider, before he would allow himſelf to abate ſo much of his natural candour towards him. Aſſoon as he receiv'd that ſurpriſing Intelligence, he preſently remov'd from *Ragland*, and return'd to *Hereford*, the Poſt he choſe wherein to conſider the deſperateneſs of the condition he was in, and to enter upon new conſultations. To that purpoſe, he ſent Orders "for all the Officers, "and their Troops, which had been ſent into *Shrop-ſhire*, *Worceſter-* "*ſhire*,

"ſhire, and South-*Wales*, to provide for the relief of *Briſtol*, to attend "him there. And aſſoon as he came to *Hereford*, he diſpatched an Expreſs with this Letter to Prince *Rupert*.

Hereford 14th *Sept.* 1645.

Nephew,

The King's Letter to Prince Rupert *upon his Surrender of* Briſtol.

"THOUGH the loſs of *Briſtol* be a great blow to me, yet your Sur- "rendering it as you did, is of ſo much affliction to me, that it makes "me not only forget the conſideration of that place, but is likewiſe the "greateſt Trial of my conſtancy that hath yet befallen me; for what "is to be done, after one that is ſo near me as You are, both in Blood "and Friendſhip, ſubmits himſelf to ſo mean an Action (I give it the "eaſieſt term) ſuch ---- I have ſo much to ſay, that I will ſay no more "of it: only, leſt raſhneſs of judgement be laid to my charge; I muſt "remember you of your Letter of the 12th of *Auguſt*, whereby you aſ- "ſured me, that, if no Mutiny happen'd, you would keep *Briſtol* for "four months. Did you keep it four days? Was there any thing like "a Mutiny? More queſtions might be asked, but Now, I confeſs, to "little purpoſe: My concluſion is, to deſire you to ſeek your Sub- "ſiſtence, until it ſhall pleaſe God to determine of my condition, ſome- "where beyond Seas; to which end I ſend you herewith a Paſſe; and "I pray God to make you ſenſible of your preſent condition, and give "you means to redeem what you have loſt; for I ſhall have no greater "joy in a Victory, than a juſt occaſion without bluſhing to aſſure you of "my being

Your loving Uncle, and moſt faithful Friend, *C. R.*

WITH this Letter, the King ſent a Revocation of all Commiſſions formerly granted to Prince *Rupert*, and ſignified his Pleaſure to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, whither Prince *Rupert* was retired with his Troops from *Briſtol*, "that they ſhould require Prince *Rupert* "to deliver into their hands his Commiſſion. And whether the King had really ſome apprehenſion that he might make ſome difficulty in giving it up, and make ſome diſorder in *Oxford*, or whether it was the effect of other Men's Counſels, his Majeſty, at the ſame time, ſent a Warrant likewiſe for the preſent impriſonment of Colonel *Leg* (who was Governour of *Oxford*) as a Perſon much in the Prince's favour, and therefore like to be ſubſervient to any of his Commands. But this circumſtance of rigour, made the other judgement upon the Prince thought to be over ſuddain, "that He ſhould be made the firſt Example of the "King's Severity, when ſo many high enormities and miſcarriages of "others had paſſed without being call'd in queſtion. And as no body ſuſpected the Prince's want of Duty in Submitting to the King's Pleaſure, ſo Colonel *Leg* was generally believ'd to be a Man of that entire Loyalty to the King, that he was above all temptations: this circumſtance of committing the Governour, made the other to be likewiſe ſuſpected to be more the effect of the power of ſome Potent adverſaries, than of the King's own Severity.

WHEN the Prince of *Wales* came to *Launceſton* from *Exeter* (which was about the middle of *September*) after the loſs of *Briſtol*, and the motion of the Enemy inclined Weſtward, it was then thought fit to draw all the Train'd-bands of *Cornwal* to *Launceſton*, and as many of them as could be perſwaded, to march Eaſtward; it being agreed at *Exeter*,

Exeter, "that, if the Enemy gave time, the force of both Counties (ſave "what was neceſſary to be continued at *Plymouth*) ſhould be drawn "to *Tiverton*, and, upon that Paſs, to fight with the Rebels; for the better compaſſing whereof, it was Order'd, "that Sr *Richard Greenvil* "ſhould command all the *Corniſh* Train'd-bands, whereunto ſhould be "added his own three Regiments, which he had formerly carried to "*Taunton*; who took themſelves to be ſo diſobliged, both Officers and Soldiers (as in truth they were) by the Lord *Goring*, that they were abſolutely disbanded, and could by no other means be gotten together, but upon aſſurance that they ſhould be Commanded by Sr *Richard Greenvil*. Things being thus ſettled, *Greenvil* ſeem'd well ſatisfied, having all the reſpect, and encouragement from the Prince that was deſired, or could be given; and without any other indiſpoſition, than that, once in two or three days, he would write a Letter either to the Prince himſelf, the Lords, or Mr *Fanſhaw*, extolling himſelf, and reproaching the Lord *Goring*'s plundering Horſe, and ſometimes Sr *John Berkley*; in all which he uſed a very extraordinary Licence.

DURING the Prince's being at *Exeter*, Sr *John Berkley* had deſired, "that, in reſpect his continual preſence would be neceſſary at *Exeter*, "ſince the Enemy apparently looked that way, his Highneſs would "diſpoſe the Command of the Forces before *Plymouth*, to ſuch a Perſon "as He thought fit; who might diligently attend that Service. There was a general inclination to have ſent back Sr *Richard Greenvil* to that Charge, which it was viſible he looked for; but there were three great points to be conſider'd; the firſt, the pretence that General *Digby* had to that Command; to whom it Originally belonged; and both He, and the Earl of *Briſtol*, expected it upon this alteration; he being at that time ſo well recover'd in his health, that he was well able to execute the Command: the next, that if it ſhould be offer'd to *Greenvil*, he would inſiſt upon ſuch aſſignations of Contributions, as would make the ſubſiſtence of the Army, and of the Garriſons impoſſible; the laſt and the greateſt, was, that the whole deſign being now to draw ſuch a Body together, as might give the Rebels Battle, this could not be without the *Corniſh* Train'd-bands, and thoſe other Soldiers, who had run from their Colours; neither of which, would march without Sr *Richard Greenvil*; and it was apparent, if he went to *Plymouth*, thoſe old Soldiers would go to him. Beſides, his experience and activity was then thought moſt neceſſary to the marching Army; where there was a great dearth of good Officers. Hereupon, it was reſolv'd that General *Digby* ſhould again reſume the Charge about *Plymouth*, but upon any extraordinary occaſion, and advance of the Enemy, he was to receive Orders from Sr *Richard Greenvil*; and accordingly, upon Sr *Richard Greenvil*'s advancing into *Devon*, and fixing a Quarter at *Okington*, *Digby* was order'd ſo to do; which he obſerv'd accordingly.

IN the beginning of *October*, the Lord *Goring* perſwaded the Commiſſioners of *Devon*, upon his promiſe to puniſh and ſuppreſs all diſorders in the Soldiery, and that the Markets ſhould be free, "to double "the Contribution of the County for ſix Weeks, and to aſſign half there-"of to his Army; by vertue whereof he raiſed vaſt Sums of Money; but abated nothing of the former diſorders, and preſſures: and the Money ſo raiſed, inſtead of being regularly diſtributed amongſt the Soldiers, was diſpoſed to ſuch Perſons as he thought fit by his Warrants to direct. But no ſooner was Sr *Thomas Fairfax* advanced as far as *Cullampton*,

than the Lord *Goring* gave over the thought of defending *Devon*, and, by his Letter of the eleventh of *October* to the Lord *Colepepper*, ſaid, "that he had ſent all the Horſe, but one thouſand, Weſtward, under "the Command of the Major General, to joyn with the *Corniſh*; who "were to advance; and that Himſelf, with one thouſand Horſe, and all "his Foot, reſolv'd to ſtay in *Exeter* to defend that Town, if the Ene- "my came before it; or to be ready to attend their Rear, if they march'd "forward; and therefore deſired, "that his Highneſs would appoint "whom he thought fit, to give Orders to the Lord *Wentworth*, his Ma- "jor General, who was prepared not to diſpute Orders ſent by any Subſti- "tuted by the Prince. Hereupon, the Prince had appointed Sr *Richard Greenvil* "to advance with the *Corniſh* to *Okington*, and directed the Major General "to receive Orders from him: But, by that time They two had diſpoſed themſelves in order, as they did very handſomely and chearfully, General *Goring* changed his mind, and within four days after his former Letter, he retired with his thouſand Horſe out of *Exeter* to *Newton Buſhel*; and then ſent to the Prince, by a Letter to the Lord *Colepepper*, to know "whether Sr *Richard Greenvil* ſhould receive "Orders from him; and offer'd to undertake any deſign with Sr *Richard* "*Greenvil*, or by Himſelf, as the Prince ſhould direct; or that if his "preſence and command ſhould be thought, on the account of any in- "diſpoſition in the *Corniſh* towards him, probable to produce any in- "convenience to the Service, he would willingly, for that expedition, "reſign his Command to any Perſon the Prince would deſign for it: intimating withal, "that if the Lord *Hopton* had it, the Lord *Went-* "*worth* would willingly receive Orders from him. His Highneſs, the next day, writ to him, "that he committed the management of the "whole to his Lordſhip; and had commanded Sr *Richard Greenvil* to "receive Orders from him, who had then a good Body of *Corniſh* with "him, and power to draw off the Men from *Plymouth*, if there ſhould "be occaſion.

THE King's having been in that perpetual motion, as hath been mention'd before, kept the Expreſs that had been ſent to him from the Counſellors, upon the firſt ſignification of his pleaſure concerning the Prince's Tranſportation into *France*, from delivering that Letter for ſome time. So that it was the middle of *October*, before they receiv'd his Majeſty's further direction. Then this Letter to the Lord *Colepepper* was brought back by the ſame Expreſs.

Colepepper,

The King's Letter concerning the Prince of Wales.

"I HAVE ſeen and conſider'd your diſpatches; and for this time you "muſt be content with reſults without the Reaſons, leaving you to find "them: Lord *Goring* muſt break through to *Oxford* with his Horſe, and "from thence, if he can, find Me out, whereſoever he ſhall underſtand "I ſhall be; the Region about *Newark* being, as I conceive, the moſt "likely place. But that which is of more neceſſity, indeed abſolute, is, "that, with the beſt conveniency, the moſt ſecrecy, and greateſt expedi- "tion, Prince *Charles* be Tranſported into *France*; where his Mother is "to have the ſole care of him, in all things but one, which is his Reli- "gion; and that muſt ſtill be under the care of the Biſhop of *Salisbury*; "and this I undertake his Mother ſhall ſubmit unto; concerning which, "by my next diſpatch, I will advertiſe her; this is all; So I reſt

Your moſt aſſured Friend, *Charles R.*

THOUGH this Letter was writ after the loſs of *Briſtol*, yet when it arrived, the hopes of the Weſt were not thought deſperate; and it was abſolutely concluded between the Lords, "that, as the Perſon of the "Prince was never to be in hazard of being ſurpriſed, ſo he was not to "be Tranſported out of the King's Dominions, but upon apparent, vi-"ſible neceſſity, in point of ſafety: and the very ſuſpicion of his going had been, both by the Lord *Goring* and others, enviouſly whiſper'd, to the great diſheartning of the People; ſo that (beſides that an unſeaſonable attempt of going, might have been diſappointed) they ſaw that the loſs of the whole Weſt, both Garriſons, and Army, would immediately have attended that Action; and therefore they thought, they ſhould be abſolv'd, in point of duty, by the King, if they only preſerv'd themſelves in a power of obeying him, without executing his command at that time; eſpecially ſince General *Goring* thought it not reaſonable to obſerve the Orders, which were ſent to him at the ſame time, for marching towards the King, nor ſo much as adviſed with his Highneſs, or communicated that he had receiv'd any ſuch Orders; and yet his Highneſs let him know, "that he was well content, that he ſhould break "through with his Horſe to the King; which he might have done.

THE Enemy, having gain'd *Tiverton*, made no great haſt to the Weſt of *Exeter*, but ſpent their time in Fortifying ſome Houſes near the Town, on the Eaſt ſide, without receiving the leaſt diſturbance from the Army; the Lord *Goring* entertaining himſelf in his uſual jollity between *Exeter*, *Totneſs*, and *Dartmouth*; it being publickly ſpoken in *Exeter*, "that the Lord *Goring* intended to leave the Army, and ſpeedily "to go beyond Seas, and that Lieutenant General *Porter* reſolv'd to "go to the Parliament; long before the Prince underſtood General *Goring*'s reſolution to go into *France*, by any intimation from himſelf. The twentieth of *November*, his Lordſhip writ a Letter from *Exeter* to the Prince by the Lord *Wentworth*, "that, now that the Enemy and "his Lordſhip were ſettled in their Winter Quarters (whereas the Enemy was then as ſtirring as ever) "he did beg leave of his Highneſs to ſpend "ſome time for the recovery of his health, in *France*; intimating, "that "he hoped to do his Highneſs ſome notable Service by that Journey; and deſired, "that his Army might remain entirely under the Com-"mand of the Lord *Wentworth* (whereas, not above a fortnight before, he had writ, "that the Lord *Wentworth* was very willing to receive "Orders from the Lord *Hopton*) until his return; which, he ſaid, ſhould "be in two Months; and ſo having diſpatch'd the Lord *Wentworth* with this Letter to the Prince to *Truro*, his Lordſhip, never attending his Highneſs's leave or approbation, went the ſame, or the next day, to *Dartmouth*; where he ſtayed no longer than till he could procure a paſſage into *France*; whither, with the firſt wind, he was Tranſported; Lieutenant General *Porter*, at the ſame time, declining the Exerciſe of his Command, and having receiv'd ſeveral Meſſages, Letters, and a Paſs from the Enemy for his going to *London*. After the knowledge whereof, General *Goring* ſign'd a Warrant for the levying two hundred pounds upon the Country for the bearing his Charges. The Lord *Wentworth*, at the time of his being then at *Truro*, told ſome of his confidents, "that "the Lord *Goring* intended to return no more to the Army, or into "*England*; but relied upon Him to preſerve the Horſe from being en-"gaged, till he could procure a Licence from the Parliament to Tranſport "them, for the Service of a Forreign Prince, which would be a fortune

The Lord Goring retires into France.

"to the Officers. And the Major General ſaid afterwards at *Launceſton*, "that he could not underſtand the Lord *Goring*'s deſigns; for that, at "his going from the Army, he gave the Officers great charge to preſerve "their Regiments, for he had hope to get leave to Tranſport them; and within few days after he arrived at *Paris*, he ſent Captain *Porridge* into *England*, to fetch all his Saddle Horſes, and Horſes of Service, upon pretence that he was to preſent them in *France*; though at the ſame time he aſſured his Friends, "that he was returning ſpeedily with Men "and Money; which was not the more believ'd by his ſending for his Horſes.

THOUGH there had been no great Modeſty uſed in the diſcourſes of the People towards General *Goring*, from the time of his firſt faſtning in the Weſt, eſpecially of the *Corniſh*, whom he had moſt unskilfully irreconciled to him, by his continual neglects and contempts of them (as he would uſually before *Taunton*, when he viewed his Foot, clap an *Iriſh*-man, or one of thoſe Soldiers who came out of *Ireland*, who doubtleſs were good Men, on the Shoulders, and tell him, in the hearing of the reſt, "that he was worth ten *Corniſh* Cowards, the greateſt part of his preſent ſtrength, and all his future hopes depending upon the *Corniſh*, many whereof had reaſon to believe themſelves not inferior to any who had ſerv'd the King) yet from the time that he left the Army, and went for *France*, they gave themſelves a greater Licence; and declared, "that "he had, from the beginning, combined with the Rebels; and having "waſted and ruined all the Supplies which had been ſent him, had now "left a diſſolute and odious Army to the Mercy of the Enemy, and to "a County more juſtly incenſed, and conſequently more mercileſs than "They. They compared the loſs of *Weymouth*, in the view of his Army, "after he had been in the Town, and when the whole direction was in "him, with the Counter-ſcuffle at *Petherton*-Bridge, when two of his "own Parties, purſuing the Orders they had receiv'd, fought with each "other, whilſt the Enemy retired to their own ſtrengths: they remember'd the voluntary, wanton, incenſing the Country; the diſcountenancing the Garriſon of *Lamport*, and diſſolving it; the eating the "Proviſions of the reſt; the cheriſhing the Club-men; and the lying "with his whole Army before *Taunton* full ſix Weeks (after he had declared the Enemy to be in his Mercy, within ſix days) and in that "time (pretending that he would in few days ſtarve them) he ſuffer'd "great quantities of Proviſions to be carried in to them, through his own "Quarters, and ſeveral Interviews, and private Meetings to be by his "Brother *Porter* (whoſe integrity he had before ſuſpected) and the chief "Officers of the Rebels: the neglecting his Body of Foot, during the "time that he lay before *Taunton*, by which he ſuffer'd above two thouſand to run away. They talked of the beating up his Head Quarter "the day before the Rout at *Lamport* at Noon-day, for which no Man "was ever called to a Council of War; and that total Rout at *Lamport*, "as two of the moſt ſupine, and unſoldierly defeats, that were ever "known; before which, or in thoſe ſtreights, or upon any other occaſions of Advice, that he never called a Council of War to conſider "what was to be done; and in that laſt buſineſs of *Lamport*, himſelf was "ſo far from being preſent, that coming in great diſorder to *Bridge-water*, he ſaid, he had loſt his Foot, and Cannon; which indeed were "brought off entirely by the care, and diligence of the Lord *Wentworth*, "and S^r *Joſeph Wagſtaff*. They talked of his unheard of neglecting the "Army,

"Army, after that retreat at *Bridgewater*, inſomuch, as of between "three and four thouſand Foot, which himſelf confeſſed he had after "that buſineſs (and if his loſs had been no greater than he own'd, muſt "have been a far greater Number) within ſixteen days, he had not thir- "teen hundred, nor ever after recover'd a Man, but what was gotten "up by the Activity and Authority of the Prince. Laſtly, they remem- "ber'd his lying in *Devonſhire* from the beginning of *July*, which was "about the time of his retreat from *Lamport*, to the end of *November*, "when he went to *France* (which was five Months) with a Body of "above four thouſand Horſe and Foot; deſtroying, and irreconciling "the Country to the King, and the Cauſe, without making the leaſt at- "tempt, or in any degree looking after the Enemy; whilſt the Rebels, "by formal Sieges, took in the Garriſons of *Bridgewater*, *Sherborne*, "and *Briſtol*, and many other important holds.

UPON the whole matter, comparing his Words, and his Actions, laying his Doing, and his Not doing together, they concluded, "that "if he had been confederate with the Enemy, and been corrupted to "betray the Weſt, he could not have taken a more effectual way to "do it; ſince he had not intereſt enough by any Overt Act to have "put it into their power; and therefore they who had a greater opinion of his Wit, Courage, and Conduct, than of his Conſcience, and Integrity, preſumed the failing was in the latter; towards which opinion they were the more inclined, by many diſcourſes negligently let fall by the Enemy in their Quarters, "that they were Sure enough of *Goring*; and by Sr *Thomas Fairfax*'s applying himſelf to the taking thoſe Strong places after the rout at *Lamport*, without ever conſidering or looking after the Lord *Goring*'s Army; which, he could not but know, conſiſted of a body of Horſe, equal in Number to his own; and had reaſon to apprehend thoſe two populous Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal*, could quickly recruit the Foot; "which negligence (ſaid they) *Fairfax* "could never be guilty of, if he had not been well aſſured, that thoſe "Forces ſhould work them no inconvenience; beſides that, being unpurſued, *Goring* might eaſily have made an eſcape, and joyned with the King, and ſo have diverted all the Enemies deſigns upon the Weſt.

OTHERS, who were not enough in Love with the Lord *Goring*, to deſire to be joyn'd with him in any truſt, yet in their opinions clearly abſolved him from any Combination with the Enemy, or deſign of treachery, and imputed the ſlow managing the buſineſs, at his firſt coming into the Weſt, and overſlipping ſome opportunities of advantage, to his deſire of being ſettled in that Command, and ſo not making haſt, leſt, the work being done, he might be neceſſitated to leave thoſe Parts, and be call'd to the King; for without doubt, though there was a reconciliation made between Him and Pince *Rupert* to that degree, that all the Countenance General *Goring* receiv'd from Court in prejudice of the Prince's Authority, and of his Council, was procured for him purely by that Prince; who in one of his Letters to him, at ſuch time as he was before *Taunton*, uſed theſe words; "what you deſire in your "Letter, on the 22^d of *May*, ſhall be obſerv'd; and aſſure your ſelf "that Prince *Rupert* ſhall maintain General *Goring*'s honour and power, "and ſhall loſe his life, rather than General *Goring* ſhall ſuffer for Prince "*Rupert*; which Letter (as he did any others, which he receiv'd from his Majeſty, or the Secretaries, in Cipher) he communicated to the Company in all his Acts of good fellowſhip; yet, I ſay, it was very evi-

dent, he was reſolv'd never to be in the ſame Army with Prince *Rupert* under his Command; and all his looſe and ſcandalous Speeches, they imputed to an Innate licence he had allways given himſelf; and his groſs and unfortunate Overſights, to the Lazyneſs, and Unactivity of his Nature; which could better purſue, and make advantages upon good Succeſſes, than ſtruggle and contend with difficulties and ſtreights. And they who had been neareſt the Obſervation, found a great difference between the preſentneſs of his Mind and Vivacity in a ſuddain Attempt, though never ſo full of Danger, and an enterpriſe that required more deliberation, and muſt be attended with patience, and a ſteady circumſpection; as if his mind could not be long bent. And therefore he had been obſerv'd to give over a Game, ſooner than Gameſters that have been thought to have leſs fire. Many other paſſages muſt be attributed to his perfect hatred of all the Perſons of the Council, after he found they would not comply with his deſires, and to his particular ambition; and both thoſe paſſions of ambition, and revenge, might tranſport his Nature beyond any limits. But what he meant by his diſcourſe at parting to the Officers, for the keeping the Horſe for the Service of ſome Forreign Prince, was never underſtood, except he did really believe, that he ſhould ſhortly return with a Body of Foot; and ſo that they ſhould not be forward to engage with the Enemy, or elſe to keep ſuch a dependence upon him from the Officers, that they ſhould allways hope for employment under him.

WHILST Sr *Richard Greenvil* ſtay'd at *Okington*, he had ſeveral ſtrange deſigns; which he allways communicated to the Prince, or Lords, in Writing, one of which was, "to cut a deep Trench from *Barnſtable* "to the South Sea, for the ſpace of near forty miles; by which he ſaid, "he would defend all *Cornwal*, and ſo much of *Devon*, againſt the World; and many ſuch impoſſible undertakings; at which they who underſtood matters of that Nature, thought him beſides himſelf. Notwithſtanding the Train'd-bands of *Cornwal* return'd to their homes (having ſtay'd out their Month; which was their firſt contract) Sr *Richard Greenvil* ſtay'd ſtill at *Okington*, with his three Regiments of old Soldiers, having barricadoed the Town; the Paſs being of very great importance to hinder the Enemy from any Communication with *Plymouth*. And indeed the reputation of his being there with a greater Strength than in truth he had at any time, was a great means of keeping the Rebels on the Eaſt ſide of *Exeter*; as appears by their ſuddain advance, aſſoon as he removed from that Poſt; which he did about the end of *November*, without giving the leaſt advice to the Prince of ſuch his purpoſe, and contrary to the expreſs deſire of the Lords *Capel*, and *Colepepper*, who were then at *Exeter*, and, hearing of his reſolution, had written to him very earneſtly "not to remove. He ſuddainly retired with his three Regiments from *Okington* into *Cornwal*, and muſter'd his Men upon the River *Tamar*, that divides *Cornwal* from *Devon*, with expreſs command "to guard the Paſſes, and not to ſuffer any of the Lord *Goring*'s "Men, upon what pretence or warrant ſoever, to come into *Cornwal*. For the better doing whereof, he cauſed the Country to come in to work at their Bridges, and Paſſes, as he had done before, moſt unreaſonably, for the fortifying of *Launceſton*; and cauſed Proclamations, and Orders of his own, to be read throughout *Cornwal*, in the Churches, "that if any of the Lord *Goring*'s Forces (whom in thoſe Writings he charged with all the odious reproaches for plundering) "ſhould offer to

"come into *Cornwal*, they ſhould ring the Bells; and thereupon the "whole County ſhould riſe, and beat them out; by theſe unheard of, and unwarrantable means, preparing the Country to ſuch a hatred of the Lord *Goring*, and his Forces, that they rather deſired the Company of the Rebels; ſo alienating all Men's Spirits from reſiſting of the Enemy; and all this without ſo much as communication with the Prince, till it was executed.

ABOUT the laſt week of *November*, he came himſelf to *Truro* to the Prince, on the ſame day that his Highneſs had receiv'd Letters from the Lords at *Exeter*, of the extreme ill conſequence of Sr *Richard Greenvil*'s drawing off from *Okington*; upon encouragement whereof, a ſtrong Party of the Enemy was come to *Kirton*. Whereupon his Highneſs ſent for Sr *Richard Greenvil*; and, in Council, acquainted him with thoſe Letters, and other Intelligence that he had receiv'd of the Enemy, and deſired him to conſider what was now to be done. The next day, without attending his Highneſs any more, but returning to his Houſe at *Worrington*, he writ a long Letter to Mr *Fanſhaw* of his Advice, which he deſired might be communicated to the Lords; which was, "that his Highneſs ſhould ſend to the Parliament for a Treaty, "and ſhould offer, if he might enjoy the Revenue of the Duchy of "*Cornwal*, and that they would not advance to diſturb him in that Coun- "ty, that he would not attempt any thing upon them, but that they "ſhould enjoy the freedom of all their Ports in *Cornwal* for Trade, with- "out any diſturbance by his Majeſty's Ships: and ſo, in plain *Engliſh*, to ſit ſtill a Neuter between the King, and the Parliament, at a time when there was a Body of Horſe Superior to the Enemy in thoſe parts; and when an equal proportion of Foot might have been gotten toge- ther; and when his Majeſty had not the face of an Army in any other part of *England*. The Prince was very much troubled at this Letter, and the more, becauſe he found, Sr *Richard Greenvil* had contracted a great friendſhip with ſuch of his Highneſs's Servants as he had reaſon to believe leſs zealous and intent upon the honour, and proſperity of the King; and becauſe he had diſcover'd he labour'd very much to in- fuſe a jealouſy into the Governour of *Pendennis*-Caſtle, "that the Prince "intended to remove him from that command, and to confer it upon "the Lord *Hopton*; to which purpoſe he had written to the Governour from *Okington* (when the Lord *Hopton*, and the Chancellor, were ſent down thither to aſſiſt him in the fortifying and ſupplying that Caſtle; which if they had not done, it would not have held out, as it did after- wards) "that the Lord *Hopton* had a Commiſſion to take that charge "from him; but that he ſhould not ſuffer ſuch an affront to be put "upon him; for He, and all his Friends, would ſtick to him in it: Whereas there was never the leaſt thought or intention to make any al- teration in that Government.

SHORTLY after that Letter of the 27th, Sr *Richard Greenvil* writ again to Mr *Fanſhaw*, to know how his Propoſitions were approved; to which, by direction, he return'd, "that the Council had not been "yet together ſince the receipt of them; the Lords *Capel*, and *Cole*- "*pepper*, being not then return'd from *Exeter*; and that therefore his "Propoſitions had not been yet Debated. He proceeded in the mean time in his Fortifications there, and, about the middle of *December*, the Prince continuing at *Truro*, he ſent ſeveral Letters to the Gentlemen of the County "to meet him at *Launceſton*: One of which Letters I ſaw,

to

to Colonel *Richard Arundel*; in which, "he desired him to bring as "many Gentlemen, and others of Ability, as he could, as well the dis- "affected, as well-affected; for that he intended to communicate to them "some Propositions, which he had formerly preferr'd to the Prince, and "though they were not hearken'd to There, he believ'd would be very "acceptable to his Country-men of *Cornwal*: but the Prince's suddain going to *Tavistock* disappointed that meeting.

SHORTLY after the Lord *Goring*'s going into *France*, the Prince, being inform'd from *Exeter*, "that the Enemy, at the same time having "finish'd their works, which kept the City from any relief on the East "side, were now drawing their Forces to the West side, whereby that "City would be speedily distressed; thought it necessary to send the Lords *Brentford*, *Capel*, *Hopton*, and *Colepepper*, to confer with the Lord *Wentworth*; who lay then at *Ash Burton*, six Miles from *Totness*, and with Sr *Richard Greenvil*; who was ready to draw some Foot into *Devon*, to the end that such an understanding might be settled between them two, that the Service might proceed: their Lordships being di- rected, by Instructions under his Highness's hand, upon consideration of the state of the Forces, and conference with the Lord *Wentworth*, and Sr *Richard Greenvil*, to advise what speedy course should be taken for the relief of *Exeter* (the Prince having at the same time disburs'd a thousand pound ready Money to two Merchants of *Exeter*, for Provi- sion of Corn for that City) presuming that both the one and the other would have been very ready to have receiv'd, and follow'd the advice which their Lordships should give.

THE place of meeting was appointed to be *Tavistock*; where every body was, save the Lord *Wentworth*; but He failing, the Lords, having directed Sr *Richard Greenvil* how to dispose of himself, went themselves to *Ash Burton*, near twenty miles further to the Lord *Wentworth*'s Quarter; where they spent a day or two, but found not that respect from him they had reason to have expected. His Lordship was very jealous of diminution in his Command, which General *Goring* had de- volv'd to him, and expressing himself oftentimes to them very unne- cessarily, "that he would receive Orders from none but the Prince Him- "self; whereupon, and upon the importunate calling for relief from *Exeter*, their Lordships "thought it absolutely necessary, that the Prince "himself should advance in Person, as well to bring up as great a Body "of the *Cornish*, as was possible (which without his presence was not to "be hoped for) as to dispose the Command of the whole Forces in such "manner, as might probably be for the best advantage; the best that "was to be hoped for being to bring the Enemy to Fight a Battle; and "that they might be enabled to that purpose, by joyning with the Foot "that were in *Exeter*; which was a considerable Body. For the con- ducting so great a design, upon which no less than three Crowns de- pended, the Lord *Wentworth* could not be thought of interest, expe- rience, or reputation enough; and yet there was so great regard, that he should not suffer in his honour, or the imaginary Trust devolved to him by General *Goring*, or rather indeed that no notable hazard might be run, by any unnecessary mutation in Commands, at a time when the Soldier was to be led to Fight, that it was resolved, "that he should be "rather Advised, than Commanded; and that if he comported himself "with that temper and modesty, as was expected, all resolutions should "be form'd in Council, and all Orders thereupon should issue in His Name.

THE

THE next day after *Chriſtmas* day, the weather being very ſharp, the Prince went from *Truro* to *Bodmin*; and the next day to *Taviſtock*; where the Lords of the Council attended; the Lord *Wentworth* continuing at *Aſh Burton*, and his Horſe ſpread over that part of the Country which was at any diſtance from the Enemy. Sr *Richard Greenvil*, who attended likewiſe at *Taviſtock*, had ſent three Regiments of Foot to *Okington*, under the Command of Major General *Moleſworth*; which were ſecured by the Brigade of Horſe under Major General *Web*, who was Quarter'd near thoſe parts, and the *Corniſh* Train'd-bands were to come up within a week; the Blockade before *Plymouth* was maintain'd by General *Digby*, with about twelve or thirteen hundred Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe; but the whole Contribution aſſign'd for the ſupport of thoſe Forces, was taken by the Lord *Wentworth*'s Horſe; ſo that the Prince was compell'd to ſupply thoſe Men, out of the Magazines of Victual which he had provided in *Cornwal* for the Army when it ſhould march; and to leave his own Guard of Horſe upon the skirts of *Cornwal*; there being no Quarter to be had for them nearer his own Perſon.

ABOUT this time, Sr *Thomas Fairfax* Quarter'd at a Houſe about two miles Eaſt of *Exeter*, Sr *Hardreſs Waller* with a Brigade of his Army at *Kirton*, and another part of the Army had poſſeſſed *Powdram*-Houſe, and the Church, *Hulford*-Houſe, and ſome other Holds on the Weſt ſide; ſo that no Proviſions went in, and it hath been ſaid before, how long the Army under *Goring* had ſubſiſted upon the Proviſions within, and kept all ſupply from entring: the advice taken at *Taviſtock*, upon the Prince's coming thither, was, "that aſſoon as the *Corniſh* Foot "ſhould be come up, his Highneſs ſhould march with thoſe, his own "Guards, and as many Foot as might conveniently be taken from be-"fore *Plymouth*, by leaving Horſe in their place, to *Totneſs*; where a "Magazine ſhould be made of Proviſions for the whole Army, both by "Money (for which the County would yield great ſtore of Proviſions) "and by Victuals brought out of *Cornwal* by Sea; for which likewiſe directions were given: "From that place it was concluded, that the "Prince might joyn with the Forces in *Exeter*, except the Rebels ſhould "draw their whole Body between them; and then that Garriſon would "be able both to relieve it ſelf, and to infeſt the Enemy in the Rear; "and the Prince might retire, or Fight, as he found it moſt convenient "and advantageous to him. Reſolutions being thus fixed, and the *Corniſh* being not expected in full Numbers till the Week following, the Prince choſe to go to *Totneſs*; where all things neceſſary might be agreed with the Lord *Wentworth*, who might conveniently attend there, his Quarters being within ſix miles; and where directions might be given for making the Magazine, towards which Money had been return'd out of *Cornwal*.

THE next day after the Prince came thither, the Lord *Wentworth* attended him, and was inform'd in Council, what had been thought reaſonable at *Taviſtock*; the which he approv'd of; the Prince then call'd to ſee a Liſt of the Quarters, that thereupon it might be agreed how the whole Army ſhould be Quarter'd when they came together; to which end, the next day the Lord *Wentworth* brought the Quarter-Maſter General *Pinkney*, who indeed govern'd him. At the firſt Council, the Lord *Wentworth* told the Prince, "that he was to declare one thing "to him, at the entrance into buſineſs, and for the prevention of any "miſtakes, that he could receive no Orders from any Perſon but his

"Highneſs; the Lord *Goring* having repoſed that truſt in him, and "given him a Commiſſion and Inſtructions to that purpoſe; which he often repeated afterwards in Council; and, in the Debate of Quartering, talked very imperiouſly, and very diſreſpectfully, and one day, after he had been drinking, very offenſively to ſome of the Council, in the preſence of the Prince. The time was not conceiv'd ſeaſonable for the Prince to declare how the Army ſhould be commanded, till he had brought it together, and till he had his own Guards about him; and ſo the Prince, though he was nothing ſatisfied in the Lord *Wentworth*'s carriage, only told him "that he would take the Command of the Army upon Him- "ſelf, and iſſue out Orders as he ſhould think fit; and having viſited the Port and Garriſon of *Dartmouth*, and taken ſufficient courſe for the providing the Magazines, and ſettled the differences about quartering, he return'd to *Taviſtock*; reſolving, with all poſſible expedition, to march with the whole Body of Foot to *Totneſs*, according to former appointment.

THE day before the Prince begun his Journey to *Taviſtock*, he receiv'd a Letter from the King his Father, dated upon the ſeventh of *November*, in theſe words:

Oxford, 7th of *November* 1645.

Charles,

A Letter from the King to the Prince.

"I LEAVE others to tell you the News of theſe parts, which are "not ſo ill, as, I believe, the Rebels would make you believe: that "which I think fit to tell you is, I command you, aſſoon as you find "your ſelf in a probable danger of falling into the Rebel's hands, to "Tranſport your ſelf into *Denmark*; and, upon my bleſſing, not to ſtay "too long upon uncertain hopes within this Iſland, in caſe of danger as "aboveſaid. For, if I miſtake not the preſent condition of the Weſt, "you ought not to defer your Journey one hour; in This I am not ab- "ſolutely poſitive; but I am directly poſitive, that your going beyond "Sea is abſolutely neceſſary for me, as I do, to command you; and I "do not reſtrain you only to *Denmark*, but permit you to chooſe any "other Country, rather than to ſtay here; as for *Scotland* and *Ireland* "I forbid you either, until you ſhall have perfect aſſurance, that Peace "be concluded in the one, or that the Earl of *Mountroſe*, in the other, "be in a very good condition; which, upon my word, he is not now: "ſo God bleſs you.

Your loving Father *Charles R.*

THOUGH the intimations in this Letter were ſtrong for a preſent remove, yet they not being Poſitive, and the time of the year being ſuch, as that the Prince could not be blocked up by Sea, and ſo could chooſe his own time, and having one County entire, and *Exeter* and *Barnſtable* in the other well Garriſon'd, beſides the Blockade before *Plymouth*, and the reputation of an Army, the Council were of opinion, that the time was not yet ripe; and ſo purſued the former deſign of joyning the *Corniſh* to the Horſe, and to endeavour the relief of *Exeter*; for which purpoſe, the Prince undertook the Journey before mention'd to *Taviſtock*, the day after *Chriſtmas* day; and, at his coming thither, receiv'd this other Letter from the King.

Oxford, the 7th of *December* 1645.

Charles,

"I WRIT to you this day Month; of which, few days after, I ſent "you a Duplicate. The cauſes of my Commands to You in that Letter, "are now multiplied. I will name but one, which I am ſure is ſuffi- "cient for what I ſhall now add to my former: it is This; I have re- "ſolv'd to propoſe a Perſonal Treaty to the Rebels at *London*; in order "to which a Trumpet is by this time there, to demand a Paſs for my "Meſſengers, who are to carry my Propoſitions; which if admitted, as "I believe it will, then my real ſecurity will be, your being in another "Country, as alſo a chief Argument (which ſpeaks it ſelf without an "Orator) to make the Rebels hearken, and yield to Reaſon: whereas "therefore I left you by my laſt to judge of the time, I abſolutely com- "mand you to ſeek for carefully, and take the firſt opportunity of Tranſ- "porting your ſelf into *Denmark*, if conveniently you can; but rather "than not go out of this Kingdom, immediately after the receipt of "this, I permit, and command you to repair to any other Country, as "*France*, *Holland*, *&c.* whereto you may arrive with moſt convenient "ſecurity as to your paſſage; for nothing elſe is to be feared: I need "not recommend to you the leaving the Country in the beſt poſture "you may, it ſo ſpeaks it ſelf, as I ſhall allways do to be,

"Your loving Father, *Charles R.*

Another Letter from his Majeſty.

HIS Highneſs, as he uſed to do, aſſoon as he had peruſed the Letter, which, as the reſt, was written in the Lord *Colepepper*'s Cipher, and by him decipher'd, deliver'd it again to his Lordſhip, "to be ſecretly kept, "and communicated to the other three; for it was by no means yet ſafe to truſt it farther. They were much troubled at the receipt of this Letter; for, beſides that it found them in the Article of the moſt probable deſign had been on foot ſince the late diſaſters, to preſerve the Weſt; if they ſhould have attempted to have given obedience to that Command, the ſuddain, unexpected, and unreaſonable leaving the Army, would viſibly have declared what the intent had been, and would probably have engaged the People, and the Soldiers (who would have wanted neither Intelligence, nor Inſtigation from the Prince's own Servants; of whom the Lords could not rely upon three Men) they being full of hope in the enterpriſe they were upon, and full of diſlike of the other they were to chooſe, to have prevented it; in which, they might reaſonably have expected aſſiſtance from the Garriſon of *Pendennis*; from which place his Highneſs was neceſſarily to remove himſelf. So that if the Prince ſhould attempt to go, and ſucceed, the Army, upon that diſcountenance, muſt diſſolve; and if he ſucceed not, there might be a fatal conſequence of the endeavour and diſappointment. Then, though they had long kept a Ship in the Harbour in readineſs, and had at that time another Frigat of M' *Haſduncks*, yet by its having been carried with ſo much ſecrecy that very few had taken notice of it, they could not be provided for ſo long a Voyage as to *Denmark*, which, with ſo important a charge, would require two Months Victual at leaſt. But that which troubled them moſt, was the very Argument which his Majeſty was pleaſed to uſe for his ſo poſitive command; which, to their underſtanding, ſeem'd to conclude rather, that his Highneſs's Tranſportation (at leaſt without an immediate abſolute neceſſity) was at that

time moſt unſeaſonable: for if, in expectation of a Treaty, his Majeſty ſhould venture his Royal Perſon in *London*, and ſhould be receiv'd there, and at the ſame time his Highneſs's Perſon ſhould be Tranſported out of the Kingdom, by his Majeſty's own Commands (which could not then have been concealed) it was reaſonable to believe, that not only the Rebels would make great advantage of it, as an Argument againſt his Majeſty's ſincere intentions, and thereby draw unſpeakable and irreparable prejudice upon him; but that his own Council, by which he was diſpoſed to that Overture, and whoſe Aſſiſtance he muſt conſtantly uſe, would take themſelves to be highly diſobliged by that Act; and they would loſe all confidence in their future Counſels.

UPON the whole Matter, the Lords were unanimouſly of opinion, "that the relief of *Exeter* was to proceed in the manner formerly agreed, "and that the Prince's Perſon was to be preſent at it: and thereupon they ſent an Expreſs to the King, with a diſpatch ſign'd by the Four who were truſted, a Duplicate whereof was ſent by another Expreſs the next day, in which they preſented a clear ſtate to his Majeſty of his Forces, and the hopes they then had of improving their condition by the Prince's preſence; of the condition of *Exeter*, and of the ſtrength, as they conceiv'd, of the Enemy; and of the inconveniency, if not the impoſſibility of obeying his Majeſty at that time. They farther inform'd his Majeſty of "the great indiſpoſition, that they perceiv'd in all the "Servants towards his Highneſs leaving the Kingdom; and that the jea- "louſy was ſo great of his going into *France*, that they had reaſon to be- "lieve that many who were very faithful, and tender of his ſafety, would "rather wiſh him in the hands of the Enemy, than in that Kingdom; "and therefore, when the time of Neceſſity ſhould come (which they "aſſured his Majeſty they would with any hazard watch and obſerve) "they muſt prefer the continuing him ſtill within his Majeſty's own Do- "minions, and ſo to waſt him to *Silly*, or *Jerſey*, and from thence con- "clude what was to be done farther. They preſented likewiſe their hum- ble opinion to him, "that in caſe he ſhould be engaged in a Perſonal "Treaty at *London* (which they conceiv'd the Rebels would never ad- "mit, without ſuch Acts firſt obtain'd from his Majeſty, as might in- "validate His Power, and confirm Theirs) how inconvenient it might "be, without the Privity of thoſe Counſellors, whom he was then to "truſt, to Tranſport the Prince, except in danger of ſurpriſal, before "the iſſue of that Treaty might be diſcern'd: aſſuring his Majeſty, "that "nothing ſhould put his Highneſs's Perſon into the hands of the Parlia- "ment, but his Majeſty's own commands; which they ſhould not refiſt "in his own Dominions, nor, they conceiv'd, any body elſe, if he were "out of them.

The Lord Wentworth's Horſe beaten at Aſh Burton.

THE appearance at *Taviſtock* anſwer'd the expectation; there being full two thouſand four hundred of the Train'd-bands, very chearful, and ready to march; at *Okington* were eight hundred old Soldiers, under Major General *Moleſworth*; the Foot with the Lord *Wentworth* were given out to be eight hundred, with the Lord *Goring*'s Guards which were in *Dartmouth*; and to be drawn thence, upon the advance to the Army: from *Barnſtable*, the Governour had promiſed to ſend five hundred Men; and out of *Exeter*, at the leaſt, a thouſand five hundred Men were promiſed: all which, with his Highneſs's Guards, might well be depended upon for ſix thouſand Foot. The Horſe was very little fewer than five thouſand; whereof his Highneſs's Guards made near ſeven hundred;

hundred; ſo that, if all theſe could have been brought to Fight, the day ſeem'd not deſperate. The Foot were appointed to have march'd the morrow, when the News came, "that the Enemy was advanced, and "had beaten up the Lord *Wentworth*'s Quarters in two ſeveral places; and ſhortly after the News, the Lord *Wentworth* himſelf came in, in great diſorder, not inform'd of the particular of his loſs, but conceiv'd it to be greater than in truth it was, though many Men, and more Horſes, were taken in both places. The Prince was very deſirous to purſue the former reſolution, and to have advanced with the whole Body to *Totneſs*; but the Lord *Wentworth* did not only alledge, "that probably "the Enemy was poſſeſſed by that time of *Totneſs*, but that he had in "truth no hope to rally his Horſe together, in any Numbers, till they "might be allowed three or four days reſt. Whereas all that rout had been occaſion'd by ſmall Parties of the Enemy, who, at day time, came into their Quarters, and found no Guards, but all the Horſe in the Stables; and their whole Body moved not in two or three days after; encouraged, it was thought, by the great diſorder they found thoſe Troops to be in. Matters ſtanding thus, and it being abſolutely neceſſary, by reaſon of this diſorderly retreat of the Horſe, to draw off the Blockade from *Plymouth*, *Taviſtock* was no longer thought a place for the Prince's reſidence; his Highneſs by the Advice of a Council of War removed to *Launceſton*; whither all the Foot were drawn, and the Horſe appointed to keep the *Devon-ſhire* ſide of the River; and from thence he hoped he ſhould be ſpeedily able to advance towards *Exeter*.

THE King had ſtayed at *Hereford*, as hath been ſaid, in great perplexity, and irreſolution; not knowing which way to take, but moſt inclined to go to *Worceſter*; till he was aſſured, "that the whole ſtrength "of the Parliament in the North was gather'd together under the Com-"mand of *Pointz*; and that he was already come between *Hereford* and "*Worceſter*, with a Body of above three thouſand Horſe and Dragoons; "with which he was appointed allways to attend the King's motion: ſo that it would be very hard for his Majeſty to get to *Worceſter*, whither his purpoſe of going was, upon the new reſolution he had taken again to march into *Scotland* to joyn with *Mountroſe*, who was yet underſtood to be proſperous. This being the only deſign, it was not thought reaſonable "to proſecute that march by *Worceſter*, and there-"by to run the hazard of an engagement with *Pointz*; but rather to "take a more ſecure paſſage through North *Wales* to *Cheſter*; and thence, "through *Lancaſhire*, and *Cumberland*, to find a way into *Scotland*, "unobſtructed by any Enemy that could oppoſe them. This Counſel pleaſed; and within four days, though through very unpleaſant ways, the King came within half a days Journey of *Cheſter*; which he found in more danger than he ſuſpected; for within three days before, the Enemy, out of their Neighbour Garriſons, had ſurpriſed both the outworks, and Suburbs of *Cheſter*; and had made ſome attempt upon the City, to the great terror, and conſternation of thoſe within; who had no apprehenſion of ſuch a ſurpriſe. So that this unexpected coming of his Majeſty, look'd like a deſignation of Providence for the preſervation of ſo important a place: and the Beſiegers were no leſs amazed, looking upon themſelves as loſt, and the King's Troops believ'd them to be in their power.

The King marches to Cheſter, *where his Horſe are routed by* Pointz.

Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* was ſent with moſt of the Horſe over *Holt*-Bridge, that he might be on the Eaſt ſide of the River *Dee*; and the

King, with his Guards, the Lord *Gerrard*, and the reſt of the Horſe, marched directly into *Cheſter*, with a reſolution, "that, early the day "following, Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* ſhould have fallen upon the back "of the Enemy, when all the force of the Town ſhould have Sallied out, and ſo incloſed them. But Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, being that Night drawn on a Heath two miles from *Cheſter*, had intercepted a Letter from *Pointz* (who had march'd a much ſhorter way, after he was inform'd which way the King was bound) to the Commander that was before *Cheſter*, telling him, "that he was come to their reſcue, and "deſiring to have ſome Foot ſent to him, to aſſiſt him againſt the King's "Horſe: and the next morning he appear'd, and was Charged by Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, and forced to retire with loſs; but kept ſtill at ſuch a diſtance, that the Foot from before *Cheſter* might come to him. The Beſiegers begun to draw out of the Suburbs in ſuch haſt, that it was believ'd in *Cheſter*, they were upon their flight; and ſo moſt of the Horſe and Foot in the Town, had order to purſue them. But the others haſt was to joyn with *Pointz*; which they quickly did; and then they Charged Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*; who, being overpower'd, was routed, and put to flight; and purſued by *Pointz* even to the Walls of *Cheſter*. There the Earl of *Lichfield* with the King's Guards, and the Lord *Gerrard* with the reſt of the Horſe, were drawn up, and Charged *Pointz*, and forced him to retire. But the diſorder of thoſe Horſe which firſt fled, had ſo filled the narrow ways, which were unfit for Horſe to fight in, that at laſt the Enemies Muſqueteers compell'd the King's Horſe to turn, and to rout one another, and to overbear their own Officers, who would have reſtrain'd them. Here fell many Gentlemen, and Officers of Name, with the brave Earl of *Lichfield*; who was the third Brother of that illuſtrious Family, that ſacrificed their lives in this quarrel. He was a very faultleſs young Man, of a moſt gentle, courteous, and affable nature, and of a ſpirit and courage invincible; whoſe loſs all Men exceedingly lamented, and the King bore it with extraordinary grief. There were many Perſons of Quality taken Priſoners, amongſt whom Sr *Philip Muſgrave*, a Gentleman of a noble extraction, and ample Fortune in *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*; who liv'd to engage himſelf again in the ſame Service, and with the ſame Affection, and, after very great Sufferings, to ſee the King Reſtored. This defeat broke all the Body of Horſe, which had attended the King from the Battle of *Naſeby*, and which now fled over all the Country to ſave themſelves; and were as much diſperſed, as the greateſt Rout could produce.

THE deſign of marching Northward, was now at an end; and it was well it was ſo; for about this very time *Mountroſe* was defeated by *David Leſley*; ſo that if the King had advanced farther, as he reſolv'd to have done, the very next day after he came to *Cheſter*, he could never have been able to have retreated. He ſtay'd in *Cheſter* only one Night after this blow, but return'd, by the ſame way by which he had come, to *Denbigh*-Caſtle in North *Wales*, being attended only with five hundred Horſe; and there he ſtay'd three days to refreſh himſelf, and to rally ſuch of his Troops as had ſtopped within any diſtance. So that, in a ſhort time, he had in view four and twenty hundred Horſe; but whither to go with them was ſtill the difficult queſtion. Some propoſed "the Iſle of *Angleſey*, as a place of Safety, and an Iſland "Fruitful enough to ſupport his Forces; which would defend it ſelf "againſt any Winter attempt, and from whence he might be eaſily

The King retires to Denbigh to rally his Horſe.

"transported into *Ireland* or *Scotland*. They who objected againſt this, as very many objections might well be made, propoſed "that his Ma-"jeſty might commodiouſly make his winter Quarters at *Worceſter*, and "by Quartering his Troops upon the *Severn*, between *Bridgenorth* "and *Worceſter*, ſtand there upon his Guard; and by the acceſs of ſome "other Forces, might be able to fight with *Pointz*; who, by this time, that he might both be able the more to ſtreighten *Cheſter*, and to watch the King's motion, had drawn his Troops over the River *Dee* into *Denbigh-ſhire*; ſo that he was now nearer the King, and made the march laſt propoſed, much the more difficult; but there was ſo little choice, that it was proſecuted, and with good Succeſs; and there being another Bridge to paſs the *Dee* ſome miles further, and through as ill ways as any thoſe Countries have, his Majeſty went over without any oppoſition; and had, by this means, left *Pointz* a full days Journey behind. Here Prince *Maurice* waited on his Majeſty with eight hundred Horſe, part whereof was of Prince *Rupert*'s Regiment that came out of *Briſtol*. And now being thus ſtrengthen'd, they leſs apprehended the Enemy; yet continued their march without reſting, till, by Fording the *Severn*, they came to *Bridgenorth*, the place deſign'd. Now every body expected, that they ſhould forthwith go to *Worceſter*, and take up their winter Quarters; but upon the news of the ſurrender of *Berkley*-Caſtle in *Gloceſter-ſhire*, and of the *Devizes* in *Wiltſhire*, two ſtrong Garriſons of the King's, it was urged, "that *Worceſter* would not be a good "place for the King's Winter reſidence, and *Newark* was propoſed as "a place of more ſecurity. This advice was the more like to be embraced, becauſe it was vehemently purſued upon a private, and particular intereſt. *Thence to* Bridgenorth

THOUGH Prince *Rupert* had Submitted to the King's pleaſure, in reſigning his Commiſſion, yet he reſolv'd not to make uſe of his Paſs, and to quit the Kingdom, till he might firſt ſee his Majeſty, and give an account of the Reaſons which obliged him to deliver up *Briſtol*; and was ready to begin his Journey towards him, aſſoon as he could be inform'd where the King intended to reſt. The Lord *Digby*, who had then the chief influence upon his Majeſty's Councils, and was generally believ'd to be the ſole cauſe of revoking the Prince's Commiſſion, and of the Order ſent to him to leave the Kingdom, without being heard what he could ſay for himſelf, found that the odium of all this proceeding fell upon Him; and therefore, to prevent the breaking of that cloud upon him, which threaten'd his ruin (for he had not only the indignation of Prince *Rupert*, and all His Party to contend with, but the extreme malice of the Lord *Gerrard*; who uſed to hate heartily upon a Suddain accident, without knowing why; over and above this, as Prince *Rupert* would have an eaſy Journey to *Worceſter*, ſo Prince *Maurice* was Governour there, who had a very tender ſenſe of the ſeverity his Brother had undergone, and was ready to revenge it; whereas if the King went to *Newark*, the Journey from *Oxford* thither would be much more difficult, and Prince *Maurice* would be without any Authority there) theſe reaſons were motives enough to the Lord *Digby*, to be very Sollicitous to divert the King from *Worceſter*, and to incline him to *Newark*; and his credit was ſo great, that againſt the opinion of every other Man, the King reſolv'd to take that courſe; ſo having ſtay'd only one day at *Bridgenorth*, and from thence ſent Sr *Thomas Glenham* to receive the Government of *Oxford*, he made haſt to *Lichfield*; and then paſſed with

that

Thence to Newark.

that ſpeed to *Newark*, that he was there aſſoon as the Governour had notice of his purpoſe. In this manner, in the greateſt perplexity of his own affairs, was his Majeſty compell'd to condeſcend to the particular, and private paſſions of other Men.

The condition of the Garriſon of Newark *at this time.*

WHEN the King came to *Newark*, he betook himſelf to the regulating the diſorders of that Garriſon; which, by their great luxury and exceſſes, in a time of ſo general calamity, had given juſt ſcandal to the Commiſſioners, and to all the Country. The Garriſon conſiſted of about two thouſand Horſe and Foot; and to thoſe there were about four and twenty Colonels and general Officers, who had all liberal Aſſignments out of the Contributions, according to their Qualities; ſo that though that ſmall County paid more Contribution than any other of that bigneſs in *England*, there was very little left to pay the common Soldiers, or to provide for any other expences. This made ſo great a noiſe, that the King found it abſolutely neceſſary to reform it; and reduced ſome of the Officers entirely, and leſſen'd the Pay of others; which added to the number of the Diſcontented; which was very much too numerous before. Now reports were ſpread abroad with great confidence, and the advertiſement ſent from ſeveral places, though no Author named, "that *Mountroſe*, after his defeat, by an acceſs of "thoſe Troops which were then abſent, had Fought again with *David* "*Leſley*; and totally defeated him; and that he was marched towards "the Borders with a ſtrong Army. This News, how groundleſs ſoever, was ſo very good that it was eaſily believ'd, and believ'd to that degree, that the King himſelf declared a reſolution, the third time, "to advance, "and joyn with *Mountroſe*; and the Lord *Digby* (who knew that Prince *Rupert* was already upon his way from *Oxford*, and that Prince *Maurice* had met him at *Banbury*) prevail'd ſo far, that the King reſolv'd, without delay, or expecting any confirmation of the Report, "to move Northward to meet the News, and if it fell not out to "his Wiſh he would return to *Newark*. In this reſolution, after a Weeks ſtay at *Newark*, he marched to *Tuxford*; and, the next day, to *Wellbeck*, having, in his way, met with the ſame General Reports of *Mountroſe*'s Victories; which were interpreted as ſo many confirmations; and therefore, though the King aſſembled his Council to conſult at *Wellbeck*, he declared "that he would not have it debated, "whether he ſhould advance or retire; but concerning the manner of "his advancing; ſince he was reſolv'd not to retire; which he was ſure "would be attended with more miſchief than could accompany his "advancing.

THIS Declaration, how diſagreeable ſoever it was to the ſenſe of much the Major part, left very little to be conſulted upon; for ſince they muſt advance, it was eaſily agreed, "that they ſhould march the "next day to *Rotheram*; and that the Troops ſhould be drawn to a "Rendezvous, the next Morning, at ſuch an hour; and ſo the Officers were riſing to give Orders out for the execution of what was reſolved; when, in the inſtant, one knocked at the door; who, being call'd in, was found to be the Trumpeter formerly ſent from *Cardiff* to the *Scotch* Army, with a Letter to the Earl of *Leven*, General thereof; who had taken him with him as far as *Berwick*, before he would ſuffer him to be diſcharged. The King asked him, "what he had heard of the Marquis of "*Mountroſe*? he anſwer'd, that the laſt news he had heard of him, was, "that he was about *Sterling*, retiring farther North; and that *David*

"*Leſley*

"*Leſley* was in *Lothian*, on this ſide *Edenborough*; and that the *Scotiſh* "Army lay between North *Allerton* and *New-Caſtle*. This ſo unexpected Relation, daſhed the former purpoſe; and the Lord *Digby* himſelf declared, "that it was by no means fit for his Majeſty to advance; but "to retire preſently to *Newark*; which was, by every body, agreed to; and the Rendezvous of the Army for the next Morning to continue. When they were at the Rendezvous, the King declar'd, "that though "it was not judged fit for Himſelf to advance Northward, yet he thought "it very neceſſary, that Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* ſhould, with the Horſe "under his Command, March that way; and endeavour to joyn with "*Mountroſe*. And, having ſaid ſo, his Majeſty look'd upon Sr *Marmaduke*; who very chearfully ſubmitted to his Majeſty's pleaſure; and ſaid, "he had only one Suit to make to his Majeſty; which was that the "Lord *Digby*, might command in Chief, and He under him. All who were preſent, ſtood amazed at what was now ſaid; of which, no word had paſſed in Council; but when the Lord *Digby* as frankly accepted of the Command, they concluded, that it had been concerted before between the King and the other Two.

No Man contradicted any thing that had been propoſed; and ſo immediately, upon the place, a ſhort Commiſſion was prepar'd, and Sign'd by the King, to conſtitute the Lord *Digby* Lieutenant General of all the Forces raiſed, or to be raiſed for the King on the other ſide of *Trent*; and with this Commiſſion he immediately departed from the King, taking with him from the Rendezvous all the Northern Horſe, with Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sr *Richard Hutton*, High Sheriff of *York-ſhire*, together with the Earls of *Carnewarth*, and *Niddiſdale*, and ſeveral other *Scotiſh* Gentlemen: he march'd in the head of fifteen hundred Horſe; and ſo in a moment became a General, as well as a Secretary of State; and march'd preſently to *Doncaſter*.

BECAUSE this Expedition was in a ſhort time at an end, it will not be amiſs to finiſh the relation in this place; there being no occaſion to reſume it hereafter. The Lord *Digby* was inform'd at his being at *Doncaſter*, "that there was, in a Town two or three Miles diſtant, "and little out of the way of the next days March, one thouſand Foot "newly raiſed for the Parliament; which he reſolv'd, the next Morning, to fall upon; and did it ſo well, that they all threw down their Armes, and diſperſed; whereupon he proſecuted his March to a Town called *Sherborne*, where he ſtaid to refreſh his Troops; and whilſt he ſtaid there, he had notice of the advance of ſome Troops of Horſe towards him, under the Command of Colonel *Copley*: *Digby* preſently Sounded to Horſe, and having gotten ſome few Troops ready, march'd with them out of the Town; and finding *Copley* ſtanding upon a convenient ground, he would not ſtay for his other Companies, but immediately charg'd them with that Courage, that he routed moſt of their Bodies; which, after a ſhort reſiſtance, Fled, and were purſued by his Horſe through *Sherborne*; where the other Troops were refreſhing themſelves; who diſcerning the Flight of Horſe, in great conſternation, concluded, that they were their own Fellows, who had been Routed by the Enemy; and ſo with equal confuſion they mounted their Horſes, and fled as faſt as the other, ſuch ways, as they ſeverally conceiv'd to be moſt for their ſafety. By this means, a Troop that remain'd upon the Field unbroken, fell upon the Lord *Digby*, and thoſe Officers, and Gentlemen, who remain'd about him; who were compell'd to make their re-

The Lord Digby *routed at* Sherborne *in* York-ſhire

treat to *Skipton*; which they did with the loſs of Sr *Richard Hutton* (a gallant and worthy Gentleman, and the Son and Heir of a very venerable Judge, a Man famous in his Generation) and two or three other Perſons; and with the loſs of the Lord *Digby*'s Baggage; in which was his Cabinet of Papers; which, being publiſh'd by the Parliament, adminiſter'd afterwards ſo much occaſion of diſcourſe.

AT *Skipton*, moſt of the ſcatter'd Troops came together again, with which he march'd, without any other miſadventures, through *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*, as far as *Dumfreeze* in *Scotland*; and then, neither receiving directions which way to March, nor where *Mountroſe* was, and leſs knowing how to retire without falling into the hands of the *Scotiſh* Army upon the Borders; in the higheſt deſpair, that Lord, Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, the two Earls, and moſt of the other Officers, embark'd themſelves for the Iſle of *Man*; and, ſhortly after, for *Ireland*; where we ſhall leave them, all the Troops being left by them, to ſhift for themſelves. Thus thoſe fifteen hundred Horſe which march'd Northward, within very few days were brought to nothing; and the Generalſhip of the Lord *Digby*, to an end. But if it had not been for that extraordinary accident of the flying of his own Troops, becauſe the Enemy fled (as the greateſt misfortunes which befel that noble Perſon, throughout the whole courſe of his life, uſually fell out in a conjuncture when he had near attain'd to what he could wiſh) he had without doubt been Maſter of *York*, and of the whole North; the Parliament having no other Forces in all thoſe parts, their Garriſons excepted, than thoſe Foot, which he firſt defeated, and thoſe Horſe which he had ſo near broken. The temper and compoſition of his Mind was ſo admirable, that he was always more pleaſed and delighted that he had advanced ſo far, which he imputed to his own Virtue and Conduct, than broken or dejected that his Succeſs was not Anſwerable, which he ſtill charg'd upon ſecond cauſes, for which he thought himſelf not accountable.

WHEN the Lord *Digby* and Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* left the King, his Majeſty march'd back to *Newark* with eight hundred Horſe of his own Guards, and the Troops belonging to the Lord *Gerrard*; and quickly heard of the misfortune that befel the Northern Adventurers; upon which he concluded that it would not be ſafe for him to ſtay longer in the place where he was, for by this time *Pointz* was come with all his Troops to *Nottingham*, and *Roſſiter* with all the Force of *Lincolnſhire* to *Grantham*; and all the power his Majeſty had, was not in any degree ſtrong enough to oppoſe either of them; ſo that he was only to watch an opportunity by the Darkneſs of the Nights, and good Guides, to ſteal from thence to *Worceſter*, or *Oxford*; in either of which he could only expect a little more time, and leiſure to conſider what was next to be done.

An account of the Diſcontents of ſome of his Chief Commanders againſt the King at Newark.

BUT before his Majeſty can leave *Newark*, he muſt undergo a new kind of mortification from his Friends, much ſharper than any he had undergone from his Enemies; which, without doubt, he ſuffer'd with much more grief, and perplexity of mind. Prince *Rupert* was now come to *Belvoir*-Caſtle, with his Brother Prince *Maurice*, and about one hundred and twenty Officers who attended him; with which he had ſuſtain'd a charge from *Roſſiter*, and broke through without any conſiderable loſs. When the King heard of his being ſo near, he writ a Letter to him, by which "he required him to ſtay at *Belvoir* till further

"Order; and reprehended him "for not having given obedience to his "former Commands. Notwithſtanding this Command, he came the next day to *Newark*, and was met by the Lord *Gerrard*, and Sr *Richard Willis*, Governour of the Town, with one hundred Horſe, two miles in his way. About an hour after, with this Train, he came to the Court; and found the King in the preſence; and without Ceremony, told his Majeſty, "that he was come to render an account of the loſs "of *Briſtol*, and to clear himſelf from thoſe imputations which had been "caſt upon him. The King ſaid very little to him; but, meat being brought up, went to Supper; and, during that time, asked ſome queſtions of Prince *Maurice*, without ſaying any thing to the other. After he had Supped, he retir'd to his Chamber, without admitting any farther diſcourſe; and the Prince return'd to the Governour's Houſe, where he was well treated and lodged. The King, how diſpleaſed ſoever, thought it neceſſary to hear what Prince *Rupert* would ſay, that he might with the more eaſe provide for his own eſcape from thence; which it was high time to make. So he appointed the next day to hear his defence, which the Prince made with many proteſtations of "his in-"nocence, and how impoſſible it was long to defend the Fort, after the "Line was enter'd. His Majeſty did not ſuſpect his Nephew to have any Malicious deſign againſt his Service, and had no mind to aggravate any circumſtances which had accompanied that Action; and therefore, after a day or two's debate, cauſed a ſhort Declaration to be drawn up, by which Prince *Rupert* was abſolv'd and clear'd from any Diſloyalty, or Treaſon in the rendring of *Briſtol*, but not of Indiſcretion. So that matter was ſettled; upon which the King expected the Prince ſhould have departed, as himſelf reſolv'd to proſecute the means for his own eſcape, without communicating it to him.

THE change of the poſture of the Enemy, and *Pointz*'s coming to the North ſide of *Trent*, made his Majeſty reſolve to begin his march on the Sunday-Night, being the twentieth of *October*; which he imparted to none but two or three of the neareſt truſt. But the differences were grown ſo high between the Governour and the Commiſſioners (who were all the principal Gentlemen of the Country, and Who had with Courage and Fidelity adhered to the King from the beginning, and whoſe intereſt alone had preſerv'd that place) and had been ſo much increaſed by the mutual Conteſts which had been between them in the preſence of the King, that there was no poſſibility of reconciling them, and very little of preſerving the Garriſon, but by the removal of the Governour; which was ſo evident to the King, that he reſolv'd on that expedient; and, on the Sunday Morning, ſent for Sr *Richard Willis* into his Bed-Chamber; and after many gracious expreſſions of "the Satisfaction "he had receiv'd in his Service, and of the great abilities he had to Serve "him, he told him, "his own deſign to be gone that Night; and that he "reſolv'd to take him with him, and to make him Captain of his Horſe "Guards, in the place of the Earl of *Lichfield*, who had been lately "kill'd before *Cheſter* (which was a Command fit for any Subject) "and "that he would leave the Lord *Bellaſis* Governour of *Newark*, who be-"ing allied to moſt of the Gentlemen of the adjacent Counties, and hav-"ing a good Eſtate there, would be more acceptable to them. His Majeſty condeſcended ſo far, as to tell him, "that he did not hereby give a "judgement on the Commiſſioners ſide, who he declared had been to "blame in many particulars; and that he himſelf could not have an

"ampler vindication, than by the honour and truſt he now conferred "upon him; but he found it would be much eaſier to remove Him, "than to reform the Commiſſioners; who, being many, could not be "any other way united in his Service.

Sr *Richard Willis* appear'd very much troubled; and excuſed the not taking the other Command, "as a place of too great Honour, and that "his Fortune could not maintain him in that employment; he ſaid, "that his Enemies would triumph at his removal, and he ſhould be "look'd upon as caſt out, and diſgraced. The King replied, "that he "would take care, and provide for his Support; and that a Man could "not be look'd upon as diſgraced, who was placed ſo near his Perſon; "which, he told him, he would find to be true, when he had thought "a little of it. So his Majeſty went out of his Chamber, and preſently to the Church. When he return'd from thence, he ſat down to Dinner; the Lords, and other of his Servants, retiring likewiſe to their Lodgings. Before the King had Din'd, Sr *Richard Willis*, with both the Princes, the Lord *Gerrard*, and about twenty Officers of the Garriſon, enter'd into the preſence Chamber: *Willis* addreſſed himſelf to the King, and told him, "that what his Majeſty had ſaid to him in private, was now the "publick Talk of the Town, and very much to his Diſhonour: Prince *Rupert* ſaid, "that Sr *Richard Willis* was to be remov'd from his Govern-"ment, for no Fault that he had committed, but for being His Friend: the Lord *Gerrard* added, "that it was the Plot of the Lord *Digby*, who "was a Traytor, and he would prove him to be ſo. The King was ſo ſurpriſed with this manner of behaviour, that he roſe in ſome diſorder from the Table, and would have gone into his Bed-Chamber; calling Sr *Richard Willis* to follow him; who Anſwer'd aloud, "that he had re-"ceiv'd a Publick injury, and therefore that he expected a Publick ſatiſ-"faction. This, with what had paſſed before, ſo provoked his Majeſty, that, with greater indignation than he was ever ſeen poſſeſſed with, he commanded them "to depart from his Preſence, and to come no more "into it; and this with ſuch circumſtances in his looks and geſture, as well as words, that They appear'd no leſs confounded; and departed the Room, aſhamed of what they had done; yet aſſoon as they came to the Governour's Houſe, they Sounded to Horſe, intending to be preſently gone.

THE noiſe of this unheard of inſolence, quickly brought the Lords who were abſent, and all the Gentlemen in the Town, to the King, with expreſſions full of Duty, and a very tender ſenſe of the uſage he had endured. There is no doubt, he could have proceeded in what manner he would againſt the Offenders. But his Majeſty thought it beſt, on many conſiderations, to leave them to themſelves, and to be puniſh'd by their own reflections; and preſently declared the Lord *Bellaſis* to be Governour; who immediately betook himſelf to his charge, and placed the Guards in ſuch a manner as he thought reaſonable. In the Afternoon, a Petition and Remonſtrance was brought to the King, ſign'd by the two Princes, and about four and twenty Officers; in which they deſired, "that Sr *Richard Willis* might receive a Trial by a Court "of War; and if they found him faulty, then to be diſmiſſed from his "Charge; and that, if this might not be granted, they deſired Paſſes for "themſelves, and as many Horſe as deſired to go with them. Withal, they ſaid, "they hoped, that his Majeſty would not look upon this "Action of theirs as a Mutiny. To the laſt, the King ſaid, "he would

"not

"not now Chriſten it, but it looked very like one: As for the Court of "War, he would not make that a judge of His Actions; but for the "Paſſes, they ſhould be immediately prepared for as many as deſired to "have them. The next morning the Paſſes were ſent to them; and in the afternoon they left the Town; being in all about two hundred Horſe; and went to *Wyverton*, a ſmall Garriſon depending upon *Newark*; where they ſtay'd ſome days; and from thence went to *Belvoir*-Caſtle; from whence they ſent one of their Number to the Parliament, "to deſire "leave, and Paſſes, to go beyond the Seas.

BESIDES the exceeding trouble and vexation that this Action of his Nephews, towards whom he had always expreſſed ſuch tenderneſs and indulgence, gave the King, it had well nigh broke the deſign he had for his preſent eſcape; which was not poſſible to be executed in that time: and *Pointz* and *Roſſiter* drew every day nearer, believing they had ſo encompaſſed him round, that it was not poſſible for him to get out of their hands. They had now Beſieged *Shetford*-Houſe, a Garriſon belonging to *Newark*, and kept ſtrong Guards between that and *Belvoir*, and ſtronger towards *Lichfield*; which was the way they moſt ſuſpected his Majeſty would incline to take; ſo that the truth is, nothing but Providence could conduct him out of that Labyrinth; but the King gave not himſelf over. He had fixed now his Reſolution for *Oxford*, and ſent a truſty Meſſenger thither with directions, that the Horſe of that Garriſon ſhould be ready, upon a day he appointed, between *Banbury* and *Daventry*. Then, upon *Monday*, the third of *November*, early in the Morning, he ſent a Gentleman to *Belvoir*-Caſtle, to be inform'd of the true State of the Rebels Quarters, and to advertiſe Sr *Gervas Lucas*, the Governour of that Garriſon, of his Majeſty's deſign to march thither that Night, with order that his Troops and Guides ſhould be ready at ſuch an hour; but with an expreſs charge, "that he ſhould not acquaint "the Princes, or any of their company, with it. That Gentleman being return'd with very particular information, the reſolution was taken "to "march that very night, but not publiſhed till an hour after the ſhutting the Ports. Then order was given, "that all ſhould be ready in the Market-"place, at ten of the Clock; and by that time the Horſe were all there, and were in number between four and five hundred, of the Guards and of other looſe Regiments; they were all there put in order; and every Man was placed in ſome Troop; which done, about eleven of the Clock, they began to march; the King himſelf in the head of his own Troop, marched in the middle of the whole Body. By three of the Clock in the Morning, they were at *Belvoir*; without the leaſt interruption or alarm given. There Sr *Gervas Lucas*, and his Troop, with good Guides were ready; and attended his Majeſty till the break of day; by which time he was paſt thoſe Quarters he moſt apprehended; but he was ſtill to march between their Garriſons; and therefore made no delay, but marched all that day; paſſing near *Burleigh* upon the Hill, a Garriſon of the Enemy, from whence ſome Horſe waited upon the Rear, and took and killed ſome Men, who either negligently ſtayed behind, or whoſe Horſes were tired. Towards the Evening the King was ſo very weary, that he was even compell'd to reſt and ſleep for the ſpace of four hours, in a village within eight miles of *Northampton*. At ten of the Clock that night, they begun to march again; and were, before day, the next morning paſt *Daventry*; and before noon, came to *Banbury*; where the *Oxford* Horſe were ready, and waited upon his Majeſty, and

The King retreats towards Oxford:

And Arrives there.

conducted him safe to *Oxford* that day; so he finished the most tedious and grievous march that ever King was exercised in, having been almost in perpetual motion from the loss of the Battle of *Naseby* to this hour, with such a variety of dismal accidents as must have broken the Spirits of any Man who had not been truly magnanimous. At *Oxford*, the King found himself at rest and ease to revolve, and reflect upon what was past, and to advise and consult of what was to be done, with Persons of entire devotion to him, and of steady Judgements; and presently after his coming thither, he writ that Letter of the seventh of *November*; and, shortly after, the other of the seventh of *December*; both which are mention'd before, and set down at large.

The King's Affairs in the West about this time.

THE Prince of *Wales* did not enjoy so much rest and ease in His Quarters; for, upon the hurry of the retreat of the Horse, which is mention'd before, and which indeed was full of confusion, very many of the Train'd-bands of *Cornwal* broke loose, and run to their Houses, pretending "they fear'd that the Horse would go into that County, "and plunder them; for which fear they had the greater pretence, because, upon the retreat, many Regiments had Orders from the Lord *Wentworth* to Quarter in *Cornwal*; of which his Highness was no sooner advertised, than he sent his Orders positive, "that no one Regiment of "Horse should be there, but that they should be all Quarter'd on the "*Devon* side. Upon that, they were dispersed about the County, for the space of thirty miles breadth, as if no Enemy had been within two days march of them. There were now drawn together, and to be engaged together in one Action against the Enemy, all the Horse and Foot of the Lord *Goring*; the Command whereof, the Lord *Wentworth* challenged to himself by deputation; the Horse and Foot of Sr *Richard Greenvil*; and the Horse and Foot of General *Digby*, neither of which acknowledged a superiority in the other, besides the Guards; which no body pretended to Command but the Lord *Capel*. When the Prince removed from *Tavistock*, the raising the Blockade from *Plymouth* was absolutely necessary, and it was concluded, as hath been said, at a Council of War, "that it would be fit for his Highness to remove to *Launceston*; "whither the Train'd-bands, and the rest of the Foot should likewise "come, and the Horse march on the *Devonshire* side, and Quarter most "conveniently in that County. The care of the retreat, and bringing the Provisions from *Tavistock*, was committed to Sr *Richard Greenvil*; which was perform'd by him so negligently, that besides the disorders he suffer'd in *Tavistock*, by the Soldiers, a great part of the Magazine of Victuals, and three or four hundred pair of Shoes, were left there; and so lost. The day after the Prince came to *Launceston*, Sr *Richard Greenvil* writ a Letter to him, wherein he represented "the impossibi-"lity of keeping that Army together, or fighting with it in the condi-"tion it was then in; told him "that he had, the night before, sent di-"rections to Major General *Harris* (who commanded the Foot that came from about *Plymouth*) "to guard such a Bridge; but that he re-"turn'd him word, that he would receive Orders from none but General "*Digby*; that General *Digby* said, that he would receive Orders from "none but his Highness; that a Party of the Lord *Wentworth*'s Horse "had the same night come into his Quarters, where his Troop of Guards, "and his Firelocks were; that neither submitting to the Command of "the other, they had fallen foul, and two or three Men had been kill'd; "that they continued still in the same place, drawn up one against "another;

"another; that it was abſolutely neceſſary, his Highneſs ſhould con-
"ſtitute one Superior Officer, from whom all thoſe independent Officers
"might receive Orders; without which, it would not be poſſible for
"that Army to be kept together, or do Service; that for His own part,
"he knew his Severity and Diſcipline had render'd him ſo odious to
"the Lord *Goring*'s Horſe, that they would ſooner chooſe to ſerve the
"Enemy, than receive Orders from Him; therefore he deſired his High-
neſs to conſtitute "the Earl of *Brentford*, or the Lord *Hopton*, to com-
"mand in Chief, and then he hoped, ſome good might be done againſt
"the Enemy.

THE miſchief was more viſible by much than a remedy; it was evi-
dent ſome Action muſt be with the Enemy within few days, and what
inconvenience would flow from any alteration, at ſuch a conjuncture of
time, was not hard to gueſs, when both Officer and Soldier were de-
ſirous to take any occaſion, and to find any excuſe to lay down their
Armes; and it was plain, though there was very few who could do good,
there were enough that could do hurt; beſides, whoever was fit to un-
dertake ſo great a truſt and charge, would be very hardly entreated to
take upon him the Command of a diſſolute, undiſciplin'd, wicked, beaten
Army, upon which he muſt engage his Honour, and the hope of what
was left, without having time to reform, or inſtruct them. That which
made the reſolution neceſſary, was, that though there was little hope
of doing good by any alteration in Command, there was evident and
demonſtrable ruin attended no alteration; and they who were truſted
might be accountable to the World, for not adviſing the Prince to do
that, which, how hopeleſs ſoever, only remain'd to be done.

THEREUPON, on the fifteenth of *January*, his Highneſs made an Order, "that the Lord *Hopton* ſhould take the Charge of the whole "Army upon him; and that the Lord *Wentworth* ſhould Command "all the Horſe, and Sr *Richard Greenvil* the Foot. It was a heavy im-poſition, I confeſs, upon the Lord *Hopton* (to the which nothing but the moſt abſtracted Duty and Obedience could have Submitted) to take charge of thoſe Horſe whom only their Friends fear'd, and their Ene-mies laugh'd at; being only terrible in Plunder, and reſolute in Run-ning away. Of all the Train'd-bands of *Cornwal*, there were not three hundred left; and thoſe, by ſome infuſions from *Greenvil* and others, not ſo devoted to him as might have been expected. The reſt of the Foot (beſides thoſe who belonged to the Lord *Goring*, which were two Regiments of about four hundred) were the three Regiments of about ſix hundred; which belong'd to Sr *Richard Greenvil*, and the Officers of them entirely His Creatures; and thoſe belonging to General *Digby*, which were not above five hundred; To theſe were added (and were indeed the only Men, but a ſmall Troop of his own of Horſe and ſome Foot, upon whoſe affection, courage, and duty he could Rely; except ſome particular Gentlemen, who could only undertake for themſelves) about two hundred and fifty Foot, and eight hundred Horſe of the Guards; who were Commanded by the Lord *Capel*, and entirely to re-ceive Orders from his Lordſhip.

The Lord Hopton *made Genral of the remains of the Weſtern Ar-my. Lord* Wentworth *to Command the Horſe,* Greenvil *the Foot.*

THE Lord *Hopton* very generouſly told the Prince, "that it was a "cuſtom now, when Men were not willing to ſubmit to what they were "enjoyn'd, to ſay, that it was againſt their Honour; that their Honour "would not ſuffer them to do this or that; for His part, he could not "obey his Highneſs at this time, without reſolving to loſe his Honour,

"which

"which he knew he muſt, but ſince his Highneſs thought it neceſſary "to Command him, he was ready to obey him with the loſs of his Ho- "nour. Since the making of this Order was concluded an Act of abſo- lute neceſſity, and the Lord *Hopton* had ſo worthily Submitted to it, it was poſitively reſolv'd by his Highneſs, "that it ſhould be dutifully "Submitted to by all other Men; or that the refuſers ſhould be exem- "plarily puniſhed. There was not the leaſt ſuſpicion that Sr *Richard Greenvil* would not willingly have Submitted to it, but it was believ'd that the Lord *Wentworth*, who had carried himſelf ſo high, and more inſolently ſince his diſorderly retreat than before, would have refuſed, which if he had done, it was reſolv'd by the Prince preſently to have committed him, and to have deſired the Lord *Capel* to have taken the charge of the Horſe.

HIS Highneſs ſent Sr *Richard Greenvil* a Letter of thanks, "for the "advice which he had given; and which, he ſaid, he had follow'd, as "by the incloſed Order he might perceive; by which his Highneſs had "committed the care and charge of the whole Army to the Lord *Hop-* "*ton*, appointing that the Lord *Wentworth* ſhould command all the "Horſe, and Sr *Richard Greenvil* all the Foot, and both to receive Or- "ders from the Lord *Hopton*: no Man imagining it poſſible that, be- ſides that he had given the advice, he could have refuſed that Charge, by which he was to have a greater Command than ever he had before, and was to be Commanded by none but by whom he had often been formerly Commanded. But the next day after he receiv'd that Letter and Order, contrary to all expectation, he writ to his Highneſs "to de- "ſire to be excuſed, in reſpect of his indiſpoſition of health; expreſſing, "that he could do him better ſervice in getting up the Soldiers who "ſtragled in the Country, and in ſuppreſſing Malignants; and at the ſame time, writ to the Lord *Colepepper*, "that he could not conſent to "be commanded by the Lord *Hopton*. It plainly appear'd now, that his drift was to ſtay behind, and Command *Cornwal*; with which, con- ſidering the premiſes, the Prince thought he had no reaſon to truſt him. He ſent for him therefore, and told him "the extreme ill conſequence "that would attend the publick Service, if he ſhould Then, and in ſuch "a manner, quit the Charge his Highneſs had committed to him; that "more ſhould not be expected from him, than was agreeable to his "health; and that if he took the Command upon him, he ſhould take "what Adjutants he pleaſed to aſſiſt him. But notwithſtanding all that the Prince could ſay to him, or ſuch of his Friends who thought they had Intereſt in him, he continued obſtinate; and poſitively refuſed to take the Charge, or to receive Orders from the Lord *Hopton*.

WHAT ſhould the Prince have done? for beſides the ill conſequence of ſuffering himſelf to be in that manner contemned, at a time when that Army was ſo indiſpoſed, it was very evident, if *Greenvil* were at liberty, and the Army once march'd out of *Cornwal*, he would have put himſelf in the head of all the diſcontented Party, and at leaſt en- deavour'd to have hinder'd their retreat back into *Cornwal*, upon what occaſion ſoever; and for the preſent that he would under hand have kept many from marching with the Army, upon the ſenſeleſs pretence of defending their own Country. So that, upon full conſideration, his Highneſs thought fit to commit him to Priſon to the Governour of *Laun-* *ceſton*; and within two or three days after, ſent him to the Mount; where he remain'd till the Enemy was poſſeſſed of the County; when

Sr R. Greenvil refuſing the Command, the Prince commits him to Priſon.

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his Highneſs, that he might by no means fall into their hands, gave him leave to Tranſport himſelf beyond the Sea.

THE Lord *Wentworth*, though he ſeem'd much ſurpriſed with the Order when he heard it read at the Board, and deſired "time to con-"ſider of it till the next day, that he might confer with his Officers; yet, when the Prince told him, "that he would not refer his Acts to "be ſcanned by the Officers; but that he ſhould give his poſitive An-"ſwer, whether he would ſubmit to it, or no; and then his Highneſs "knew what he had to do; he only deſired "to conſider till the Af-"ternoon; when he ſubmitted; and went that Night out of Town to his Quarters; of which moſt Men were not glad, but rather wiſhed (ſince they knew he would never obey chearfully) that he would have put the Prince to have made further alterations; which yet would have been accompanied with hazard enough. By this time the Intelligence was certain of the loſs of *Dartmouth*, which added neither courage, nor numbers to our Men; and the importunity was ſuch from *Exeter* for preſent relief, that there ſeem'd even a neceſſity of attempting ſomewhat towards it, upon how great diſadvantage ſoever; and therefore the Lord *Hopton* reſolv'd to march by the way of *Chim-ley*; that ſo, being between the Enemy and *Barnſtable*, he might borrow as many Men out of the Garriſon, as could be ſpared; and by ſtrong Parties at leaſt to attempt upon their Quarters. But it was likewiſe reſolv'd, "that in reſpect of the ſmalneſs of the numbers, and "the general indiſpoſition, to ſay no worſe, both in Officer and Sol-"dier, it would not be fit for his Highneſs to venture his own Perſon "with the Army; but that he ſhould retire to *Truro*, and reſide there; againſt which there were objections enough in view, which were however weighed down by greater.

WHOEVER had obſerv'd the temper of the Gentry of that County towards Sr *Richard Greenvil*, or the clamour of the common People againſt his oppreſſion, and tyranny, would not have believ'd, that ſuch a neceſſary proceeding againſt him, at that time, could have been any Unpopular Act; there being ſcarce a day, in which ſome Petition was not preſented againſt him. As the Prince paſſed through *Bodmin*, he receiv'd Petitions from the Wives of many ſubſtantial, and honeſt Men; amongſt the reſt, of the Mayor of *Liſtithiel*; who was very eminently well affected and uſeful to the King's Service; all whom *Greenvil* had committed to the Common Goal, for preſuming to fiſh in that River; the Royalty of which he pretended belonged to him, by Virtue of the Sequeſtration, granted him by the King, of the Lord *Robert*'s Eſtate at *Lanhetherick*; whereas they who were committed, pretended a Title, and had always uſed the liberty of fiſhing in thoſe Waters, as Tenants to the Prince of his Highneſs's Mannor of *Liſtithiel*; there having been long Suits between the Lord *Roberts* and the Tenants of that Mannor, for that Royalty. And when his Highneſs came to *Taviſtock*, he was again Petition'd by many Women for the liberty of their Husbands, whom Sr *Richard* had committed to Priſon, for refuſing to grind at his Mill, "which, he ſaid, "they "were bound by the Cuſtom to do. So by his Martial Power he had aſſerted whatever Civil Intereſt he thought fit to lay claim to; and never diſcharged any Man out of Priſon, till he abſolutely ſubmitted to his Pleaſure.

THERE were in the Goal at *Launceſton*, at this time when himſelf was committed, at leaſt thirty Perſons, Conſtables and other Men, whom he had committed, and impoſed Fines upon, ſome of three, four, and five hundred pounds, upon pretence of Delinquency (of which he was in no caſe a proper judge) for the payment whereof they were detain'd in Priſon. Amongſt the reſt, was the Mayor of St *Ives*, one *Hammond*, who had then the reputation of an honeſt Man; and was certified to be ſuch by Colonel *Robinſon* the Governour, and by all the Neighbouring Gentlemen. After the late Inſurrection there, which is ſpoken of before, he had given his Bond to Sr *Richard Greenvil*, of five hundred pound, to produce a young Man, who was then abſent, and accuſed to be a favourer of that Mutiny, within ſo many days. The time expired before the Man could be found; but within three days after the expiration of the term, the Mayor ſent the fellow to Sr *Richard Greenvil*; That would not ſatisfy; but he ſent his Marſhal for the Mayor himſelf, and required fifty pound of him for having forfeited his Bond, and upon his refuſal forthwith to pay it, committed him to the Goal at *Launceſton*. The Son of the Mayor preſented a Petition to the Prince, at *Truro*, for his Father's liberty; ſetting forth the matter of fact as it was, and annexing a very ample teſtimony of the good Affection of the Man. The Petition was referr'd to Sr *Richard Greenvil*, with direction, "that if the caſe were in truth ſuch, he ſhould diſcharge him. Aſſoon as the Son brought this Petition to him, he put it in his Pocket; told him, "the Prince underſtood not the buſineſs; and committed the Son to Goal, and cauſed Irons to be put upon him for his preſumption. Upon a ſecond Petition to the Prince, at *Launceſton*, after the time that Sr *Richard* himſelf was committed, he directed the Lord *Hopton*, "upon examination of the truth of it, to "diſcharge the Man; of which, when Sr *Richard* heard, he ſent to the Goaler "to forbid him, at his peril, to diſcharge *Hammond*; threatening him "to make him pay the Money; and, after that, cauſed an Action to be enter'd in the Town-Court at *Launceſton* upon the forfeiture of the Bond. Yet, notwithſtanding all this, he was no ſooner committed by the Prince, than even thoſe who had complained of him as much as any, expreſſed great trouble; and many Officers of thoſe Forces which he had Commanded, in a tumultuous manner, Petition'd for his releaſe; and others took great pains to have the indiſpoſition of the People, and the ill accidents that follow'd, imputed to that proceeding againſt Sr *Richard Greenvil*; in which none were more forward, than ſome of the Prince's own Houſehold Servants; who were ſo tender of Him, that they forgot their duty to their Maſter.

IT was *Friday* the ſixth of *February*, before the Lord *Hopton* could move from *Launceſton*, for want of carriages for their Ammunition, and Proviſion of Victual. Neither had he Then carriages for above half their little Store, but relyed upon the Commiſſioners to ſend the remainder after; and ſo went to *Torrington*; where he reſolv'd to faſten, till his Proviſions could be brought up; and he might receive certain Intelligence of the motion, and condition of the Enemy. He had not continued there above four days, in which he had barricadoed, and made ſome little Faſtneſſes about the Town, when Sr *Thomas Fairfax*

Fairfax advanced to *Chimley*, within eight miles of *Torrington*, with ſix thouſand Foot, three thouſand five hundred Horſe, and five hundred Dragoons; of which ſo near advance of the Enemy (notwithſtanding all the ſtrict Orders for keeping of Guards; whereof one Guard was, or was appointed to be, within two miles of *Chimley*) he had not known but by a Lieutenant, who was accidentally plundering in thoſe parts, and fell amongſt them. So negligent, and unfaithful, were both Officers and Soldiers in their duty.

The Lord Hopton's *Forces routed at* Torrington *by Sr* Thomas Fairfax.

THE Lord *Hopton* having this Intelligence of the Strength, and Neighbourhood of the Enemy, had his election of two things, either to retire into *Cornwal*, or to abide them where he was; the firſt, beſides the diſheartning of his Men, ſeem'd rather a deferring, than a preventng of any miſchief that could befall him; for he foreſaw, if he brought that great Body of Horſe into *Cornwal*, the few that remain'd of the Train'd-bands, would immediately diſſolve, and run to their Houſes; and the remainder of Horſe and Foot, in a ſhort time, be deſtroy'd without an Enemy. Therefore he rather choſe, notwithſtanding the great diſadvantage of Number in Foot, to abide them in that place; where, if the Enemy ſhould attempt him in ſo faſt a Quarter, he might defend himſelf with more advantage, than he could in any other place. So he placed his Guards, and appointed all Men to their Poſts, having drawn as many Horſe (ſuch as on the ſuddain he could get) into the Town, as he thought neceſſary; the reſt being Ordered to ſtand on a Common, at the Eaſt end of the Town. But the Enemy forced the Barricadoe in one place by the baſeneſs of the Foot; with which the Horſe in the Town more baſely receiv'd ſuch a Fright, that they could neither be made to charge, nor ſtand; but, in perfect confuſion, run away; whoſe example all the Foot upon the Line, and at their other Poſts, followed: leaving their General (who was hurt in the Face with a Pike, and his Horſe kill'd under him) with two or three Gentlemen, to ſhift for themſelves; one of the Officers publickly reporting, leſt the Soldiers ſhould not make haſt enough in running away, "that he ſaw their General run through the Body with a Pike. The Lord *Hopton* recovering a freſh Horſe, was compell'd (being thus deſerted by his Men) to retire; which he did, to the borders of *Cornwal*; and ſtay'd at *Stratton* two or three days, till about a thouſand or twelve hundred of his Foot came up to him. It was then in conſultation, ſince there was no likelyhood of making any ſtand againſt the Enemy with ſuch Foot, and that it was viſible that Body of Horſe could not long Subſiſt in *Cornwal*, whether the Horſe might not break through to *Oxford*; which, in reſpect of their great wearyneſs, having ſtood two or three days and nights in the Field, and the Enemies ſtrength being drawn up within two miles of them, was concluded to be impoſſible. Beſides that there was at that time a confident aſſurance, by an Expreſs (Sr *D. Wyat*) out of *France*, "of four or five "thouſand Foot to come from thence within three Weeks, or a Month "at fartheſt; thoſe Letters, and the Meſſenger, averring, "that moſt "of the Men were ready, when He came away.

THE Enemy advanced to *Stratton*, and ſo to *Launceſton*; where Mr *Edgecomb*, who had always pretended to be of the King's party, with his Regiment of Train'd bands, joyn'd with them; and the Lord *Hopton* retired to *Bodmin*; the Horſe Officers and Soldiers, notwith-

ſtanding all the ſtrict Orders, very negligently performing their duty; inſomuch as the Lord *Hopton* proteſted, "that, from the time he "undertook the charge, to the hour of their diſſolving, ſcarce a par-"ty or guard appeared with half the Number appointed, or within "two hours of the time; and *Goring*'s Brigade, having the Guard upon a Down near *Bodmin*, drew off without Orders, and without ſending out a Scout; inſomuch as the whole groſs of the Rebels, were at day time marched within three miles, before the Foot in *Bodmin* had any Notice. So that the Lord *Hopton* was inſtantly forced to draw off his Foot and Carriages Weſtward; and kept the Field that cold Night, being the firſt of *March*; but could not, by all his Orders diligently ſent out, draw any conſiderable Body of Horſe to him by the end of the next day; they having quarter'd themſelves at pleaſure over the Country, many above twenty miles from *Bodmin*, and many running to the Enemy; and others purpoſely ſtaying in their Quarters, till the Enemy came to diſpoſſeſs them.

WHEN, by the diſorders and diſtractions of the Army, which are before ſet down, his Highneſs was perſwaded to make his own Reſidence in *Cornwal*, he came to *Truro* on the 12th day of *February*; where he receiv'd a Letter from the King, directed to thoſe four of the Council who had Sign'd that to his Majeſty at *Taviſtock*. This Letter was dated at *Oxford* the fifth of *February*, and contain'd theſe words;

"Yours from *Taviſtock* hath fully ſatisfied me, why my Commands "concerning Prince *Charles* his going beyond Sea were not obey'd. "And I likewiſe agree with you in opinion, that he is not to go un-"til there be an evident neceſſity; alſo approving very much of the "Steps whereby you mean to do it. But withal, I reiterate my Com-"mands to you for the Prince's going over, whenſoever there ſhall "be a viſible hazard of his falling into the Rebels hands. In the mean "time, I like very well that he ſhould be at the head of the Army; "and ſo much the rather, for what I ſhall now impart to you of my "reſolution, &c. And ſo proceeded in the communication of his own deſign of taking the Field; which was afterwards fruſtrated by the defeat of my Lord *Aſtley*, and the ill ſucceſs in the Weſt.

The Prince goes to Pendennis.

THE Prince having ſtay'd ſome days at *Truro*, went to *Pendennis*; intending only to recreate himſelf for two or three days; and to quicken the Works, which were well advanced; his Highneſs having iſſued all the Money he could procure, towards the finiſhing of them. But, in the very morning that he meant to return to *Truro*, his Army being then retired, and *Fairfax* at the edge of *Cornwal*, the Lord *Hopton* and the Lord *Capel* ſent advertiſements, "that, "they had ſeverally received Intelligence of a deſign to ſeiſe the Per-"ſon of the Prince; and that many Perſons of Quality of the Coun-"try were privy to it. Hereupon the Prince thought it moſt convenient to ſtay where he was, and ſo return'd no more to *Truro*. The time of apparent danger was now in view, and if there were in truth any deſign of ſeiſing the Prince's Perſon, they had reaſon to believe that ſome of his own Servants were not ſtrangers to it. The Lords *Capel* and *Hopton* being at the Army, only the Prince, the

Lord

Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer knew the King's pleaſure, and what was to be done. And they two had no confidence, that they ſhould have reputation enough to go through with it; the Earl of *Berk-ſhire* continuing very jealous of the deſign of going into *France*, whatever they ſaid to the contrary: the Governour of the Caſtle was Old and Fearful, and not reſolute enough to be truſted; and his Son, though a gallant Gentleman, and worthy of any Truſt, had little credit with his Father.

THERE was no Letter from the King (though they had long before deſired ſuch a one, and propoſed the Form) fit to be publickly ſhew'd, in which there were not ſome clauſes which would have been apply'd to his Majeſty's diſſervice; eſpecially if he ſhould have been at *London*, which was then confidently averr'd by ſome, who ſwore "they met him at *Uxbridge*. Therefore theſe two Counſellors concluded, "that the Prince's going away muſt ſeem to be "the effect of Counſel upon neceſſity, and the appearance of danger "to his Perſon, without any mention of the King's command. But how to procure this Reſolution from the Council was the difficulty. They very well knew the Lords minds who were abſent, but durſt not own that knowledge, leſt the deſign might be more ſuſpected: In the end, having adviſed *Baldwin Wake*, to cauſe the Frigat belonging to *Haſdunck*, and the other Ships, to be ready upon an hours warning; they propoſed in Council, when the Lords *Berk-ſhire*, and *Brentford* were preſent, "to ſend Mr *Fanſhaw* to the Army, to re-"ceive opinion and advice of the Lords that were there, what was "beſt to be done with reference to the Perſon of the Prince, and "whether it were fit to hazard him in *Pendennis*; which was accordingly done. Their Lordſhips, according to the former agreement between them, return'd their advice, "that it was not fit to "adventure his Highneſs in that Caſtle (which would not only not "preſerve his Perſon, but probably, by his ſtay there, might be loſt; "but by his abſence might defend it ſelf) and that he ſhould remove "to *Jerſey* or *Silly*. This, upon Mr *Fanſhaw*'s report, was unanimouſly conſented to by the whole Council.

BUT becauſe *Jerſey* was ſo near to *France*, and ſo might give the greater umbrage, and that *Silly* was a part of *Cornwal*, and was by them all conceiv'd a place of unqueſtionable ſtrength, the publick reſolution was for *Silly*, it being in their power, when they were at Sea, to go for *Jerſey*, if the Wind was fair for one, and croſs to the other. So the reſolution being imparted to no more that Night, than was of abſolute neceſſity (for we apprehended clamour from the Army, from the Country, and from that Garriſon in whoſe Power the Prince was) the next Morning being *Monday*, the ſecond of *March*, after the News was come that the Army was retiring from *Bodmin*, and the Enemy marching furiouſly after, and thereby Men were ſufficiently awaken'd with the apprehenſion of the Prince's Safety; the Governour and his Son were call'd into the Council, and made acquainted with the Prince's reſolution, "that Night to em-"bark himſelf for *Silly*, being a part of *Cornwal*; from whence, "by ſuch aids and relief, as he hoped he ſhould procure from *France* "and Forreign parts, he ſhould be beſt able to relieve them. And accordingly, that Night, about ten of the Clock, he put himſelf on

Thence by Sea, to Silly. Board; and on *Wedneſday* in the afternoon, arrived ſafe in *Silly*; from whence, within two days, the Lord *Colepepper* was ſent into *France*, to acquaint the Queen "with his Highneſs's being at *Silly*, "with the Wants and Incommodities of that place; and to deſire ſup- "ply of Men and Monies for the Defence thereof, and the Support "of his own Perſon; it being agreed in Council, before the Lord *Colepepper*'s going from *Silly*, "that if, upon advancement of the Par- "liament Fleet, or any other apparent danger, his Highneſs ſhould "have cauſe to ſuſpect the ſecurity of his Perſon there (the Strength of the place in no degree anſwering expectation, or the fame of it) "he would immediately embark himſelf in the ſame Frigat (which attended there) "and go to *Jerſey*.

WHEN the Lord *Hopton* found that he could put no reſtraint to the Licence of the Soldiers, he called a Council of War to conſider what was to be done. The principal Officers of Horſe were ſo far from conſidering any Means to put their Men in order, and heart to face the Enemy, that they declared, in plain Engliſh, "that their "Men would never be brought to Fight; and therefore propoſed po- ſitively, "to ſend for a Treaty: From which not one Officer diſſent- ed, except only Major General *Web*, who always profeſſed againſt it. The Lord *Hopton* told them, "it was a thing he could not con- "ſent to without expreſs leave from the Prince (who was then at *Pen- "dennis*-Caſtle) to whom he would immediately diſpatch away an Ex- "preſs; hoping, that, by that delay, he ſhould be able to recover the Officers to a better reſolution; or that, by the advance of the Ene- my, they would be compelled to Fight. But they continued their im- portunity, and at laſt (no doubt by the advice of our own Men; for many, both Officers and Soldiers, went every day in to them) a Trum- pet arrived from Sr *Thomas Fairfax* with a Letter to the Lord *Hop- ton*, offering a Treaty, and making ſome Propoſitions to the Officers and Soldiers. His Lordſhip communicated not this Letter to above one or two, of principal truſt; conceiving it not fit, in that diſorder and dejectedneſs, to make it publick. Hereupon, all the principal Officers aſſemble together (except the Major General, *Web*) and ex- preſſing much diſcontent that they might not ſee the Letter, declare peremptorily to the Lord *Hopton*, "that if he would not conſent to "it, they were reſolv'd to treat Themſelves. And from this time they neither kept Guards, nor perform'd any Duty; Their Horſe every day mingling with thoſe of the Enemy, without any Act of Hoſtility. In this ſtreight, the Lord *Hopton* having ſent his Ammunition and Foot into *Pendennis*, and the Mount, and declared, "that he would neither "Treat for himſelf nor the Garriſons, he gave the Horſe leave to Treat; and thereupon thoſe Articles were concluded, by which that Body of Horſe was diſſolv'd; and Himſelf and the Lord *Capel*, with the firſt Wind, went from the Mount to *Silly*, to attend his Highneſs; who, as is ſaid, was gone thither from *Pendennis*-Caſtle, after the Enemy's whole Army was enter'd *Cornwal*.

The Lord Hopton's *Army diſſolv'd.*

Touching Duke Hamilton *Priſoner at* Pendennis. HAVING left the Prince in *Silly*, ſo near the end of that unpro- ſperous year 1645 (for it was upon the three and twentieth of *March*) that there will be no more occaſion of mentioning him till the next year, and being now to leave *Cornwal*, it will be neceſſary to inform the Reader of one particular. It is at large ſet down, in a former Book,

Book, what proceedings had been at *Oxford* againſt Duke *Hamilton*; and how he had been firſt ſent Priſoner to *Briſtol*, and from thence to *Pendennis*-Caſtle in *Cornwal*. And ſince we ſhall hereafter find him acting a great part for the King, and General in the Head of a great Army, it would be very incongruous, after having ſpent ſo much time in *Cornwal* without ſo much as naming him, to leave Men ignorant what became of him, and how he obtain'd his Liberty; which he employed afterwards with ſo much zeal for the King's Service to the loſs of his Life; by which he was not only vindicated, in the opinion of many honeſt Men, from all thoſe Jealouſies and Aſperſions, he had long ſuffer'd under; but the proceeding that had been againſt him at *Oxford*, was look'd upon by many as void of that juſtice and policy, which had been requiſite: and they concluded by what he did after a long Impriſonment, how much he might have done more ſucceſsfully, if he had never been reſtrained. Without doubt, what he Did afterwards, and what he Suffer'd, ought, in great meaſure, to free his Memory from any reproaches for the errors, or weakneſs, of which he had before been guilty. What were the motives, and inducements of his commitment, have been at large ſet down before in the proper place. It remains now, only to ſet down how he came at laſt to be poſſeſſed of his Liberty, and why he obtain'd it no ſooner, by other more gracious ways from the King; which might have been an obligation upon him; when it might eaſily have been foreſeen, that he muſt be, in a ſhort time, at liberty, notwithſtanding any oppoſition.

WHEN the Prince firſt viſited *Cornwal*, to ſettle his own Revenue of that Duchy, which was the only ſupport he had, and out of which he provided for the carrying on the King's Service, upon many emergent occaſions, he ſpent ſome days at *Truro*, to ſettle his duty upon the Tinn, by Virtue of his ancient Privilege of Preemption. And in that time, which was about the end of *July*, the Governour of *Pendennis*-Caſtle invited him to dine there; which his Highneſs willingly accepted, that he might take a full View of the ſituation and ſtrength thereof; having it then in his view, that he might probably be compelled to reſort thither. Every Man knew well that Duke *Hamilton* was then a Priſoner there, and therefore it was to be conſider'd, what the Prince was to do, if the Duke ſhould deſire, as without doubt he would, to kiſs his hand. And it was reſolv'd without diſpute, "that "the Prince was not to admit ſuch a Perſon into his Preſence, who "ſtood ſo much in his Father's diſpleaſure, and was committed to Pri- "ſon by him; and that none of the Council, or of his Highneſs's Ser- "vants, ſhould viſit, or enter into any kind of correſpondence with "him. Thereupon the Governour was adviſed, in regard the accommodations in the Caſtle were very narrow, "that, during the time "the Prince was in the Caſtle, the Duke ſhould be removed out of his "Chamber into one of the Soldier's Houſes; which was done accordingly. This the Duke took very heavily, lamenting "that he might "not be admitted to ſee the Prince; and had a deſire to have conferr'd with the Lord *Colepepper*, or the Chancellor, which they were not then at liberty to have ſatisfied him in. He afterwards renew'd the ſame deſire to them both, by his Servant Mr *Hamilton*. Hereupon, when the Chancellor was ſhortly after ſent to viſit the Ports of *Padſtow*,

Padſtow, the Mount, and *Pendennis*, which was about the middle of *Auguſt* (the buſineſs being, under that diſguiſe, to provide for the Prince's Tranſportation, when it ſhould be neceſſary) the Prince referr'd it to him "to ſee the Duke, if he found it convenient. When he came to *Pendennis*, and was to ſtay there neceſſarily ſome days, he was inform'd, "that the Duke came always abroad to meals, and "that at that time all Men ſpoke freely with him: So that, either he was to be made a cloſe Priſoner by his being there, or they were to meet at Supper and Dinner. The Governour then ask'd him, "whe-"ther the Duke ſhould come abroad. The Chancellor had neither Authority nor Reaſon to make any alteration; therefore he told him, "he knew his own courſe, which he preſum'd he would obſerve who-"ever came; and that if the Duke pleaſed, he would wait upon him "in his Chamber, to kiſs his hands before Supper; the which he did.

WHEN the Duke, after ſome civilities to him whom he had long known, and ſome reproaches to the Governour, who was preſent, "of "his very ſtrict uſage and carriage towards him; which, he ſaid, he "believ'd he could not juſtify (whereas the Chancellor well knew, that the Governour was abſolutely govern'd by him) ſpoke to him of his own condition, and of "his misfortune to fall into his Majeſty's "diſpleaſure, without having given him any offence: He told him, "that he had very much deſired to ſpeak with him, that he might "make a Propoſition to him, which he thought for the King's Service; "and he deſired, if it ſeem'd ſo to Him, that he would find means to "recommend it to his Majeſty, and to procure his acceptance of it. Then he told him, "that he was an abſolute Stranger to the Affairs "of both Kingdoms, having no other Intelligence, than what he re-"ceiv'd from Gentlemen whom he met in the next Room at Dinner; "but he believ'd, by his Majeſty's late loſs at *Naſeby*, that his condi-"tion in *England* was very much worſe than his Servants hoped it "would have been; and therefore, that it might concern him to tranſ-"act his buſineſs in *Scotland* aſſoon as might be: that he knew not in "what ſtate the Lord *Mountroſe* was in that Kingdom, but he was "perſwaded that he was not without oppoſition. He ſaid, "he was "confident that if he himſelf had his liberty, he could do the King "conſiderable Service, and either incline that Nation powerfully to "mediate a Peace in *England*, or poſitively to declare for the King, "and joyn with *Mountroſe*. He ſaid, "he knew, it was believ'd by "many, that the animoſity was ſo great from him to *Mountroſe*, who "indeed had done him very cauſeleſs injuries, that he would rather "meditate revenge than concur with him in any Action; but, he ſaid, "he too well underſtood his own danger, if the King and Monarchy "were deſtroyed in this Kingdom, to think of private contention and "matters of revenge, when the Publick was ſo much at Stake. And "he muſt acknowledge, how unjuſt ſoever the Lord *Mountroſe* had "been to him, he had done the King great Service; and therefore pro-teſted with many aſſeverations, "he ſhould joyn with him in the King's "behalf, as with a Brother; and if he could not win his own Brother "from the other Party, he would be as much againſt Him. He ſaid, "he could not apprehend that his Liberty could be any way prejudi-"cial to the King; for he would be a Priſoner ſtill upon his Parole; "and

"and would engage his Honour, that if he found he could not be able "to do his Majeſty that acceptable Service, which he deſired (of which "he had not the leaſt doubt) he would ſpeedily return, and render "himſelf a Priſoner again in the place where he then was. In this diſcourſe he made very great profeſſions, and expreſſions of his Devotion to the King's Service, of his obligations to him, and of the great confidence he had in this particular, of being uſeful to his Majeſty.

AFTER he made ſome pauſe, in expectation of what the Chancellor would ſay, the Chancellor told him, "he doubted not but he was "very able to ſerve the King both in that and in this Kingdom; there "being very many in both who had a principal dependence upon him: "that he heard the King was making ſome Propoſitions to the *Scotiſh* "Army in *England*, and that it would be a great inſtance of his Affe-"ction and Fidelity to the King, if by any Meſſage from him to his "Friends, and Dependents in the *Scotiſh* Army then before *Hereford*, "or to his Friends in *Scotland*, his Brother being the head or prime "Perſon of Power there that oppoſed *Mountroſe*, they ſhould declare "for the King, or appear willing to do him Service; and that he having "free liberty to ſend, through the Parliament's Army, to *London*, or "into *Scotland*, he might aſſoon do the King this Service, as receive "a Warrant for his enlargement; which, he preſumed, he knew could "not be granted but by the King himſelf.

THE Duke replied, "that he expected that Anſwer, but that it was "not poſſible for him to do any thing by Meſſage or Letter, or any "way but by his Preſence: Firſt, that they, in whom he had intereſt, "would look upon any thing he ſhould write, or any Meſſage he "ſhould ſend, as the reſult of diſtreſs and compulſion, not of his af-"fection or judgement. Beſides, he ſaid, he look'd upon himſelf as "very odious to that Nation, which was irreconciled to him for his "zeal to the King, and thought this a juſt judgement of God upon "him for not adhering to them. And, he ſaid, for his own Brother, "who he heard indeed had the greateſt influence upon their Counſels, "he had no reaſon to be confident in him, at that diſtance; for, be-"ſides the extreme injury he had done him, in making an eſcape from "*Oxford*, by which both their innocencies were made to be ſuſpected, "and for which he ſhould never forgive him, he was the Heir of the "Houſe and Family; and he believ'd, would be content that himſelf "ſhould grow old and dye in Priſon: whereas, if he were at liberty, "and amongſt them, he was confident ſome for love, and others for "fear, would ſtick to him; and he ſhould eaſily make it appear to "thoſe who were fierceſt againſt the King, that it concern'd their own "intereſt to ſupport the King in his juſt power. However, he concluded, "that the worſt that could come was his returning to Pri-"ſon, which he would not fail to do. So the diſcourſe ended for that Night.

THE next day the Duke enter'd again into the ſame Argument, with much earneſtneſs, that the Chancellor would interpoſe, upon that ground, for his liberty; who told him, "that he was ſo ill a Courtier, that he "could not diſſemble to him: that he was not ſatisfied with his Rea-"ſons; and could not but believe, he had intereſt enough, at that di-"ſtance, to make ſome real demonſtration of his Affection to the King,

"by the impreſſion he might make upon his Dependents, and Allies:
"and therefore that he could not offer any advice to the King, to the
"purpoſe he deſired. He told him, "that he had been preſent at the
"Council-Table when the King communicated that buſineſs, which
"concern'd him, to the Board; and that he gave his opinion fully, and
"earneſtly, for his commitment; being ſatisfied, upon the information
"that was given concerning him, that his Affection to the King was
"very queſtionable; and that it appear'd, that he had been earneſtly
"preſſed by thoſe Perſons of Honour in that Kingdom, upon whom
"his Majeſty relied, to declare himſelf; and that if he could have been
"induced ſo to do, having promiſed the King he would, and having
"Authority to that purpoſe from him, they might very eaſily have
"ſuppreſſed that Rebellion in the bud: but that his Lordſhip and his
"Brother, were ſo far from oppoſing it, that the very Proclamation
"which had iſſued out there for the general Inſurrection (which Pro-
"clamation was peruſed at Council-Table, when he was committed)
"was not only ſet forth in his Majeſty's own Name, but Sealed with
"his Signet; which was then in the Cuſtody of the Earl of *Lanrick* his
"Brother, he being Secretary of State in that Kingdom. That thoſe
"who were the principal Informers againſt him, and who profeſſed
"that they could do no Service, if he were at liberty, now ſince his re-
"ſtraint, being arm'd with no more Authority than he had, at his laſt
"being there, when the Kingdom was in Peace, had, upon all diſad-
"vantages imaginable, when that Kingdom was totally loſt to the King,
"reduced the greateſt part of it again to his obedience; and therefore,
"whether it was his Lordſhip's Misfortune, or his Fault, ſince things
"proſper'd ſo well in his abſence, he could not, as a Counſellor, adviſe
"the King, without the privity and conſent of the Lord *Mountroſe*,
"or without ſome ſuch Teſtimony of his Service, as he had before pro-
"poſed, to give him his Liberty: and that any ill ſucceſs, which poſ-
"ſibly might have no relation to that Act, would yet be imputed to
"that Counſel; and the Lord *Mountroſe*, have at leaſt a juſt, or proba-
"ble excuſe, for any thing that ſhould happen amiſs.

THE Duke thank'd him for the freedom he had uſed towards him; and ſaid, "upon the information which was given againſt him, he muſt "acknowledge the proceedings to be very juſt; but he was confident, "whenever he ſhould be admitted to a fair hearing, he ſhould appear "very innocent from the Allegations which had been given. He ſaid, "he had never made the leaſt promiſe to the King, which he had not "exactly perform'd; that he had not Authority or Power to croſs any "thing that was done to the prejudice of the King; and therefore to "have made any ſuch Attempt, or Declaration, as ſome Lords had de-"ſired, in that conjuncture of time, had been to have deſtroyed them-"ſelves to no purpoſe: and therefore, he made haſt to the King with "ſuch Propoſitions, and Overtures, that he was confident, if he had "been admitted to have ſpoken with his Majeſty, at his coming to *Ox-*"*ford*, he ſhould have given good ſatisfaction in them; and then in-"tended immediately to have return'd into *Scotland*, with ſuch Au-"thority and Countenance, as the King could well have given him; "and doubted not but to have prevented any inconveniences from "that Kingdom: but that by his Impriſonment (which he could have "prevented, for he had notice upon his Journey, what was intended,

"and

"and truſted ſo much in his innocence, that he would not avoid it) "all thoſe deſigns failed. For his Brother, he could ſay nothing; but "he believ'd him an honeſt Man; and for the proceedings of the Lord "*Mountroſe*, though he had receiv'd good aſſiſtance from *Ireland*, "which was a good foundation, he could not but ſay, it had been lit- "tle leſs than miraculous: However he preſumed the work was not "ſo near done there, but that His Aſſiſtance might be very ſeaſonable. After this they ſpoke often together; but this was the ſubſtance and reſult of all; he inſiſting upon his preſent liberty, and the other as preſſing, that he would write to his Friends. Yet the Chancellor promiſed him "to preſent, by the firſt convenience, his Suit and Propo- "ſition to the King; which he ſhortly after did in a Letter to the Lord *Digby*.

UPON the firſt news of the loſs of the Battle of *Naſeby*, it was enough foreſeen, that the Prince himſelf might be put to a retreat to *Pendennis* Caſtle. Therefore they wiſhed, "that it might be in the "Prince's power, upon an emergent occaſion, to remove the Duke from "that place. Which conſideration the Lord *Colepepper* preſented to the King, at his being with him in *Wales*; and thereupon a Warrant was ſent from the King, for the removal of the Duke to *Silly*; which was likewiſe foreſeen that the Prince might repair to. As the Enemy drew nearer the Weſt, many good Men were very ſollicitous, that the Duke ſhould be removed from *Pendennis*, having a great jealouſy of the intereſt he had in the Governour; of which there was ſo univerſal a ſuſpicion, that many Letters were writ to the Council, "that if "he were not ſpeedily diſpoſed to ſome other place, they feared the "Caſtle would be betrayed: and Sr *Richard Greenvil* writ earneſtly to the Prince about it, as did Sr *Harry Killigrew* (a Perſon of entire Affections to the King, and a true Friend of the Governour) very importunately. So that about the Month of *November*, the King's Warrant for his removal was ſent to Sr *Arthur Baſſet* Governour of the Mount; who went to *Pendennis* in the Morning, and took him with him to the Mount, in order to remove him to *Silly*, when the time ſhould require it; the Duke expreſſing great trouble and diſcontent that he ſhould be removed, and pretending, "that he could not ride "for the Stone (of which he complain'd ſo much, that he had Petition'd the King for leave to go into *France* to be cut) and the Governour, and all that Family and Garriſon, made ſhew of no leſs grief to part with him, he having begotten a great opinion in that People of his integrity and innocence. But when the Duke ſaw there was no Remedy, he mounted a Horſe that was provided for him, and paſſed the Journey very well.

Duke Hamilton *is remov'd to the Mount.*

AFTER the loſs of *Dartmouth*, ſome Perſons of near truſt about the Prince reſumed the diſcourſe again of enlarging the Duke, and believ'd that he would be able to do the King great Service in the buſineſs of *Scotland*; and this prevailed ſo far with one of the Lords of the Council, that, upon the confidence of Dr *Frazier*, the Prince's Phyſician, he made a Journey with the D^r to the Mount; and did think, that he had ſo much prevailed with the Duke, that he had conſented "to ſend a Servant ſpeedily to the *Scotiſh* Army in *England* (who ſhould "likewiſe paſs by the King, and carry any Letters to his Majeſty "from the Prince) to perſwade them to comply with the King; and

"that he would likewiſe diſpatch *Charles Murray* into *Scotland*, in-"ſtructed to his Brother *Lanrick*, and that Party, to oblige them to "joyne with *Mountroſe*. But D' *Frazier* confeſſed to thoſe he truſted, "that the Duke rather conſented to it to ſatisfy that Lord's vehe-"mence and importunity, than that he had any great hope of ſucceſs "by it; inſiſting ſtill, that nothing but his own Liberty would do it: for which he gave a reaſon, that before had never been heard of, and was very contrary to what the Duke had ſaid to the Chancellor, which was, "that the State of *Scotland* was ſo ſenſible of the injury done "to the Duke by his impriſonment (which he had ſaid before that they were very glad of) "that they had made an Order, that there "ſhould never be Treaty with the King, or agreeing with *Mountroſe* "till he was at Liberty, or brought to a legal Trial. And when *Charles Murray* went to him for his inſtructions, though he ſaid much for him to ſay again to his Friends, and his Brother, towards their declaring for the King, he diſcouraged him much as to the Journey, repreſenting to him "his own danger, and the ſtrict Orders that were in *Scot-"land* againſt diviſive Motions; of which, he ſaid, he feared this would "be taken for one.

THIS made the Council to have no mind to be engaged in any Treaty with him, and leſs in propoſing or conſenting to his liberty; not only upon the former knowledge they had of his diſpoſition and nature, but alſo that they believ'd, if he were not ſincere, he would do much miſchief; and the more for being in any degree truſted; if he were ſincere, that he would be able to do no more good for the King, by being redeem'd out of Priſon by the Enemy, than by being releaſed by the King or Prince. And therefore, when the Prince remov'd in that haſt and diſorder from *Pendennis* to *Silly*, there was no poſſibility of removing him; ſo that, at the ſurrender of the Mount, which was, by his advice, much ſooner than they had reaſon to do it, when they were able to defend themſelves for many Months, he was enlarged, and remov'd himſelf to *London* by ſpeedy Journeys on Horſe-back; and did never after complain of the Stone; which he before proteſted "would kill him, if he were not cut with-"in a year.

Upon the Surrender of the Mount he obtain'd his Liberty.

The King's tranſactions at Oxford.

WE left the King in *Oxford*, free from the trouble and uneaſineſs of thoſe perpetual and wandering Marches, in which he had been ſo many Months exerciſed; and quiet from all rude and inſolent provocations. He was now amongſt his true and faithful Counſellors and Servants, whoſe Affection and Loyalty had firſt engaged them in his Service, and made them ſtick to him to the end; and who, if they were not able to give him aſſiſtance, to ſtem that mighty torrent that overbore both Him and Them, paid him ſtill the Duty that was due to him, and gave him no vexation when they could not give him comfort. There were yet ſome Garriſons remaining in his obedience, which were like, during the winter Seaſon, to be preſerv'd from any attempt of the Enemy. But upon the approach of Spring, if the King ſhould be without an Army in the Field, the fate of thoſe few places was eaſy to be diſcern'd. And which way an Army could poſſibly be brought together, or where it ſhould be raiſed, was not within the compaſs of the wiſeſt Man's comprehenſion. However, the more difficult it was, the more vigour was to be applied in the

attempt. *Worceſter*, as it was Neighbouring to *Wales*, had the greateſt outlet and elbow-room; and the Parliament party that had gotten any footing there, behaved themſelves with that inſolence and Tyranny, that even they who had called them thither, were weary of them, and ready to enter into any combination to deſtroy them. Upon this proſpect, and ſome invitation, the King ſent the Lord *Aſtley* (whom he had before, at his being at *Cardiff*, conſtituted Governour of thoſe parts, in the place of the Lord *Gerrard*) to *Worceſter*, with order "to proceed, as he ſhould find himſelf able, towards the ga-
10 "thering a Body of Horſe together, againſt the Spring, from thoſe "Garriſons which were left, and from *Wales*: and what progreſs he made towards it will be ſoon known.

WHEN a full proſpect, upon the moſt mature deliberation, was taken of all the hopes which might with any colour of reaſon be entertain'd; all that occurred, appeared ſo hopeleſs and deſperate, that it was thought fit to reſort to an old expedient, that had been found as deſperate as any; which was a new Overture for a Treaty of Peace: for which, they who adviſed it, had no other reaſon, but that they could not tell what elſe to do. *Cromwell* had left *Fairfax* in the Weſt,
20 and with a party Selected had ſet down before *Baſing*, and his im- Cromwel *takes* Winperious Summons having been rejected, he Storm'd the Place and chester *and* took it, and put moſt of the Garriſon to the Sword: and a little be- Baſing.
fore *Wincheſter* had ſurrender'd upon eaſy conditions. The leſſer Garriſons in the North, which had ſtood out till now, were render'd every day; and the *Scotiſh* Army, which had marched as far as their own Borders, was called back, and required to beſiege *Newark*. So that whoever thought the ſending to the Parliament (puffed up and ſwoln with ſo many Succeſſes) for a Peace, would prove to no purpoſe, was not yet able to tell, what was like to prove to better purpoſe. This
30 reflection alone prevail'd with the King, who had enough experimented thoſe inclinations, to refer entirely to the Council, to chooſe any "expedient, they thought moſt probable to ſucceed, and to prepare "any meſſage they would adviſe his Majeſty to ſend to the Parlia-"ment. And when they had conſidered it, the Overtures he had already made, by two ſeveral Meſſages, to which he had received no Anſwer, were ſo ample, that they knew not what addition to make to them; but concluded, "that this Meſſage ſhould contain nothing "but a reſentment of That, and a demand of an Anſwer to the Meſ-"ſages his Majeſty had formerly ſent for a Treaty of Peace.

40 THIS Meſſage had the ſame entertainment which the former had *The King* receiv'd. It was receiv'd, read, and then laid aſide without any de- *ſends another* bate; which they who wiſh'd well to it, had not credit or courage to *Meſſage for* advance; yet ſtill found means to convey their advice to *Oxford*, "that *Peace; which* "the King ſhould not give over that importunity: and they who had *was laid aſide* little hopes of better effects from it, were yet of opinion, "that the *by the Houſes.*
"neglecting thoſe gracious invitations, made by his Majeſty for Peace, "would ſhortly make the Parliament ſo odious, that they would not "dare long to continue in the ſame obſtinacy. The *Scots* were griev'd and enraged, to ſee their Idol Presbytery ſo undervalued, and ſlight-
50 ed, that beſides the Independents power in the City, their very Aſſembly of Divines every day loſt credit and authority to ſupport it; and deſired nothing more than a Treaty for Peace: and many others

who had contributed moſt to the ſuppreſſion of the King's power, were now much more affraid of their own Army, than ever they had been of His Authority; and believ'd, that if a Treaty were once ſet on foot, it would not be in the power of the moſt violent to render it ineffectual: or whatever they believ'd themſelves, they convey'd this to ſome about the King, as the concurrent advice of all who pretended to wiſh well: and ſome Men took upon them to ſend the Subject of what Meſſage the King ſhould ſend, and cloathed in ſuch expreſſions, as they conceived were like to gain ground; which his Majeſty could not but graciouſly accept; though he very ſeldom imitated their Style.

His Majeſty ſends again for a Safe Conduct for the Duke of Richmond, *and others.*

AFTER the King had long expected an Anſwer to his laſt Meſſage, induced by thoſe and the like reaſons above-mention'd, he ſent again to the Parliament, "that they would ſend a Safe conduct for the "Duke of *Richmond*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, Mr *John Aſhburn-* "*ham*, and Mr *Geoffrey Palmer*; by whom he would make ſuch par- "ticular propoſitions to them as he hoped would produce a Peace.

Their Anſwer. To this they return'd an Anſwer, ſuch as it was, "that it would be "inconvenient, and might be of dangerous conſequence, to admit thoſe "Lords and Gentlemen to come into their Quarters, but that they "were preparing ſome Propoſitions, which, when finiſhed, ſhould be "ſent to his Majeſty in Bills, to be Sign'd by him; which would be "the only way to produce a Peace. The King underſtood well what ſuch Bills would contain, and which when he had granted, he ſhould have nothing left to deny; and therefore liked not, that ſuch concluſions ſhould be made without a Treaty. He reſolv'd once more to try another way, which having been never yet tried, he believ'd they could not deny; and if granted, what hazard ſoever his Perſon ſhould be in, he ſhould diſcover, whether he had ſo many Friends in the Parliament, and the City, as many Men would perſwade him to conclude; and whether the *Scots* had ever a thought of doing him Service. He

The King ſends to deſire a Perſonal Treaty at Weſtminſter.

ſent to them, towards the end of *December*, "that, ſince all other Over- "tures had proved ineffectual, he deſired to enter into a Perſonal Treaty "with the two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and the Com- "miſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, upon all matters which "might conduce to the Peace and Happyneſs of the diſtracted King- "doms; and to that purpoſe his Majeſty would come to *London*, or "*Weſtminſter*, with ſuch of his Servants as now attended him, and "their followers, not exceeding in the whole the Number of three "hundred Perſons, if he might have the engagement of the two Houſes "of Parliament, the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, of "the chief Commanders in Sr *Thomas Fairfax*'s Army, and of thoſe "of the *Scotiſh* Army, for his Free and Safe coming to, and abode in "*London*, or *Weſtminſter*, for the ſpace of forty days; and after that "time, for his Free and Safe repair to *Oxford*, *Worceſter*, or *New-* "*ark*, if a Peace ſhould not be concluded: For their better encourage- "ment to hope well from this Treaty, his Majeſty offer'd to ſettle the "Militia in ſuch Perſons as ſhould be acceptable to them.

Their Anſwer. THIS Meſſage indeed awaken'd them, and made them believe that the Gameſters who were to play this Game, looked into their hands, and hoped to find a party in their own Quarters; and that if they ſhould neglect to ſend an Anſwer to this Meſſage, their Silence might be taken for conſent, and that they ſhould quickly hear the King

was

was in *London*; which they did not wiſh. They made thereupon more than ordinary haſt, to let his Majeſty know, "that there had been no "delay on Their parts; but for the perſonal Treaty deſired by his Ma- "jeſty, after ſo much innocent blood ſhed in the War by his Com- "mands, and Commiſſions (with the mention of many other odious particulars) "they conceiv'd, that until Satisfaction and Security, "were firſt given to both Kingdoms, his Majeſty's coming thither "could not be convenient, nor by them aſſented to; nor did they ap- "prehend it a means conducing to Peace, to accept of a Treaty for "few days, with any thoughts or intentions of returning to Hoſtility "again. They obſerv'd, "that his Majeſty deſired the engagement, not "only of the Parliament, but of the Chief Commanders in Sr *Thomas* "*Fairfax*'s Army, and thoſe of the *Scotiſh* Army; which, they ſaid, "was againſt the Privilege and Honour of Parliament, to have thoſe "joyn'd with them, who were Subject and Subordinate to their Au- "thority. They renew'd what they had ſaid in their laſt Anſwer, "that "they would ſhortly ſend ſome Bills to his Majeſty, the ſigning of which "would be the beſt way to procure a good, and a ſafe Peace.

THOUGH the King was not willing to acquieſce with this ſtubborn rejection, but ſent Meſſage upon Meſſage ſtill to them for a better Anſwer, and at laſt offer'd "to diſmantle all his Garriſons, and ſo come "to and reſide with his Parliament, if all they who had adhered to "him, might be at liberty to live in their own Houſes, and to enjoy "their own Eſtates, without being obliged to take any Oaths, but what "were enjoyn'd by the Law; he could never procure any other Anſwer from them. And leſt all this ſhould not appear Affront enough, they publiſh'd an Ordinance, as they call'd it, "that if the King ſhould, "contrary to the advice of the Parliament already given to him, come, "or attempt to come, within the lines of Communication, the Com- "mittee of the Militia ſhould raiſe ſuch Forces as they ſhould think "fit, to prevent any tumult that might ariſe by his coming, and to ſup- "preſs any that ſhould happen; and to apprehend any who ſhould come "with him, or reſort to him; and to ſecure his Perſon from Danger: which was an expreſſion they were not aſham'd always to uſe, when there was no danger that threaten'd him, but what themſelves contriv'd, and deſign'd againſt him. To this their Ordinance, they added another Injunction, "that all who had ever borne Armes for his Majeſty (whereof very many upon the Surrender of Garriſons, and liberty granted to them, by their Articles upon thoſe Surrenders, were come thither) "ſhould "immediately depart, and go out of *London*, upon penalty of being "proceeded againſt as Spies. So that all doors being, in this obſtinate manner, ſhut againſt a Treaty, all thoughts of That, at leaſt with reference to the Parliament, were laid aſide; and all endeavours uſed to get ſuch a power together, as might make them ſee that his Majeſty was not out of all poſſibility of being Yet able to defend himſelf.

The King ſends again.

Their Ordinance thereupon.

WHEN all hopes, as I ſaid, were deſperate of any Treaty with the Parliament, and conſequently many hazards were to be run, in the contriving a Peace any other way; the ſuſtaining the War, with any probability of Succeſs, was the next deſirable thing to a Peace, and pre- ferable before any ſuch Peace, as was probably to be hoped for from the Party that govern'd the Army, which govern'd the Parliament. The King therefore uſed all the means which occurr'd to him, or which were adviſed and propoſed by others, to divide the Independent Party; and

The King tries to deal with the Independents.

and to prevail with ſome principal Perſons of them, to find their Content and Satisfaction in advancing His Intereſt. That Party comprehended many who were not ſo much Enemies to the State, or to the Church, as not to deſire heartily that a Peace might be eſtabliſh'd upon the foundations of both, ſo their own particular Ambitions might be complied with. To them the King thought he might be able to propoſe very valuable compenſations for any Service they could do Him; and the power of the Presbyterians, as they were in conjunction with the *Scots*, ſeem'd no unnatural Argument to work upon thoſe, who profeſſed to be ſwayed by matter of Liberty of Conſcience in Religion: ſince it was out of all queſtion, that they ſhould never find the leaſt ſatisfaction to their Scruples, and their Principles in Church Government, from thoſe who pretended to Erect the Kingdom of *Jeſus Chriſt*. And it was thought to be no ill preſage towards the repairing of the Fabrick of the Church of *England*, that it's two mortal Enemies, who had expoſed it to ſo much Perſecution and Oppreſſion, hated each other as mortally, and labour'd each others Deſtruction, with the ſame Fury and Zeal, they had both practiced towards Her. This reaſonable imagination very much diſpoſed the King, who was well acquainted with the unruly Spirit and Malice of the Presbyterians, to think it poſſible that he might receive ſome benefit from the Independents; a Faction newly grown up, and with which he was utterly unacquainted: and his Majeſty's extraordinary Affection for the Church made him the leſs weigh, and conſider the incompatibility, and irreconcilableneſs of that Faction with the Government of the State; of which, it may be, he was the leſs ſenſible, becauſe he thought nothing more impoſſible, than that the *Engliſh* Nation ſhould ſubmit to any other than Monarchical Government. There were beſides an overactive and buſy kind of Men, who ſtill undertook to make Overtures as agreeable to the wiſh of ſome principal Leaders of that Party, and as with their Authority, and ſo prevailed with the King, to ſuffer ſome Perſons of Credit near him, to make ſome Propoſitions, in his Name, to particular Perſons. And it is very probable, that as the ſame Men, made the expectations of thoſe People appear to the King much more reaſonable and moderate, than in truth they were, ſo they perſwaded the others to believe, that his Majeſty would yield to many more im-

But in vain. portant Conceſſions, than he would ever be induced to grant. So either ſide had, in a ſhort time, a clear view into each others intentions, and quickly gave over any expectation of benefit That way; ſave that the Independents were willing, that the King ſhould cheriſh the hopes of their complyance, and the King as willing that they ſhould believe that his Majeſty might be prevailed with to grant more than at firſt he appear'd reſolv'd to do.

THE truth is, though that Party was moſt prevalent in the Parliament, and comprehended all the Superior Officers of the Army (the General only excepted; who thought himſelf a Presbyterian) yet there were only three Men, *Vane*, *Cromwell*, and *Ireton*, who govern'd and diſpoſed all the reſt according to their Sentiments; and without doubt they had not yet publiſh'd their dark deſigns to many of their own Party, nor would their Party, at that time, have been ſo numerous and conſiderable, if they had known, or but imagin'd, that they had entertain'd thoſe thoughts of heart, which they grew every day leſs tender to conceal, and forward enough to diſcover.

THERE

THERE was another intrigue now set on foot, with much more probability of Success, both in respect of the thing it self, and the circumstances with which it came accompanied; and that was a Treaty with the *Scots*, by the interposition and mediation of the Crown of *France*; which, to that purpose at this time, sent an Envoy, one *Montrevil*, to *London*, with some formal Address to the Parliament, but intentionally to Negotiate between the King and the *Scots*; whose Agent at *Paris* had given encouragement to the Queen of *England*, then there, to hope that that Nation would return to their duty; and the Queen Regent, in the great generosity of her heart, did really desire to contribute all that was in Her power to the King's recovery. To that purpose, she sent *Montrevil* at this time with Credentials to the King, as well as to the Parliament; by which the Queen had opportunity to communicate her advice to the King her Husband; and the Envoy had Authority "to engage the Faith of *France*, for the performance of whatsoever the "King should promise to the *Scots*.

A Treaty between the King and the Scots, set on foot by the interposition of France: And Montrevil *is sent for that purpose.*

THIS was the first instance, and it will appear a very sorry one, that a Forreign Soveraign Prince gave, of wishing a reconciliation, or to put a period to the Civil War in his Majesty's Dominions; towards the contrivance whereof, and the frequent fomenting it, too many of them contributed too much. The old Maxim, "that the Crown of *England* "could ballance the differences which fell out between the Princes of "*Europe*, by it's inclining to either Party, had made the Ministers of our State too negligent in cultivating the Affections of their Neighbours by any real obligations; as if they were to be Arbiters only in the differences which fell out between others, without being themselves liable to any impression of adverse Fortune. This made the unexpected calamity that befel this Kingdom not ingrateful to it's Neighbours on all sides; who were willing to see it weaken'd and chastised by it's own strokes.

CARDINAL *Richelieu*, out of the haughtiness of his own nature, and immoderate appetite or revenge, under the disguise of being jealous of the Honour of his Master, had discover'd an implacable hatred against the *English*, ever since that unhappy provocation by the Invasion of the Isle of *Ree*, and the declared Protection of *Rochel*; and took the first opportunity from the indisposition and murmurs of *Scotland*, to warm that People into Rebellion, and saw the poyson thereof prosper, and spread to his own wish; which he fomented by the *French* Embassadour in the Parliament, with all the Venome of his Heart; as hath been mention'd before. As he had not unwisely driven the Queen Mother out of *France*, or rather kept her from returning, when she had unadvisedly withdrawn her self from thence, so he was as vigilant to keep her Daughter, the Queen of *England*, from coming thither; which she resolv'd to have done, when she carried the Princess Royal into *Holland*; in hope to work upon the King her Brother, to make such a seasonable Declaration against the Rebels of *England*, and *Scotland*, as might terrify them from the farther prosecution of their wicked purposes. But it was made known to her, "that her presence would not be ac- "ceptable in *France*; and so, for the present, that enterprise was declin'd.

BUT that great Cardinal being now dead, and the King himself dying within a short time after, the Administration of the Affairs of that Kingdom, in the infancy of the King, and under his Mother, the Queen Regent, was committed to Cardinal *Mazarin*, an *Italian* by birth, and raised by *Richelieu* to the degree of a Cardinal, for his great dexterity in

putting *Caſal* into the hands of *France*, when the *Spaniard* had given it up to him, as the Nuntio of the Pope, and in truſt that it ſhould remain in the Poſſeſſion of his Holineſs, till the Title of the Duke of *Mantua* ſhould be determined. This Cardinal was a Man rather of different, than contrary parts from his Predeceſſor; and fitter to build upon the Foundations which he had laid, than to have laid thoſe Foundations; and to cultivate, by Artifice, Dexterity, and Diſſimulation (in which his Nature and Parts excell'd) what the other had begun with great reſolution and vigour, and even gone through with invincible conſtancy and courage. So that, the one having broken the heart of all oppoſition and contradiction to the Crown, by the cutting off the head of the Duke of *Montmorancy*, and reducing Monſieur, the Brother of the King, to the moſt tame ſubmiſſion, and incapacity of fomenting another Rebellion, it was very eaſy for the other, to find a complyance from all Men, now ſufficiently terrified from any contradiction. And how great things ſoever this laſt Miniſter perform'd for the Service of that Crown, during the Minority of the King, they may all, in juſtice, be imputed to the prudence and providence of Cardinal *Richelieu*; who had reduced and diſpoſed the whole Nation to an entire Subjection and Submiſſion to what ſhould be impoſed upon them.

CARDINAL *Mazarin*, when he came firſt to that great Miniſtry, was without any Perſonal Animoſity againſt our King, or the *Engliſh* Nation; and was no otherwiſe delighted with the diſtraction and confuſion they were both involv'd in, than as it diſabled the whole People from making ſuch a conjunction with the *Spaniard*, as might make the proſecution of that War (upon which his whole Heart was ſet) the more difficult to him: which he had the more reaſon to apprehend by the Reſidence of *Don Alonſo de Cardenas*, Embaſſadour from the King of *Spain*, ſtill at *London*, making all addreſſes to the Parliament. When the Queen had been compell'd in the laſt year, upon the advance of the Earl of *Eſſex* into the Weſt, to Tranſport her ſelf out of *Cornwal* into *France*, ſhe had found there as good a reception as ſhe could expect; and receiv'd as many expreſſions of kindneſs from the Queen Regent, and as ample promiſes from the Cardinal, as ſhe could wiſh. So that ſhe promiſed her ſelf a very good effect from her Journey; and did procure from him ſuch a preſent ſupply of Armes and Ammunition, as, though of no great value in it ſelf, ſhe was willing to interpret, as a good evidence of the reality of his intentions. But the Cardinal did not yet think the King's condition low enough; and rather deſired, by adminiſtring little and ordinary Supplies, to enable him to continue the ſtruggle, than to ſee him victorious over his Enemies; when he might more remember, how ſlender Aid he had receiv'd, than that he had been aſſiſted; and might hereafter make himſelf Arbiter of the Peace between the two Crowns. Wherefore he was more ſollicitous to keep a good correſpondence with the Parliament, and to profeſs a Neutrality between the King and them, than inclin'd to give them any jealouſy, by appearing much concern'd for the King.

BUT after the Battle of *Naſeby* was loſt, and that the King ſeem'd ſo totally defeated, that he had very little hope of appearing again in the head of an Army, that might be able to reſiſt the Enemy, the Cardinal was awaken'd to new apprehenſions; and ſaw more cauſe to fear the Monſtrous power of the Parliament, after they had totally ſubdued the King, than ever he had to apprehend the exceſs of greatneſs in the Crown: and therefore, beſides the frequent incitements he receiv'd from

the generosity of the Queen Regent, who really desired to supply some Substantial relief to the King, he was himself willing to receive any Propositions from the Queen of *England*, by which She thought that the King her Husband's Service might be advanced; and had always the dexterity and artifice, by letting things fall in discourse, in the presence of those, who, he knew, would observe and report what they heard or conceiv'd, to cause that to be proposed to him, which he had most mind to do, or to engage himself in. So he had application enough from the Covenanting Party of *Scotland* (who from the beginning had depended upon *France*, by the encouragement and promises of Cardinal *Richelieu*) to know how to direct them, to apply themselves to the Queen of *England*, that they might come recommended by her Majesty to him, as a good expedient for the King's Service. For they were not now reserv'd in their complaints of the treatment they receiv'd from the Parliament, and of the terrible apprehension they had of being disappointed of all their hopes, by the prevalence of the Independent Army, and of their Faction in both Houses; and therefore wish'd nothing more, than a good opportunity to make a firm conjunction with the King; towards which they had all encouragement from the Cardinal, if they made their address to the Queen, and if her Majesty would desire the Cardinal to conduct it. And because many things must be promised, on the King's behalf, to the *Scots* upon this their engagement, "the Crown of *France* should give "credit and engage, as well that the *Scots* should perform all that they "should promise, as that the King should make good whatsoever should "be undertaken by Him, or by the Queen on his behalf.

THIS was the occasion and ground of sending Monsieur *Montrevil* into *England*, as is mention'd before. He arriv'd there in *January*, with as much credit as the Queen Regent could give him to the *Scots*, and as the Queen of *England* could give him to the King; who likewise perswaded his Majesty, to believe, "that *France* was now become really kind "to him, and would engage all it's power to serve him; and that the Car- "dinal was well assured, that the *Scots* would behave themselves hence- "forwards very honestly: which his Majesty was willing to believe, when all other hopes had fail'd; and all the Overtures made by him for a Treaty had been rejected. But it was not long before he was undeceiv'd; and discern'd that this Treaty was not like to produce better fruit, than his former Overtures had done. For the first information he receiv'd from *Montrevil*, after his arrival in *England*, and after he had conferr'd with the *Scotish* Commissioners, was, "that they peremptorily insisted upon his "Majesty's condescension, and promise, for the establishment of the Pres- "byterian Government in *England*, as it was in *Scotland*; without which, "he said, there was no hope, that they would ever joyn with his Majesty; and therefore the Envoy pressed his Majesty "to give them satisfaction "therein, as the advice of the Queen Regent and the Cardinal, and likewise "of the Queen his Wife; which exceedingly troubled the King. And the *Scots* alledg'd confidently, "that the Queen had expresly promised to Sr *Robert Moray* (a cunning and a dextrous Man, who had been employ'd by them to her Majesty) "that his Majesty should consent thereunto. They produced a Writing Sign'd by the Queen, and deliver'd to Sr *Robert Moray*, wherein there were such expressions concerning Religion, as nothing pleased the King; and made him look upon that Negotiation, as rather a conspiracy against the Church between the Roman Catholicks and Presbyterians, than as an Expedient for his Restoration, or Preserva-

Montrevil's Negotiation with the King.

tion: and he was very much diſpleaſed with ſome Perſons, of near truſt about the Queen, to whoſe miſinformation, and advice, he imputed what her Majeſty had done in that particular.

THEREUPON he deferr'd not to let Monſieur *Montrevil* know, "that "the alteration of the Government in the Church was expreſsly againſt "his Conſcience; and that he would never conſent to it; that what the "Queen his Wife had ſeem'd to promiſe, proceeded from her not being "well inform'd of the conſtitution of the Government of *England*; which "could not conſiſt with the change that was propoſed. But his Majeſty offer'd, "to give all the aſſurance imaginable, and hoped that the Queen "Regent would engage her Royal word on his behalf in that particular, "that the Maintenance and Support of the Epiſcopal Government in "*England*, ſhould not in any degree ſhake, or bring the leaſt prejudice to "that Government that was then ſettled in *Scotland*; and, farther he offer'd, "that, if the *Scots* ſhould deſire to have the free exerciſe of their Religion, according to their own practice and cuſtom, whilſt they ſhould "be at any time in *England*, he would aſſign them convenient places to "that purpoſe in *London*, or any other part of the Kingdom, where they "ſhould deſire it. Nor could all the Importunity or Arguments, uſed by *Montrevil*, prevail with his Majeſty to enlarge thoſe conceſſions, or in the leaſt to recede from the conſtancy of his reſolution; though he inform'd him of "the diſſatisfaction both the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, and the Preſ- "byterians in *London* had in his Majeſty's reſolution, and averſeneſs from "gratifying them in that which they always had, and always would "inſiſt upon; and that the *Scots* were reſolv'd to have no more to do "with his Majeſty; but to agree with the Independents; from whom "they could have better conditions than from Him; and he fear'd ſuch "an Agreement was too far advanced already.

MANY Anſwers and Replies paſſed between the King and *Montrevil* in Cipher, and with all imaginable Secrecy; in which, whatever reproaches were caſt upon him afterwards, he always gave the King very clear and impartial information of the temper, and of the diſcourſes of thoſe People with whom he was to tranſact. And though he did, upon all occaſions, with much earneſtneſs, adviſe his Majeſty to conſent to the unreaſonable demands of the *Scots*, which, he did believe, he would be at laſt compell'd to do, yet it is as certain, that he did uſe all the Arguments the talent of his underſtanding, which was a very good one, could ſuggeſt to him, to perſwade the *Scots* to be contented with what the King had ſo frankly offer'd and granted to them; and did all he could to perſwade and convince them, that their own preſervation, and that of their Nation, depended upon the preſervation of the King, and the ſupport of his Regal Authority. And it is very memorable, that, in Anſwer to a Letter which *Montrevil* writ to the King, and in which he perſwaded his Majeſty, to agree with the *Scots* upon their own demands, and amongſt other Arguments, aſſured his Majeſty, "that the *Engliſh* Presbyterians were fully "agreed with the *Scots* (which his Majeſty believ'd they would never be) "the *Scots* having declared, that they would never inſiſt upon the ſettling "any other Government than was at that time practiced in *London*; urging many other ſucceſſes, which they had at that time obtain'd; the King, after ſome expreſſions of his adhering to what he had formerly declared, uſed theſe words in his Letter of the 21ſt of *January* to Monſieur *Montrevil*, "Let them never flatter themſelves ſo with their good ſucceſſes: "without pretending to Prophecy, I will foretel their ruin, except they

"agree with Me; however it ſhall pleaſe God to diſpoſe of Me; which they had great reaſon to remember after.

BUT becauſe, though this Treaty was begun, and proceeded ſo far as is recited, before the end of the preſent year, yet it was carried on, and did not conclude, till ſome Months after the next year was begun, we ſhall put an end to our Relation of it at preſent, and reſume what remains, in it's place of the year enſuing: Only, before we finiſh our Account of the Actions of this unfortunate year forty five, we muſt mention one more, which happen'd on the two and twentieth of *March*, juſt as the year was expiring.

The year 1645 concludes with the Defeat of the Lord Aſtley's Forces.

THE King had hoped to draw out of the few Garriſons ſtill in his poſſeſſion, ſuch a Body of Horſe and Foot, as might enable him to take the Field early in the Spring, though without any fixed deſign. But this was daſh'd in the very beginning, by the total Rout and Defeat the Lord *Aſtley* underwent; who being upon his March from *Worceſter* towards *Oxford*, with two thouſand Horſe and Foot, and the King having appointed to meet him, with another Body of fifteen hundred Horſe and Foot, Letters and Orders miſcarried, and were intercepted; whereby the Enemy came to have notice of the reſolution, and drew a much greater ſtrength from their ſeveral Garriſons of *Gloceſter*, *Warwick*, *Coventry*, and *Eveſham*. So that the Lord *Aſtley* was no ſooner upon his march, but they follow'd him; and the ſecond day, after he had march'd all night, when he thought he had eſcaped all their Quarters, they fell upon his wearied Troops; which, though a bold and ſtout reſiſtance was made, were at laſt totally defeated; and the Lord *Aſtley* himſelf, Sr *Charles Lucas*, who was Lieutenant General of the Horſe, and moſt of the other Officers, who were not kill'd, were taken Priſoners. The few who eſcaped, were ſo ſcatter'd and diſperſed, that they never came together again; nor did there remain, from that time, any poſſibility for the King to draw any other Troops together in the Field.

THE END OF THE NINTH BOOK.